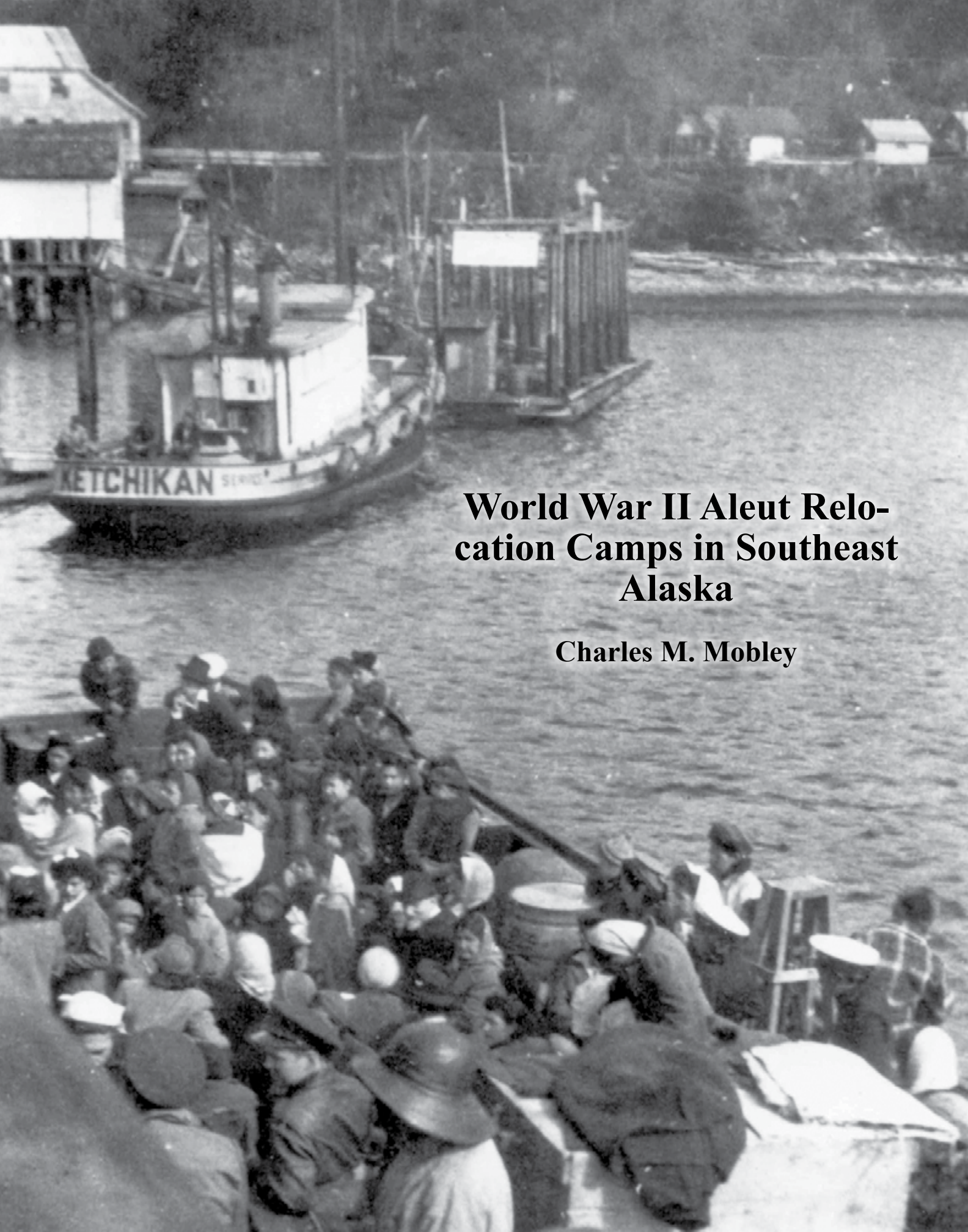
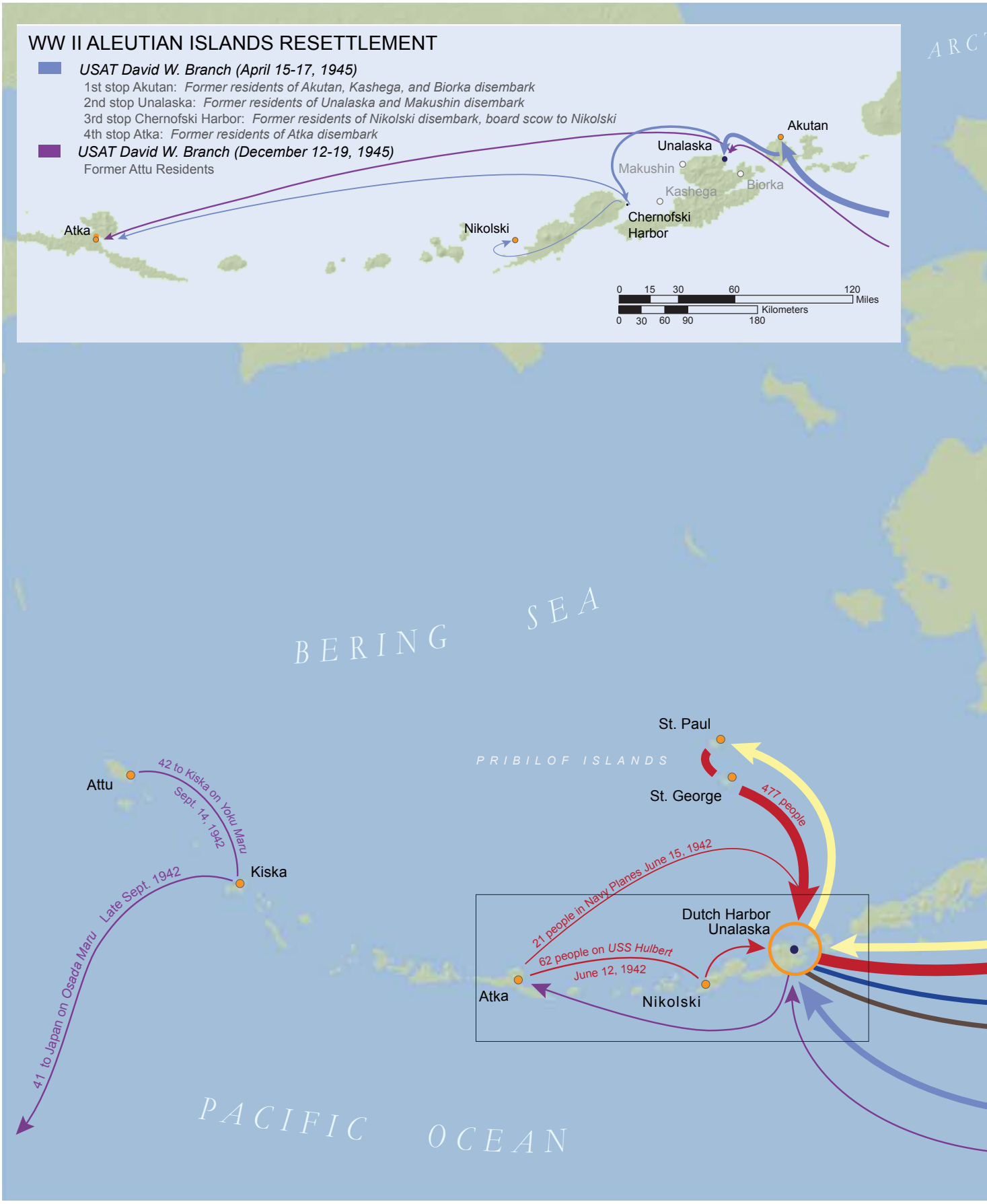
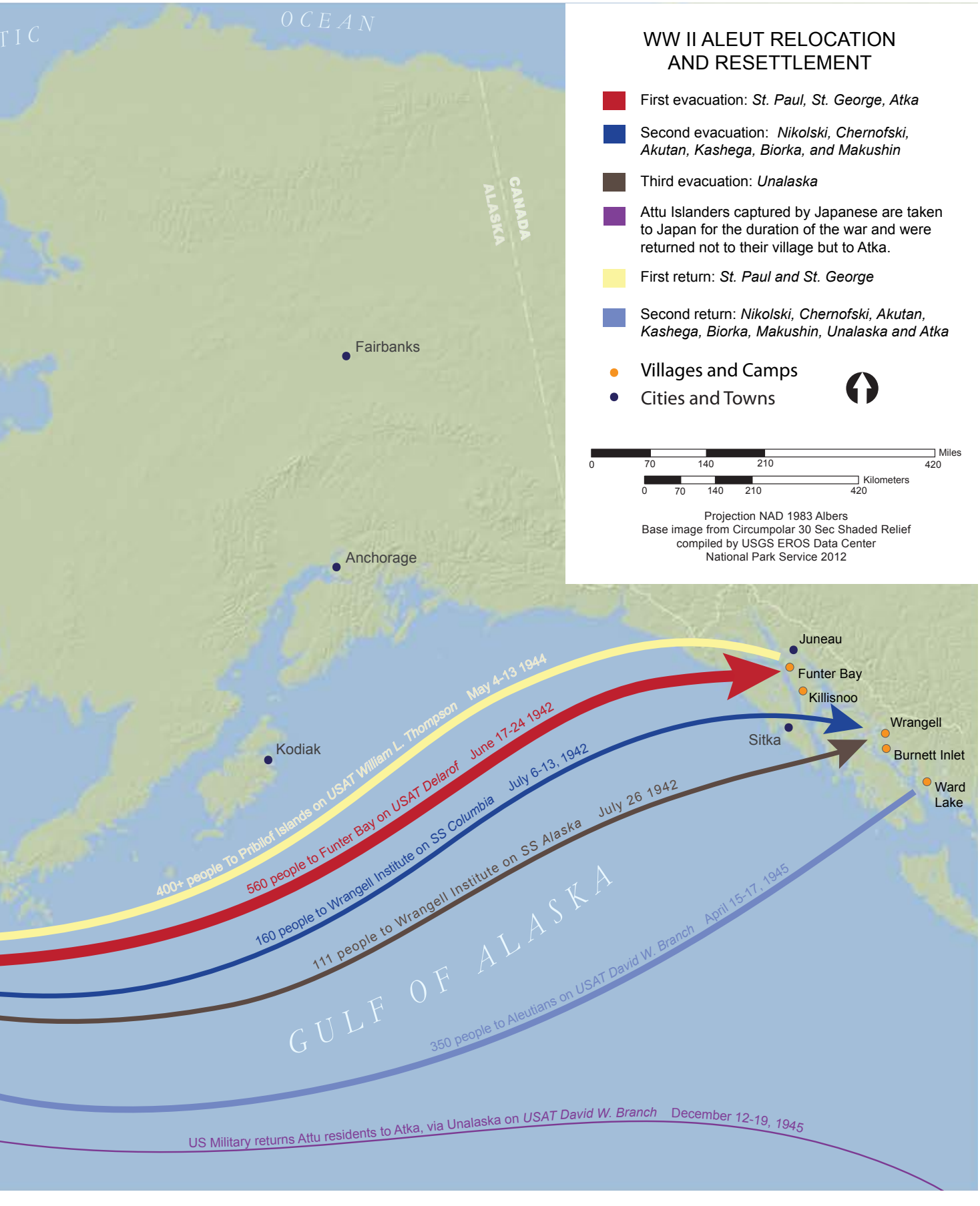


World War II Aleut Relocation Camps in Southeast Alaska

Charles M. Mobley


WW II ALEUTIAN ISLANDS RESETTLEMENT
USAT David W. Branch (April 15-17, 1945)
1st stop Akutan: Former residents of Akutan, Kashega, and Biorka disembark
2nd stop Unalaska: Former residents of Unalaska and Makushin disembark
3rd stop Chernofski Harbor: Former residents of Nikolski disembark, board scow to Nikolski
4th stop Atka: Former residents of Atka disembark
USAT David W. Branch (December 12-19, 1945)
Former Attu Residents
Akutan
Unalaska
Makushin
Kashega
Biorka
Chernofski Harbor
Nikolski
Atka
0 15 30 60 120 Miles
0 30 60 90 180 Kilometers
BERING SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Attu
42 to Kiska on Yoku Maru
Sept. 14, 1942
Kiska
Late Sept. 1942
41 to Japan on Osada Maru
St. Paul
PRIBILOF ISLANDS
St. George
477 people
21 people in Navy Planes June 15, 1942
Dutch Harbor
Unalaska
62 people on USS Hulbert
June 12, 1942
Atka
Nikolski


WW II ALEUT RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT
First evacuation: St. Paul, St. George, Atka
Second evacuation: Nikolski, Chernofski, Akutan, Kashega, Biorka, and Makushin
Third evacuation: Unalaska
Attu Islanders captured by Japanese are taken to Japan for the duration of the war and were returned not to their village but to Atka.
First return: St. Paul and St. George
Second return: Nikolski, Chernofski, Akutan, Kashega, Biorka, Makushin, Unalaska and Atka
Villages and Camps
Cities and Towns
Miles
0 70 140 210 420
Kilometers
0 70 140 210 420
Projection NAD 1983 Albers
Base image from Circumpolar 30 Sec Shaded Relief
compiled by USGS EROS Data Center
National Park Service 2012
OCEAN
CANADA
ALASKA
Fairbanks
Anchorage
Kodiak
Juneau
Funter Bay
Killisnoo
Sitka
Wrangell
Burnett Inlet
Ward Lake
400+ people To Pribilof Islands on USAT William L. Thompson May 4-13 1944
560 people to Funter Bay on USAT Delarof June 17-24 1942
160 people to Wrangell Institute on SS Columbia July 6-13, 1942
111 people to Wrangell Institute on SS Alaska July 26 1942
350 people to Aleutians on USAT David W. Branch April 15-17, 1945
US Military returns Attu residents to Atka, via Unalaska on USAT David W. Branch December 12-19, 1945
GULF OF ALASKA

World War II Aleut Relocation Camps in Southeast Alaska
Charles M. Mobley

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In 1996 Congress designated the Aleutian World War II National Historic Area to interpret, educate, and inspire present and future generations about the history of the Unangan (Aleut) and the Aleutian Islands in the defense of the United States in World War II. In a unique arrangement, the Aleutian World War II National Historic Area and visitor center are owned and managed by the Ounalashka Corporation (the village corporation for Unalaska) and the National Park Service provides them with technical assistance. Through this cooperative partnership, the Unangax are the keepers of their history and invite the public to learn more about their past and present.

[FRONT COVER]

Two government-owned baidars, or traditional Aleut boats, were brought from the Pribilofs and used at Funter Bay. They were subsequently shared with Atkans at Killisnoo.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA 306-1093

[TITLE PAGE]

Pribilof villagers arrive at the Funter Bay cannery, June 24, 1942.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association Anatoly Lekanof, Jr. collection

[PAGES ii-iii]

Map of the Aleut relocation and resettlement. Width of arrows is proportional to the number of evacuees transported.

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Acknowledgments

Many people have graciously helped with this volume through their words, photographs, research assistance, and goodwill. Some individuals' contributions date to earlier cultural resource studies of Aleutian Island, Pribilof Island, and southeast Alaska places in the 1990s and 2000s – before the 2008-2011 research for this book. I'm grateful to all. Listed below, in alphabetical order without institutional affiliation, are people who have contributed in many different ways large and small. Some are now deceased. My intention is that this book honor the memory of those directly affected by the Aleut relocation to southeast Alaska during World War II.

The maps in color were prepared by Nicole Ferreira. Proofreading was done by Solyra Sepulveda. Graphic design and production of the volume was handled by Dawne Sherman.

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Charles M. Mobley obtained a Ph.D. in Anthropology with specialization in archaeology from Southern Methodist University in 1981, and has been conducting cultural resource investigations in Alaska for 33 years.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Aleuts are an Alaska Native people that historically inhabited a few small villages in the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands. During World War II the villagers were evacuated and interned at six locations in southeast Alaska, where they endured considerable hardship (the villagers of Attu Island were interned by the enemy in Japan, where they suffered even more hardship). The experience of the Aleut relocation during World War II has been told by Kirtland and Coffin (1981), Kohlhoff (1995), and others based on archival research and oral history. This volume focuses instead on the places, using archival material and oral history to supplement onsite observation and photography at each of the six relocation camp sites.

Alaska at War

On December 7, 1941, airplanes from Japanese Imperial Navy aircraft carriers attacked the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, forcing the nation into a war that would last almost four years and affect Alaska deeply. Alaska was still a territory administered by a federal governor, and its sparse population and vast spaces created challenges for military planners. Though Navy submarine and seaplane bases had been authorized at Sitka, Kodiak, and Unalaska in 1939 (Morison 1982:30-34), Alaska was poorly prepared to defend itself against Japanese attack.

On June 3 and 4, 1942, Japanese fighter planes and bombers attacked the U.S. Naval base at Dutch Harbor, on Unalaska Island in Alaska's Aleutian Island chain (Cloe 1991:109-135; Thompson 1987:29). The engagement coincided with an epic and decisive four-day naval air battle between U.S. and Japanese carrier-based planes near the U.S. naval base at Midway Island that resulted in the sinking of all four Japanese aircraft carriers and one U.S. aircraft carrier (Cloe 1991:140-143). Japanese Navy and Army troops on June 7 and 8 invaded the far Aleutian islands of Kiska – where the personnel of a U.S. Navy weather station were captured (Rearden 1986:18-20; Takahashi 1995:37), and Attu – whose Native villagers were detained and eventually sent to Japan for the remainder of the war (Figure 1). The seaplane tender *Casco* arrived at the Aleutian island of Atka on June 10 to service PBYs – the Navy's primary amphibious aircraft – assigned to strafe and bomb the growing Japanese positions (Cloe 1991:159). When a Japanese observation plane found the source of their torment, enemy planes bombed and strafed the hastily evacuated Native village at Atka (Oliver 1988:xvii-xviii), cratering the hillside (Mobley 2006:29-30). In one week Alaska was plunged into war.

Evacuation

The U.S. military knew that confronting the enemy in the Aleutians would risk civilian – particularly Native – lives, but the responsibilities for civil authority were not clear. Civilian evacuation had been discussed among various agencies for months (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:9-12). Villagers on St. Paul and St. George Islands in the Pribilof Islands were clearly the responsibility of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) as they had been for decades; the superintendents for the federal government's exclusive franchise to harvest pelts

ARCTIC
UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
BERING SEA
OKHOTSK SEA
ATTU
Sept 14, 1942
KISKA
1 week
ATKA
Dec 19, 1945
CHITOSE
AIRBASE
(Saporro)
Sept 20, 1945
OTARU
Sept 28, 1942-
Sept 17, 1945
MANCHURIA
SEA OF JAPAN
ATSUGI
AIRBASE
(Tokyo)
Sept 21, 1945
CHINA
KOREA
JAPAN
EAST CHINA
SEA
MIDWAY ISLANDS
OKINAWA
3 week stay
PACIFIC
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
MANILA
Oct 15-20, 1945
5 day stay
PHILIPPINE SEA
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
MALAY
STATES
SARAWAK
EAST INDIES
BORNEO
ATTU RESIDENTS' JOURNEY
DURING WW II
AFTER WW II

Figure 1.

Attu villagers were detained by enemy forces and sent to Japan for the duration of the war. After war's end, they were shipped roundabout to Alaska and were not allowed to return to their village. Some Attu villagers resettled at Atka village.

from the northern fur seals that birthed their pups on the islands' beaches wielded a very strong hand in the lives of the Pribilof Islanders – including whether they and their families were allowed to stay on the islands. Federal exposure to other Aleut villages was largely through the territorial school system – hardly the authority to demand that villagers leave their homes. By May of 1942, however, military opinion publicly favored the idea that civilians were to be evacuated if the Japanese threatened Alaska.

I was born on Agattu Island on December 19, 1935....When Japanese came [to Attu], we went to church in the morning, and after that was nice calm day. No wind. We can hear all kinds of noise in next bay. Engines. And then maybe three, four young teenagers went up the hill to take a look and see what was going on. We were waiting for them to come back down, and then a plane flew over, real low. It was a Japanese plane. Me, I didn't know it was Japanese or not, but it was very low. I could see his face when he went by. I was on my way down to the beach because I liked the ocean water all of the time....On the way down, this one person, Alec Prossoff – I followed him down to the beach, and he walked the beach towards the church and by this time we got closer to the church we hear some noises. Different language spoken. We got by the church and we heard some shooting and we started running. Alec was running so I thought he was trying to get away from me so I ran after him....He was running to the house, and while we're running I could see mud flying in front of me. They were shooting at Alec but the bullets needed only one more feet to reach Alec but they didn't. I could see mud popping up in front of me. I stop and look and then when Alec stopped he looked right where bullets were coming from and he started running again. So I kept running after him until he got to house and went under the house....Early in the morning an American plane goes by, early, early in the morning, and then I hear a lot of shooting. It happened a couple times....He comes in on the water and comes up and go over. I think he was taking pictures. And then I can hear a lot of shooting and Japanese running all over the place. When I look out my window one morning a Japanese – I don't know where he was sleeping, but – he didn't have no pants on! He was running for his foxhole. I remember he had a hole back of my house there. I saw him jump in there....And then the Japanese left Attu and they took us with them…in the cargo hold.

Nick L. Golodoff, talking with Charles M. Mobley at Atka, April 17, 2005, University of Alaska H2005-05

Ultimately the decision to evacuate Aleut villages was forced amid chaotic circumstances. By June 12 of 1942 the enemy had twice attacked U.S. bases at Dutch Harbor by air, they were building naval and air bases on Kiska and Attu Islands in the Aleutian chain, they'd captured a U.S. Navy weather station team at Kiska and detained the villagers of Attu, and they'd just menaced the Native village of Atka. The Navy seaplane tenders USS *Gillis* and USS *Hulbert* were in Nazan Bay off Atka on the evening of June 12 when they received orders issued by Commanding General Simon B. Buckner to remove the villagers and burn the village. The U.S. military viewed the buildings as a potential asset to the enemy's advance. The orders were carried out almost immediately, while villagers were mostly scattered at distant fish camps for safety from Japanese air attack, so that when the Natives reassembled they had

almost no personal possessions (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:12-13). They were shortly removed to the village of Nikolski by the U.S. Army vessel (USS) *Hulbert*.

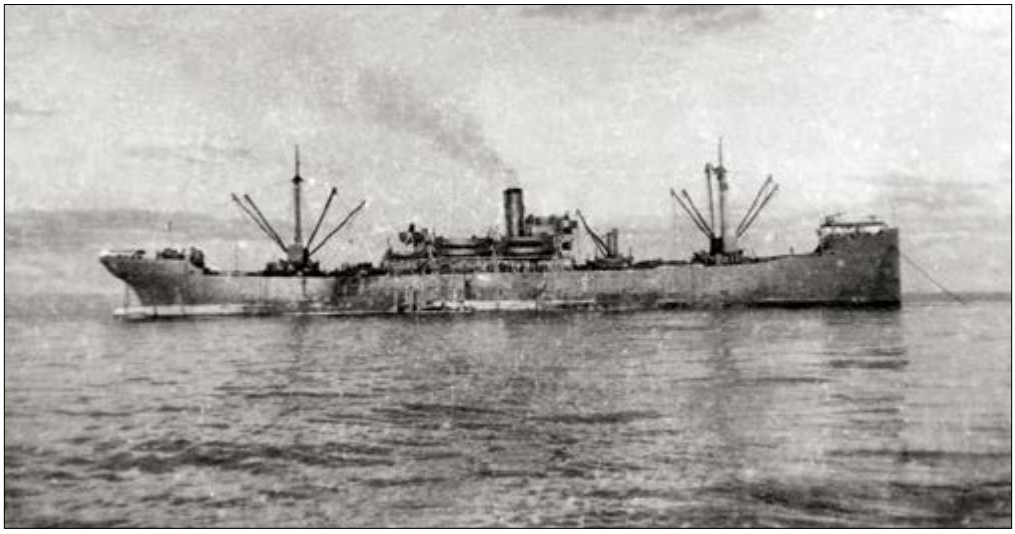


Figure 2.
The U.S. Army Transport (USAT) Delarof, here anchored off the Pribilof Islands in May of 1943, carried St. George, St. Paul, and Atka villagers to Admiralty Island in southeast Alaska.

Alaska State Library Evan Hill collection PCA343-468

At St. Paul on the morning of June 14, 1942, the USFWS agent dutifully logged three aircraft sightings, the arrival of a small U.S. Navy boat, and the brief visit of the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Onandaga*. Later that day orders were received "to evacuate the entire population of St. Paul Island," and on June 15 the *Delarof* arrived to execute that mission (Figures 2-3). On June 16 the vessel left the Pribilof Islands with the communities of St. George and St. Paul, along with one suitcase per person, the destination being…unknown (Figure 4). Fearing his logbook could aid the enemy if it fell into the wrong hands, the USFWS agent began writing his daily entries in shorthand as the exodus through the war zone began.

The *Delarof* stopped briefly at Unalaska to take on the residents of Atka, who had been forwarded there from Nikolski. Before the ship was midway through its voyage, an agreement was reached with the owner of a cannery in southeast Alaska to house the St. George and St. Paul Natives there. On June 24, 1942, the villagers of St. Paul and St. George disembarked at Admiralty Island's Funter Bay, where they were to spend most of World War II. After the hold was cleared of the Pribilof villagers and their baggage, the *Delarof* departed Funter Bay that same day and motored south along the west side of Admiralty Island to the derelict herring plant at Killisnoo, near the Tlingit village of Angoon. There they left the Natives from Atka.

The remaining Aleut villages were evacuated in a more orderly fashion, after military orders were received at the Dutch Harbor naval base to do so on June 29. The villagers of Nikolski, Akutan, Kashega, Biorka, and Makushin, totaling 160 Aleuts, were transported to the Wrangell Institute in southeast Alaska by the Alaska Steamship Company's SS *Columbia* and disembarked on July 13, 1942 (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:33-34). Aleut residents at Unalaska boarded the Alaska Steamship Company's SS *Alaska* and arrived at the Wrangell Institute on July 26, 1942. In late August the smaller village communities were forwarded to the Ward

Lake CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps) camp north of Ketchikan, while the Unalaskans were sent to the Burnett Inlet cannery about 40 miles southwest of Wrangell (Figure 4). The Wrangell Institute resumed its normal school function, and the Aleuts settled into their makeshift quarters at five sites scattered across southeast Alaska.

In 1942, I was age 17 years old...after the church I went out to visit. One gunshot was shot. I took my baby and went out. The one shot started and then all of the shooting. It surrounded the village. One girl, a lady sat beside me and I was holding my child. The lady's leg was shot. The bullet did not touch me, it just tore my clothes and they [Japanese military] took all of the people to the school ground and took the American flag down and burned it up and they put the other flag up.

Parascovia Wright, Attu, in 1981 testimony

Atka was bombed. There are bomb holes still there existing there from the war. There is one right behind my house. Five places were bombed at Atka.

George Kudrin, Atka, in 1981 testimony

I was only eight years old when they bombed Atka. We were in camp. When everybody left, we did not know – about five or six families were left behind. After two or three days, we seen five Japanese planes bomb Atka. After two days, I think, two American planes came to get us. We were the first ones to get to Dutch Harbor.

Vera Snigaroff, Atka, in 1981 testimony

They said we got to Dutch Harbor just in time, that the Jap submarine was following the transport [USAT Delarof]. We got there just in time and closed the [antisubmarine] gates.

Martha Krukoff, St. Paul, in 1981 testimony

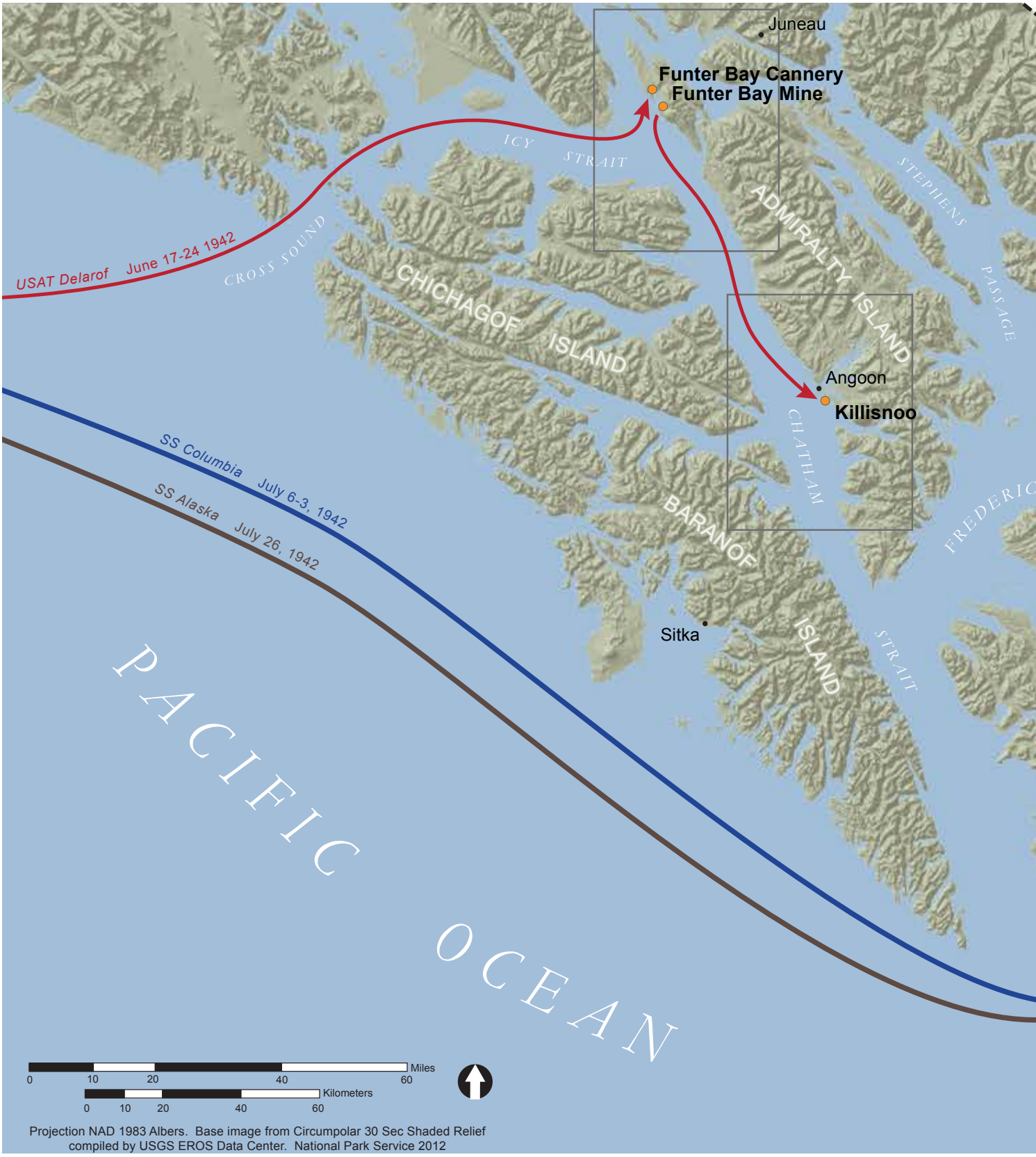
Southeast Alaska and the Internment

Southeast Alaska in mid-1942 was a committed participant in Alaska's war preparations. The Coast Guard station at Ketchikan was turned over to the Navy and became a busy base for ships going between the ports of California and Washington to Army or Navy bases at Sitka, Seward, Whittier, Kodiak, Dutch Harbor, and beyond (Mobley 1995:14-21; Leahy 1995:127). Alaska's 60-year old fishing industry was in a slump in the 1930s, but canned food was needed for the war effort, so commercial salmon fishing continued (King 1995:212). Similarly, commercial logging in southeast Alaska, which had primarily supported regional sawmills and local construction, saw a slowdown due to shifting priorities and labor shortages, with a new interest in select Sitka spruce for manufacture of military aircraft (Rakestraw 1981; Sisk 2007:4). Mining, which had contributed considerably to the economy of southeast Alaska in the five decades before the war, was curtailed by decree of the federal government as an unnecessary wartime endeavor (Leshy 2002:26). The local citizenry was keenly aware of Alaska's wartime status and experienced the effort through many restrictions on daily life (especially in 1942 and 1943 when Aleutian combat was ongoing). Outgoing mail was

censored, evening activities were hidden behind dark curtains as blackouts were enforced, possession of a camera near military installations was prohibited, fuel and other goods were rationed, fishing boats were requisitioned for Navy use, and men were encouraged to register for military service.

Figure 3.
Pribilof villagers, here lining the railing of the USAT Delarof on the day of their departure (June 15, 1942), were evacuated with only a few hours notice and no idea of their ultimate destination.
National Archives 80 - G206194

Against this backdrop, with the front pages of Juneau, Wrangell, Sitka, and Ketchikan newspapers reporting news of fighting in the Aleutians as well as the ongoing war in Europe, the arrival of Aleut refugees warranted short mention. The five-week Aleut encampment at Wrangell Institute was newsworthy in Wrangell at the time, and the villagers at the Ward Lake CCC camp near Ketchikan were written about regularly in the local newspaper after sanitation and other issues came to the attention of city officials. In contrast, the camps at Burnett Inlet, Killisnoo, and Funter Bay were more removed from the scrutiny of southeast Alaska's hometown journalists. While Aleuts struggled to survive in their new quarters (some adjusting by moving and assimilating into the existing workforce), the men and women of southeast Alaska were already absorbed in their own wartime experience and saw the new arrivals as just one of many wartime changes. Though an entire indigenous Alaska culture was uprooted from its ancestral home and relocated for three years in a foreign environment, the event left little impression on most local residents, and it took 25 years for history to take note of the villagers' sacrifice (Kirtland and Coffin 1981). The places that Aleuts spent those three years had a long history before the war, and after the war their role in the evacuation was little recognized. According to Karey Cooperrider, a Funter Bay resident since the early 1970s, the local cannery's and mine's roles in the Aleut's WW II experience were not common knowledge in the community until Aleuts began visiting in the 1990s to care for the cemetery.


Juneau
Funter Bay Cannery
Funter Bay Mine
ICY STRAIT
STEPHENS PASSAGE
ADMIRALTY ISLAND
CROSS SOUND
USAT Delarof June 17-24 1942
CHICHAGOF ISLAND
Angoon
Killisnoo
CHATHAM
SS Columbia July 6-3, 1942
SS Alaska July 26, 1942
BARANOF ISLAND
FREDERIC
Sitka
STRAIT
PACIFIC OCEAN
Miles
0 10 20 40 60
Kilometers
0 10 20 40 60
Projection NAD 1983 Albers. Base image from Circumpolar 30 Sec Shaded Relief
compiled by USGS EROS Data Center. National Park Service 2012

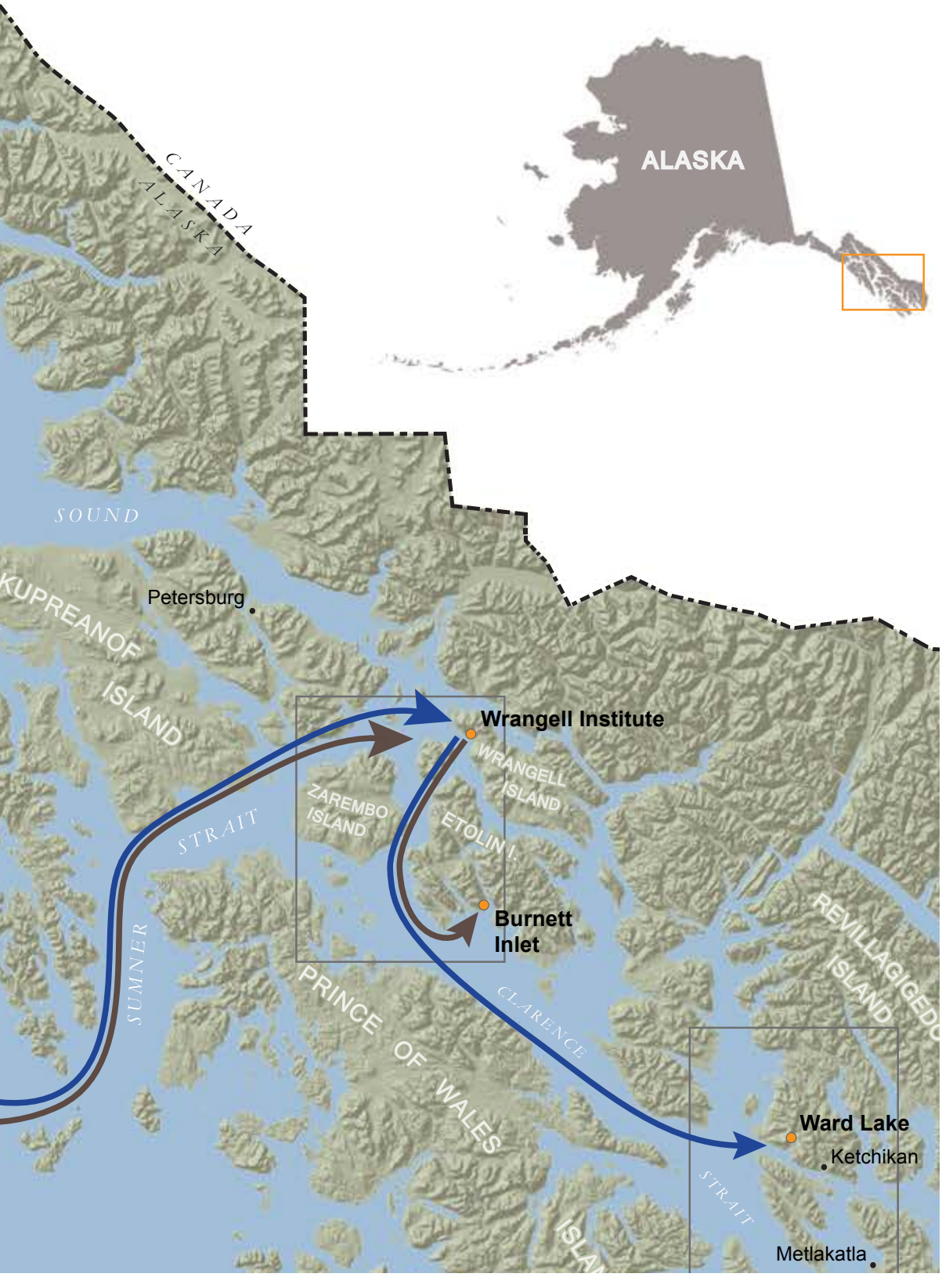


Figure 4.
Aleuts were evacuated by village and sent to relocation camps in southeast Alaska. Pribilof Islanders went to Funter Bay – St. Paul to a defunct cannery, and St. George to an unused gold mine. Villagers from Atka were housed at the derelict herring factory at Killisnoo, on Admiralty Island south of Funter Bay near the Tlingit village of Angoon. The remaining Aleut communities were temporarily housed in tents at the Wrangell Institute; subsequently Unalaskans were moved into an old burned cannery at Burnett Inlet while people from the smaller villagers were housed at the former CCC camp at Ward Lake, near Ketchikan.

Current Investigation

This volume is the product of a cooperative agreement (H9922030015) between the National Park Service (NPS) and Aleutian Pribilof Heritage Group (APHG). NPS provided technical guidance to APHG, who in turn contracted Charles M. Mobley & Associates to conduct the investigation. Jake Lestenkof was the APHG contact, while Bruce Greenwood, Janis Kozlowski, and Becky Saleeby administered the project for NPS. The research involved archival research, oral history, and field reconnaissance to assemble use histories for each of the six Aleut internment sites, and in particular to document their current integrity and potential significance collectively as a National Historic Landmark (NHL). The focus was on each site's entire history, though the Aleut internment is the theme that binds the six properties. Currently the people of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands refer to themselves using the traditional name "Unangan;" this volume uses the term Aleut in keeping with the historical context.

INDIANS HAVE BEEN EVACUATED FROM FAR NORTH

Five hundred and thirty-five Aleut Indians have arrived safely in southeast Alaska from the Pribilof Islands and Atka, it has been learned in Juneau from reliable sources. They were transported in eight days time from the western war area of the Territory and arrived in the Chatham Straits district without possessions excepting the clothing they wore.

The 450 natives evacuated from the Pribilofs are to be quartered at an unused cannery building at Funter Bay. There are empty houses and a dormitory for men at this locality. Eighty-five Atka people have taken living quarters at an abandoned saltery at Killisnoo.

The Alaska Press (Juneau), Friday, June 26, 1942, p. 8

The field reconnaissance involved brief visits to each of the six sites. Archaeologists Becky Saleeby and Charles M. Mobley spent a whirlwind six days traveling from Anchorage to southeast Alaska and on to five individual sites, logging six jet flights and six small plane flights in the process. The trip began on July 7, 2008, with a flight from Anchorage to Juneau, then another from Juneau to Angoon, with lodging in Angoon that night. The two were onsite at Killisnoo that evening and the next day, and conducted two taped interviews before returning to Juneau on the evening of July 8. On July 9 Mobley and Saleeby flew to Wrangell, visited the archives of the Wrangell Museum, photographed the site of the Wrangell Institute, and conducted one taped interview. The following day local historian Patricia Roppel accompanied the team on a flight to the west side of Etolin Island to investigate the cannery site at Burnett Inlet (Figure 5), then the two archaeologists returned to Juneau that night. On July 11 Mobley and Saleeby flew from Juneau to Funter Bay, where they stayed two days. While at Funter Bay they visited the cannery in the company of lodge-owners Joe Giefer and Karey Cooperrider (Figure 6), visited the mine in the company of long-time caretaker Sam Pekovich, and collected oral history information. That fieldwork was completed upon returning to Anchorage the evening of July 12. The Ward Lake CCC camp site was not documented until three years later, in 2011, by a team consisting of Charles M. Mobley and NPS anthropologist Rachel Mason. Mobley and Mason flew to Ketchikan on May 3,

photographed the Ward Lake property and conducted one interview the following day, and Mobley returned to Anchorage on May 5.

> *For myself, I did not take anything except I took apart my five horse Johnson and put every part I can into one suitcase, except for the bracket and shaft was tied out on the outside of a suitcase as I would make more use out of my motor than clothing.*
>
> **Father Michael Lestenkof, St. Paul priest, in 1981 testimony**

Methods used in field observation were organic to the work at hand. Given the brief exposure to each property, photography was paramount in obtaining the most information about site integrity in a short amount of time. Saleeby and Mobley each kept notebooks and independently photographed site features. Measurements in the field and in this volume are in English units, since that system was used by the site inhabitants. Existing plans for some sites were annotated in the field, and several sketch maps were drawn. Extremely helpful were photocopies of archival photographs that were taken into the field. GPS coordinates were noted for selected features. At the Wrangell Institute time was so short that the taxi was kept waiting during the reconnaissance.

A comprehensive oral history of the WW II Aleut internment experience was beyond the scope of this effort. Notes were taken on conversations, and four interviews pertaining to specific site histories were audiotaped. Each contributor signed a release form so that the original audiotape could be filed for public use at the University of Alaska's oral history archives at Rasmuson Library in Fairbanks. At Angoon an interview was recorded with elder Frank Sharp discussing Killisnoo and Angoon history (H2008-17). Also recorded was an interview with Richard Powers (H2008-16), the host and owner of Whaler's Cove Lodge – the commercial facility that now occupies half of the Killisnoo site. In Wrangell an interview (H2008-18) was recorded with Richard and Wilma Stokes, who both witnessed the Aleut's Wrangell Institute experience during World War II. At Funter Bay residents Joe Giefer and Karey Cooperrider were recorded discussing the recent history of Funter Bay (H2008-19). These taped interviews were augmented with notes made during conversations with others, such as Andrew Pekovich and his brother Sam Pekovich (Figure 7), who guided Mobley and Saleeby around the remains of the Funter Bay mine that has been in their family for over 75 years. Notes were also made on several conversations with Killisnoo owner Tom Aubertine. Other oral history material – some published and some collected by Charles M. Mobley in decades past – has been consulted to help round-out the presentation for the six sites. Particularly useful are the transcripts of oral testimony made by camp survivors before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in 1981.

As with oral history, a comprehensive archival investigation into the WW II Aleut internment experience was beyond the scope of this investigation. Archival information was sought on the evolution of each site, from its origins as – for example – a cannery, to its current land use. Old photographs were selected from collections at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art, Alaska State Library, University of Alaska-Fairbanks, University of Alaska-Anchorage, the

Wrangell Museum, the Ketchikan Museum, the National Archives Alaska Pacific Region in Anchorage, and the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association in Anchorage.

Figure 5.
Local historian Patricia Roppel joined NPS archaeologist Becky Saleeby and Charles M. Mobley to document the Burnett Inlet cannery.

The goal of the project was to describe the six World War II Aleut relocation camps in southeast Alaska, review their historical significance as a group, and evaluate whether they have enough physical integrity to be nominated together as a National Historic Landmark

(NHL). A related project involving NPS support focuses on village sites (Kashega, Makushin, Biorka) to which villagers were not allowed to return after the war (Mason 2011). A third related volume being prepared with NPS assistance is "Attu Boy" – a memoir by Attu-born Nick Golodoff.

Figure 6.
Long-time Funter Bay residents Joe Giefer and Karey Cooperrider (left) were interviewed by Charles M. Mobley (right) about recent Funter Bay cannery history.

Previous Investigations

The six southeast Alaska properties figuring in the history of the Aleut World War II internment are the Funter Bay cannery, Funter Bay mine, Killisnoo herring reduction plant, Wrangell Institute, Burnett Inlet cannery, and Ward Lake CCC camp. All but the Wrangell Institute have been subjected to prior cultural resource investigation. Most have had an Alaska Heritage Resource Survey (AHRS) number assigned to them in the statewide inventory maintained by the Alaska Office of History and Archaeology.

A group of Pribilof Islanders and other citizens in 2001 nominated the Funter Bay cannery and mine to the National Register of Historic Places as an historic district (Zacharof 2002). Early the following year the Alaska Historical Commission determined the two properties historically significant at the national level through their association with the themes of military and government, as well as intellectual and social institutions, with a period of significance of 1942-1944. In a May 8, 2002, letter to the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places, the Alaska State Historic Preservation Officer or SHPO (Judith Bittner) summarized the Historical Commission's determination that "the Pribilof Aleut Internment Historic District is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under criterion A, with special criteria consideration D adequately addressed," meaning that the two sites are "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1991:37), and that the usual policy of excluding cemeteries from National Register designation was considered. Objections to the National Register listing were received from local property owners Sam Pekovich and Delbert Carnes, and the two properties have not yet been entered into the National Register of Historic

Places. Pribilof community members visited Funter Bay in 1999 and 2000 to maintain the cemetery and help elders obtain closure on that part of their lives, and some fieldwork was done then to prepare the National Register nomination. Much of the research for the nomination consisted of oral history interviews, so the nomination form itself is a primary document (Zacharof 2002).

Figure 7.
Funter Bay mine caretaker Sam Pekovich (right), here talking with Joe Giefer and Becky Saleeby, guided the 2008 investigation at the site and contributed oral history information.

Killisnoo was the subject of archival and oral history investigation in an anthropological study of Angoon by Frederica de Laguna (1960:168-175). In 1972 U.S. Forest Service (USFS), prepared a National Register nomination form for Killisnoo, but no determination of eligibility was made. Sealaska Corporation (1975:604-605) briefly described the property as part of the cemetery and village site survey used to select land under Section 14(h)(1) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971. Small USFS-sponsored cultural resource surveys have found prehistoric remains elsewhere along the shores of Killisnoo Harbor (Fields and Davidson 1979; Moss 1981). None of these studies resulted in a comprehensive cultural resource characterization or site plan for Killisnoo.

Despite the Wrangell Institute's history as one of Alaska's premier Native boarding schools for over 40 years, the site has never received any cultural resource attention.

USFS archaeologist David Plaskett briefly recorded the Burnett Inlet cannery on Etolin Island in 1977. Between 1999 and 2003 USFS archaeologists visited the site three times and prepared a site map (Smith 2003).

The Ward Lake vicinity north of Ketchikan is on land managed by the USFS and has been subjected to over a dozen small cultural resource investigations by agency archaeologists John Autrey and Ralph Lively in the 1980s and 1990s. Projects involving the Ward Lake CCC camp area used for Aleut housing during World War II have been summarized by Stanford (2006).

> *Nobody ever talked about it [Aleut relocation to Funter Bay]. We owned this property for several years [early 1970s] before we even knew there was a cemetery behind Harold and Mary's [Hargrave] house. So no, it was not talked about at all.*
>
> **Karey Cooperrider**

Organization of this Volume

Following this Introduction is a chapter for each of the six southeast Alaska sites occupied by Aleut communities during World War II. Each chapter is structured similarly and examines the history of the particular property from its known origins through 2008 (2011 in the case of Ward Lake). Of particular interest are the sites' circumstances during the WW II Aleut internment, but each site is also characterized according to its pre-war and post-war history. Anecdotes relevant to the research are included along with text and illustrations to convey the setting as well as the experience. The intent was to use existing archival, oral history, and onsite information, add more of one or the other as needed, and arrive at balanced characterizations of each of the six Aleut relocation sites. The Funter Bay cannery is the first site described and has an expanded context for the World War II period that largely applies to the other site chapters as well. A final chapter summarizes the findings and evaluates the properties' significance and physical integrity with respect to National Historic Landmark eligibility. The volume concludes with an Afterword and Bibliography.

Chapter 2: Funter Bay Cannery

Figure 8.
By 2008 the forest had reclaimed most of the Funter Bay cannery site. Here looking northwest are the public floats and several dwellings. From left to right are: a small part of the roof to the watchman's cabin, a private dwelling (in the clearing) where the power house once stood, a cabin at the former mess hall location, and a cabin where the China house used to be. At far right is the edge of former cannery caretaker Harold Hargrave's home.

The villagers of St. Paul spent most of World War II at the Thlinket Packing Company cannery at Funter Bay. The cannery site is on a small peninsula projecting southwest into Funter Bay, on the Mansfield Peninsula at the northwest end of Admiralty Island (Figures 8-9). The land consists of rolling moraine deposits from sea level up to an elevation of almost 500', punctuated by sheer rock cliffs occurring from sea level up to the Peninsula's highest point – Robert Barron Peak at 3475' (Orth 1967:808). The mountain's peak and upper slopes are above treeline; a thick forest of spruce and hemlock carpets the landscape below to the water's edge (Figure 8).

Early Years

The Mansfield Peninsula is within the traditional territory of the Wuckitan clan of the Auk Tlingit (Goldschmidt et al. 1998:37-44), and Funter Bay had probably long been favored for seasonal fishing (Figure 10). In 1899 Portland banker James T. Barron organized the Thlinket Packing Company (Gaston 1911:88-89) and applied for 11.75 coastal acres on the northwest end of Admiralty Island as a mining claim – the Irvington Lode. Mr. Barron was the father of Robert Barron, for whom the Peninsula's highest point is named (Orth 1967:808). It's unlikely that the elder Barron had any intention of mining the claim; he completed the initial $1000 worth of assessment work by excavating a 20'x40' hole six feet deep along the shore at what would become a warehouse site, and by digging a 2' x 2' "water flume" from a small creek to a point beside the machine shop that would become the cannery's powerhouse. The land was

patented as U.S. Mineral Survey 560 (Hill 1901), and Barron had a cannery built at Funter Bay and was packing fish by 1902 (Cobb 1922:44). That same year a U.S. Post Office was established at the cannery (Orth 1967:357). A warehouse was built in 1906, and during the following year the cannery building was expanded to hold additional machinery (Figure 11), so that by 1907 the facility had the capacity to pack 2,500 cases of pink salmon a year under

Figure 9.

Map of the Funter Bay locality on the Mansfield Peninsula of Admiralty Island. See Figure 4 to orient map location in southeast Alaska.

labels such as “Buster,” “Sea Rose,” “Autumn,” “Peasant,” “Thlinket,” “Tepee,” and “Arctic

Belle" (Pacific Fisherman 1907:21). All of the cannery's fish came from five large commercial fish traps, and the work force consisted of Native, Chinese, Japanese, and EuroAmerican laborers (Kutchin 1906:22).

In 1926 the Funter Bay cannery was sold to the Alaska Pacific Salmon Corporation, which continued packing fish until 1930 or 1931 (Bower 1941:134; MacDonald 1949:32). A fire on May 31, 1929, destroyed "the Oriental bunkhouses and a number of Indian cottages" (Pacific Fisherman 1930:64-65). This was a boom time for Alaska's fisheries (Cooley 1963:84, 102), particularly in southeast Alaska, and Chatham Strait had major facilities canning, salting, or rendering bottom fish, salmon, herring, and whale (Mobley 1994:30-31; 1999:8-18). During the 1930 season the Funter Bay cannery operated with two stationary and 19 floating fish traps (Bower 1931:44). Nonetheless, in 1931 the cannery was closed for what turned out to be forever, due to a water shortage (Colby 1941:149). In 1941 the property was sold to the P.E. Harris Company – a well-known Alaska fish processor from 1912 until 1950 and the predecessor of Peter Pan Seafoods (MacDonald 1949:32).

A map made in August of 1942 two months after the Pribilof villagers arrived shows the cannery buildings labeled with their new emergency functions (Figure 12), while a 1962 plat for adjacent Alaska Tidelands Survey 147 plots most of those same pre-war buildings (as well as Quonset huts and small cabins built for the Aleut internment) with their original building titles from the pre-war cannery days (see Figure 25). So each map has functional building labels more appropriate for the other. The industrial buildings were clustered tightly near the south corner of the lot, where a rock promontory juts into deep water and allowed construction of a wharf to serve deep-draft cargo vessels (Figure 13). The wharf connected the fronts of three long buildings extending out from shore – two large warehouses on the east and an

Figure 10.
Local Tlingit Indians still spent time at Funter Bay into the 1900s, years after the cannery was established. Note flagpole, sawn plank cabins, and traditional dugout canoes in this 1916 view.

Alaska State Library C.L. Andrews collection PCA45-124

even larger 80'-wide cannery building on the west. All three buildings were on pilings and most of their length was over the intertidal zone. A 1907 photograph shows a sign on the gable of the left warehouse reading "THE PACKING CO."

Figure 11.

By early August of 1907 the Thlinket Packing Company at Funter Bay was processing its sixth annual pack of pink salmon.

Alaska State Library Case & Draper collection PCA39-1002

Attached behind the central warehouse was a machine shop, and across a decked platform behind the cannery was the boiler room, or power house (Figure 14). The power house's west end protruded past the industrial complex, extending the power train to serve a winch for the marine railway at the intertidal zone. The building was oriented so that overhead belts could transfer power to the cannery in one axis and an overhead shaft could transfer power to the machine shop in the other axis. Two small rectangles on the north side of the power house (labeled TANKS on the plat – see Figure 25) were secondary fuel tanks probably served by the larger wood-stave fuel tank at the property's far south point. The last building of the industrial cluster was divided into a parts room serving the whole complex, and a commissary, or store.

The store opened onto the cannery's main boardwalk and – together with the mess hall and ramp down to the floats – served the citizens of greater Funter Bay as its social center. Archival photographs allow reconstruction of the layout. The mess hall was a two-story 40'x50' building almost completely encircled by the boardwalk, and was the first building encountered when walking up from the floats where smaller boats docked. At the south end of the west wall was the entrance to the dining room, below a sign reading "CANTEEN." In the southeast corner of the building was a partitioned room entered through an exterior door below a sign reading "FUNTER POST OFFICE." During the war a small cabin connected to the boardwalk

Funter Bay...is the best and most convenient anchorage in its vicinity. The bay is 2 miles long in a north-northeasterly direction and 3/4 mile wide at the entrance, expanding slightly inside. There is a small stamp mill on the southeast side of the bay, and some mining development has been done. A cannery and wharf are on the northwest side of the bay; this is the post office of Funter, and it has regular communication with Juneau.

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey (1917:187)

by the mess hall was used as the USFWS office (Figure 15), contributing to the social importance of the building cluster. The next nearest building to the mess hall was the tool headquarters, or carpenter shop, located centrally to serve the entire cannery complex (Figure 16) and still standing in 2008.

Lodging at the cannery during its later years of operation was of several types (as mentioned the Quonset huts and two rows of small houses plotted north of the property line on the 1962 survey are of later wartime construction). The old surveys show some of the building locations, and the archival photographs show some of their architectural details (Figure 17). The superintendent's house was a composite building at the west end of the main cannery boardwalk consisting of a central one-story block with a shed-roofed dormer, attached at the southwest corner to a cross-gabled two-story block, and attached at the northeast corner to another one-story wing. Scaled from the survey, the building enclosed 2,220 square feet of space excluding two porches. Near the superintendent's house was the watchman's house – a small one-story home with one north-facing gable-roofed dormer over the entry and another over a window. North of the main boardwalk and connected by a perpendicular boardwalk was a narrow bunkhouse or "Guest House" sharing a porch with a larger frame cabin (used during the war by Father Baranof as his residence). On the shore northeast of the mess hall was a two-story bunkhouse half on shore and half on pilings over the intertidal zone. Deep in the forest to the north was a small "old watchman's cabin," and 200' to the east was a smaller log cabin. Set off from other buildings almost 200' to the north were two large two-story bunkhouses, each about 24' wide and 96' long, one labeled "Filipino House" (Figure 18) and the other "China House." Since the cannery's "Oriental bunkhouses" reportedly burned in 1929, the Filipino and China houses mapped in 1942 may have been built immediately that year or the year after to replace the lost housing, because 1930 was the last year of operation. A boardwalk extending along the top of the low coastal bluff northeast of the China House went past a cabin and then a group of three "Native Cabins." West of the cannery a boardwalk led to a group of five small cabins overlooking Coot Cove, off the cannery lot on USFS property.

Systems serving the cannery complex consisted of water, sanitation, electricity, and the boardwalk. A small creek to the north (near the Aleut cemetery) was dammed with a simple timber crib, from which water was sent via a 4" steel pipe to a large wood-stave tank located between and upslope from the two large bunkhouses. From there at least one smaller line likely ran along the boardwalk to the industrial complex, with spigots along the way. Whether any of the original buildings had independent sewer/septic systems is unknown, but at least three outdoor privies were built out over the intertidal zone. One was attached to a storage

shed immediately north of the mess hall, another served the Filipino and China Houses (Figure 19), and a third was located at the far end of the boardwalk past the three Native Cabins. Electricity to individual buildings including dwellings was sent through wires strung on poles, using glass insulators near the tops. Connecting the cannery buildings was a web of plank boardwalks in at least two widths.

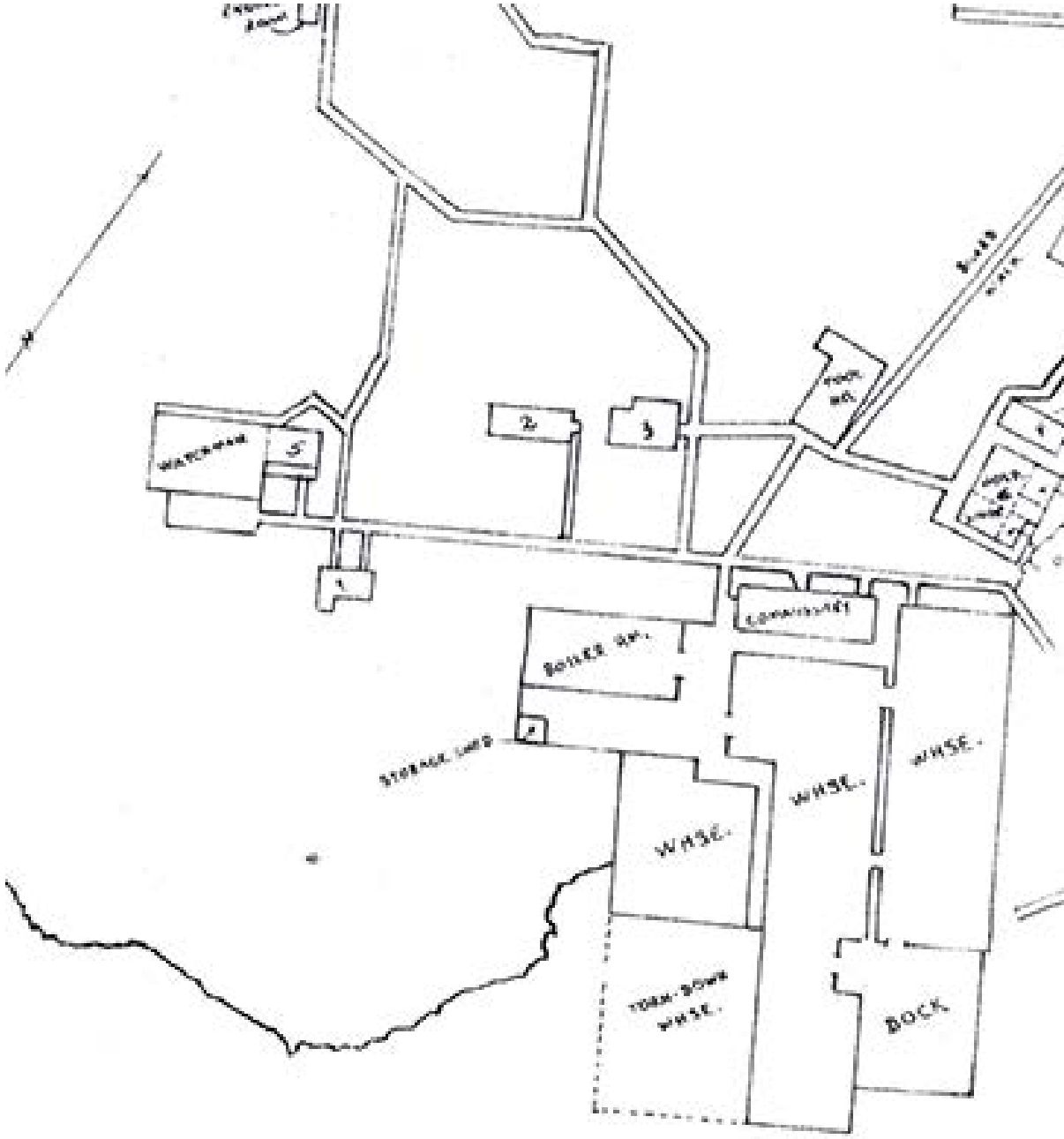
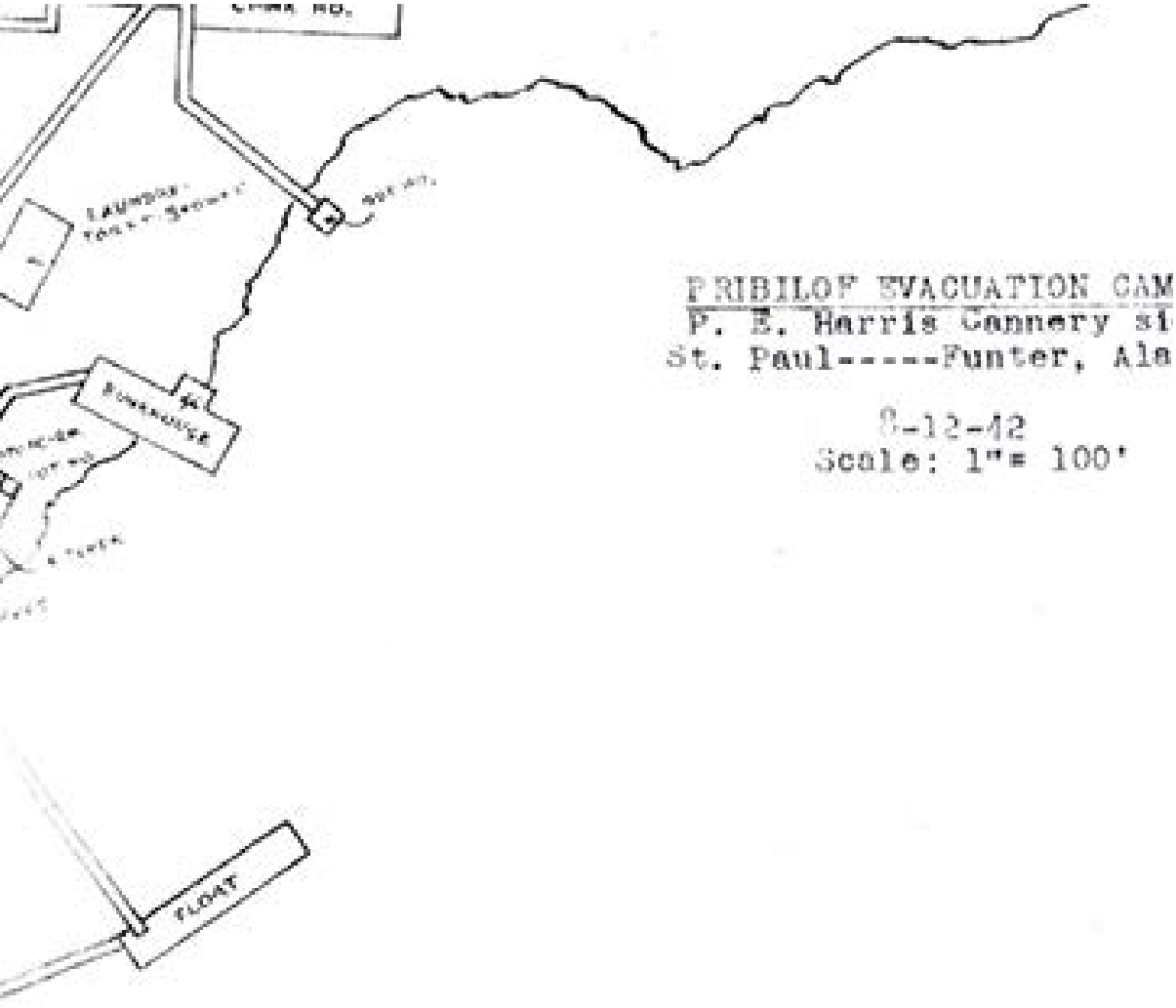


Figure 12.

A plan of the Funter Bay cannery made in August of 1942 shows the original cannery buildings plus tent locations added for St. Paul villagers.

National Archives document from Zacharof (2002)

After the 1931 closing the owners retained an onsite caretaker who still served as storekeeper and postmaster. A current landowner suggested that a fox-farming or more likely mink-farming operation may have been initiated around that time because of the amount of chickenwire discernible in the early 1990s. But that activity has not been confirmed (since the property was patented land no USFS Special Use Permit would have been needed for a fur-farm, so no archival USFS documentation would necessarily be expected). Chickenwire was a common item at most canneries because it was used for webbing in commercial fish traps. Another



explanation for chickenwire features at the Funter cannery is that the caretaker in the 1950s was said to have kept rabbits at the site in chickenwire enclosures.

Figure 13.

A 1907 view shows the Funter Bay cannery as it began its peak production years.

Alaska State Library William Norton collection PCA226-411

Figure 14.

The power house (center, looking southeast) held oil-fired boilers that provided steam for the retorts and ran the system of overhead axles, pulleys, and belts that operated the cannery's many machines.

Alaska State Library William Norton collection PCA226-412

World War II

When the U.S. entered the war in 1942 the cannery at Funter Bay had not packed fish for over a decade, and the surrounding population attributed to "Funter" was down to about 14 (Colby

1941:149). P.E. Harris Company – the new owner – kept on the company payroll only a caretaker – Harold Hargrave – who lived onsite with his wife and operated the store and post office. Hargrave's first year on the job was 1941 (The Juneau Empire 1999) and by that time many buildings had fallen into disrepair. The fish packing company was quick to recognize the opportunity for monthly income and had a lease prepared with "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, hereinafter called the Government," at a rate of $60 per month, on June 16. The deal was barely struck by the time the Aleuts were underway.

Figure 15.

Federal authority over the Funter camps was administered from a small frame office building prominently located between the cannery's store (at the photographer's back in this wartime image) and mess hall (at center).

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, Al Cox and Pat Pletnikoff collection

Figure 16.

Here looking east are the mess hall at right, carpenter shop left of center, and a frame cabin at left. Second-growth trees and absence of the "USFWS Office" (Figure 15) date the view to just before 1942.

Alaska State Library Vincent Soboleff collection PCA 01-3844

On June 24, 1942, after a journey of more than a week, the *Delarof* docked at the cannery and disembarked the entire Native population of St. George and St. Paul villages. Bedding and food from the ship's stores were discharged along with the villagers' meager baggage. Two baidars – large (36') traditional frame boats – had been brought as deck cargo for use at Funter Bay (Figure 20). The two USFWS employees (St. George agent Daniel C.R. Benson and acting St. Paul agent Carl M. Hoverson) and their wives, and the two school teachers from St. Paul – Mr. and Mrs. Helbaum – and their two children, stayed at Funter Bay with the villagers. Other federal employees and their wives, including the two physicians – Drs. Grover and Berenberg – stayed on the *Delarof* as it cast off that same day and continued to Seattle by way of Killisnoo.

The Aleut Experience at Funter Bay

Figure 17.
The superintendent's house, here viewed towards the southwest from an upstairs west window of the China House across a sea of laundry during St. Paul villagers' time there, is half hidden by trees in the background right of center.

University of Alaska-Fairbanks
Fredericka Martin collection
91.223.272

The day after they landed at the cannery, villagers from St. George were shifted to the mine site one mile away. Thereafter, the two Pribilof communities shared the Funter Bay experience from their two respective camps, while the cannery – having the post office, store, and larger dock – continued as the local social center (Figure 21). The St. Paul USFWS agent's log entry for June 27 to August 2, 1942, describes the basic tasks that all the Aleut evacuee's faced in making their wartime homes livable: "Entire gang during this period kept busy in

constructing bunks, making beds from chicken wire, repairing walks to facilitate traffic, installing electric wiring in various dwellings, repairing leaking roofs, broken windows, rotten flooring, dilapidated outhouses; several men occupied in getting the mess arrangements systemized. Warehouses fixed so that supplies could be locked up….Entire area around the Cannery was surveyed for a possible water supply. Several were found but none met the approval of the Sanitary Engineer. Entire population, both St. George and St. Paul immunized by Mrs. Clara Gaddie, Indian Affairs Nurse….” During the first months after their arrival many families lived in tents; while the agent logged the temperature at 10 degrees above zero on Christmas Eve, 1942, the men were still installing plasterboard walls inside the bunkhouses.

Figure 18.

Seen here looking northwest from the railing of the mess hall during the war, the Filipino House was a twin to the nearby China House immediately right of photo. The cannery water tank can be seen at upper right.

University of Alaska-Fairbanks
Fredericka Martin collection
91-223-350

Ordinary domestic tasks became difficult under the circumstances. Potable water was often in short supply due to freezing, poor pipes, inadequate flow, and contamination (Figure 22). Washing clothes must have been an ordeal (Figure 17). Food preparation was made more complicated by the lack of adequate kitchen facilities and familiar subsistence foods (Figure 23). The bunkhouses and cabins were not intended for winter occupancy, so they had no insulation or heating stoves. Agency officials reporting on the poor living conditions had limited success in obtaining needed food, medicine, and supplies.

The two communities continued to operate under the direction of their USFWS agents at Funter Bay as they had at their villages. Work parties were organized, and the men were expected to unload supply ships that came to dock. The USFWS's *Penguin* served the two

Figure 19.
During WW II a community privy was built over the beach east of the cannery.
University of Alaska-Fairbanks
Fredericka Martin collection
91-223-279

Funter Bay camps, as did the agency's smaller vessels *Brant, Crane, Swan,* and *Heron*, and eventually their boat *Scoter* was assigned to winter at Funter Bay. Port calls were made by the USFS *Ranger 6* and *7*, fishing boats, fish-buying boats like the *King Fisher*, the mail boat *Estebeth* (Figure 24*)*, and YP Boats (vessels in southeast Alaska's fishing fleet that had been converted – often with original captains and crews – for submarine detection and coastal surveillance). Sometimes a float plane would fly in from Juneau. Villagers took jobs with some of these boats, or went to Juneau to work, but usually between 45 and 60 Aleut men were working at the camp each weekday during the first months of the internment. Teams of as many as two dozen men went salmon fishing to feed the community, or clamming, and hunters would sometimes bring in three or four deer at a time. Eventually a USFWS boat arrived to issue them hunting licenses.

Dr. Berenberg returned to Funter Bay to treat his patients. There were several births in the camps in late 1942. People with severe dental problems went to Juneau for treatment. Islanders with tuberculosis were sent to the Juneau hospital, and sometimes Seattle, when their condition worsened. Soon the need for an Aleut cemetery was grimly acknowledged at Funter Bay, and a small almost-level plot was selected up a protected draw east of the cannery, near the dam built to supply water to the facility. Despite the hardship and death at the Funter Bay camps, the St. Paul and St. George villagers resolutely faced them as they faced hardship and death in the Bering Sea. It is a tribute to the Aleut communities that their children were

somewhat shielded from the brunt of the deprivations. Pribilof elders interviewed in the 1990s and 2000s were children at Funter Bay, and most remember a successful childhood adapted to the new surroundings. In mid-October of 1942 the children of the Pribilofs were sent with their federal teachers and their teachers' families to Wrangell where they attended classes at the Wrangell Institute.

Figure 20.
Two government-owned baidars, or traditional Aleut boats, were brought from the Pribilofs and used at Funter Bay. They were subsequently shared with Atkans at Killisnoo.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA 306-1093

Wartime Construction

The two large bunkhouses were not sufficient to house the entire community of St. Paul, and tents supplementing the housing arrangement weren't adequate for winter conditions. The 1942 plat shows a pair and another trio of tents north of the China House. The USFWS agent's logs indicate construction of new "cottages" in late 1942, likely represented on the 1962 survey by a row of three small buildings north of the China House, and an offset row of six small buildings north of the Filipino House (Figure 25). Also constructed during the war, probably in 1943, were a pair of Quonset huts just south of the Filipino House and a group of three further south (Figure 26). Quonset huts were prefabricated round-roofed 16'x36' buildings of corrugated sheet metal panels affixed to curved angle-iron ribs, manufactured by the tens of thousands for Allied military applications and intended to house "10 enlisted men or

5-7 officers" (Decker and Chiei 2005:14). Each of the two groups of Quonset huts had their buildings' gable walls aligned to face a boardwalk.

In keeping with their devout Russian Orthodox practices, the St. Paul villagers erected two large wall tents on a platform with plank walls to serve as a temporary chapel, according to a photograph taken by Father Michael Lestenkof. Yet another image from his collection, at the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, shows a new but small one-story wood frame chapel, painted white (Figure 27).

New construction mentioned in the USFWS agent's logbook also includes a water pipeline – probably from the small impoundment near the Aleut cemetery. Sometime after August of 1942 a small gable-roofed building was erected (or perhaps relocated) along the boardwalk near the mess hall as the USFWS headquarters (Figure 15).

Figure 21.

During World War II the old mess hall at the cannery, with its U.S. Post Office, was the social center of the greater Funter Bay area.

University of Alaska Fairbanks Fredericka Martin collection 91.223.274

Figure 22.

The water system at the Funter Bay cannery wasn't designed to support a large community through all seasons, and spigots were few. This tap was east of the China House (upper right).

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA 306.1092

According to Zacharof (2002), one of the last acts by departing villagers was to dismantle their hastily built school, church, and pumphouse to build shipping crates for the journey home.

> *During the past cold spell it has been impossible to heat the houses and quarters occupied by the Natives. At night they have huddled around the stoves and in the dining room getting what little sleep possible. Most of the water pipes are still frozen and there still is no water in the reservoir behind the dam.*
>
> **USFWS agent's log for the St. Paul community at the Funter Bay cannery, February 12, 1943.**

Figure 23.
Dining accommodations at the Funter cannery were dilapidated; this image shows the interior of the Chinese bunkhouse, which had a functioning kitchen.

University of Alaska Fairbanks
Fredericka Martin collection
91.223.281

Post-War Development

The Funter Bay cannery stayed in the hands of the P.E. Harris Company after the war ended, and Harold Hargrave continued on as watchman. When the P.E. Harris Company became Peter Pan Seafoods, in about 1962, the new company continued to hold the old cannery property. Hargrave obtained a Special Use Permit from the U. S. Forest Service in 1951 for a residence, dock, and warehouse (also used as a boat house and net house) on the far east end of the cannery complex, according to files at the National Archives, and he and his wife Mary lived at Funter Bay until 1983 when they moved to Juneau (The Juneau Empire 1999). The cannery buildings continued to deteriorate through the 1950s, and by 1961 the seaward side of the industrial buildings was almost completely gone (Figure 28).

Peter Pan Seafoods owned the cannery during the 1960s and filed for the adjacent intertidal and submerged land as Alaska Tidelands Survey 147 in 1962. By then the bunkhouse along the shore immediately north of the mess hall was completely gone, marked only by a "scattered piling of old buildings" (Figure 25). According to USFS records, in the early 1960s while Peter Pan Seafoods was operating a major facility at nearby Hawk Inlet, they attempted to evict Hargrave from the Funter Bay cannery because some of Hargrave's improvements were on cannery property rather than USFS land as permitted. Apparently USFS was able to negotiate quick satisfaction for all parties when it became known, too, that some of the cannery's buildings were actually north of the cannery's lot line on USFS land.

Figure 24.
Funter Bay, Killisnoo, and other coastal communities in the area were provided mail, freight, and passenger services by the Estebeth, here viewed from the cannery. At far right is the Funter Bay mine's mill.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

As part of a package sale the Funter Bay cannery was conveyed along with several other properties to the Bristol Bay Native Corporation in the 1980s, which in turn sold it to Juneau resident Reed Stoops. Stoops subdivided the property in the early 1990s and together with new owners such as Gordon Harrison hired a local company to demolish and remove or bury most of the derelict cannery buildings. A short system of public floats was built by the State of Alaska to replace the original cannery dock and floats. Funter Bay experienced a resurgence in private residency.

Joe Giefer and his wife Karey Cooperrider were new arrivals, building a home and lodge east of the cannery, and in a 2008 taped interview they described the condition of the cannery buildings in the early 1970s. At that time most of the industrial and domestic buildings were standing and could be cautiously entered, though their rate of deterioration was increasing. After Harold Hargrave disassociated with the cannery and established his adjacent residence, the watchman's cabin continued as a dwelling for property caretakers – first Scotty Todd, then finally Jim and Blanche Doyle – so it was in good shape at the time. Another small cabin in good condition was used as an overflow guest house by the Doyle family. The superinten-

dent's house was in good shape except for the roof, and so the building began to disintegrate. The Quonset huts were still standing, though the interior walls of beaverboard (an obsolete cellulose-panel material) were melting; some had chicken wire arranged by Harold Hargrave to keep rabbits. The small frame cabins built by St. Paul villagers were already lacking roofs in the early 1970s and were in poor condition. Two cliff-side outhouses were still readily distinguishable, one of which was divided into mirror halves (probably gender-specific), each of which had two or three seats. The pilings under the carpenter's shop were replaced in the early 1990s with creosote pilings salvaged from the cannery ruin at Hawk Inlet.

Current Condition

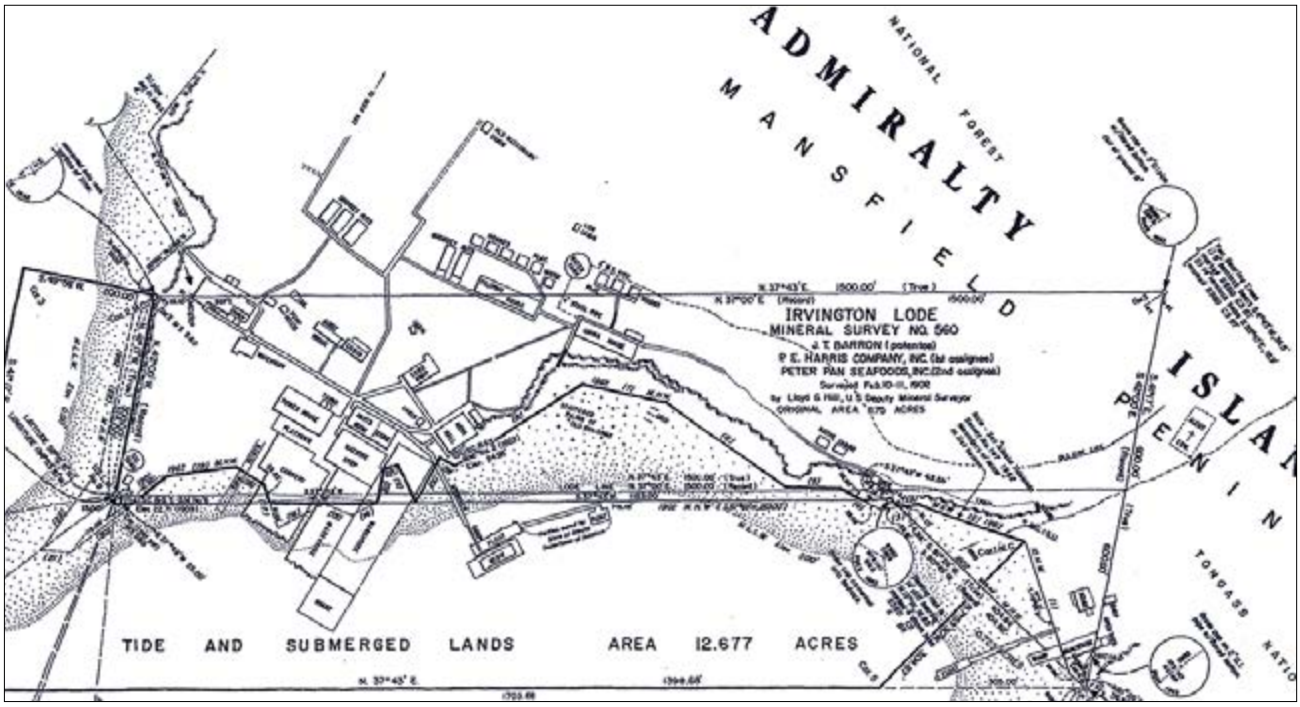
Funter Bay now holds several dozen parcels of private property, many with dwellings occupied seasonally or year-round by individuals with 30 years or more of residency – 75 years in the case of mine-steward Sam Pekovich. The State's public floats are in almost the same location as the original cannery floats (compare Figures 20 and 29). According to Zacharof (2002), the cannery's 11.5 acres were subdivided into 13 lots, and in 2008 at least nine landowners had a property interest in the historic cannery site. Almost all of the cannery's buildings are gone – either destroyed or decaying into the archaeological record, but many remnants are discernible. Some historic cannery features, as well as the Aleut cemetery, are on USFS land. Because the site investigation was brief and done at a high tide, few intertidal features were observed. This discussion of the Funter Bay cannery's current condition briefly notes new construction, then goes on to describe standing buildings, building ruins, and non-architectural features that date to World War II or earlier. The site's AHRS number is JUN-029.

Three relatively modern dwellings are maintained on what was once U.S. Mineral Survey 560 (Figure 25). A fourth modern residence has been built immediately northeast of the cannery tract (near the trail to the Aleut cemetery) to replace Harold Hargrave's original home that was destroyed by fire. One of the three dwellings on the former cannery property is Reed Stoops' one-story cabin built where the old mess hall used to be. A two-story cabin belonging to Randall Gray resides where the China House once stood (Figures 8, 29). And the cannery's former power house site is now occupied by Gordon Harrison's one-story frame cabin and several small sheds all painted a bright red (Figure 30). Whereas the two log cabins feature milled logs of obviously recent construction, the frame cabin is a gabled dwelling with a shed-roofed dormer facing the bay, a metal roof, and wood shingles, together giving the appearance of an older building (Figure 30).

STANDING BUILDINGS

Two original cannery buildings are standing in good shape – the watchman's cabin and the carpenter shop. Three other original buildings – two cabins and a water tank enclosure – are standing in fair or poor shape. The only original dwelling still used for that purpose is the former watchman's cabin. Prior to 1942 the watchman occupied a multi-roomed house at the west end of the main boardwalk (Figure 12), but later that dwelling was enlarged for the new superintendent, and the watchman moved into a smaller cabin immediately east (Figure 25). In 2008 the building displayed one large gabled block measuring about 14'x25', with a small

4’x6’ shed-roofed block appended to the south corner (Figure 31). Remnants of different roof pitches and vertical seams in the siding attest to a sequence of building modifications, and comparison of the 1942 and 1962 plans (Figures 12, 25) indicate that a 6’ addition across the entire northwest elevation was added during the intervening years. The building has mostly multi-pane windows, including 6- and 12-pane examples – the first singly and in ganged pairs and the last only in ganged pairs. The roof is of corrugated metal painted red, and the exterior walls are of gray-painted drop siding and plain planks.



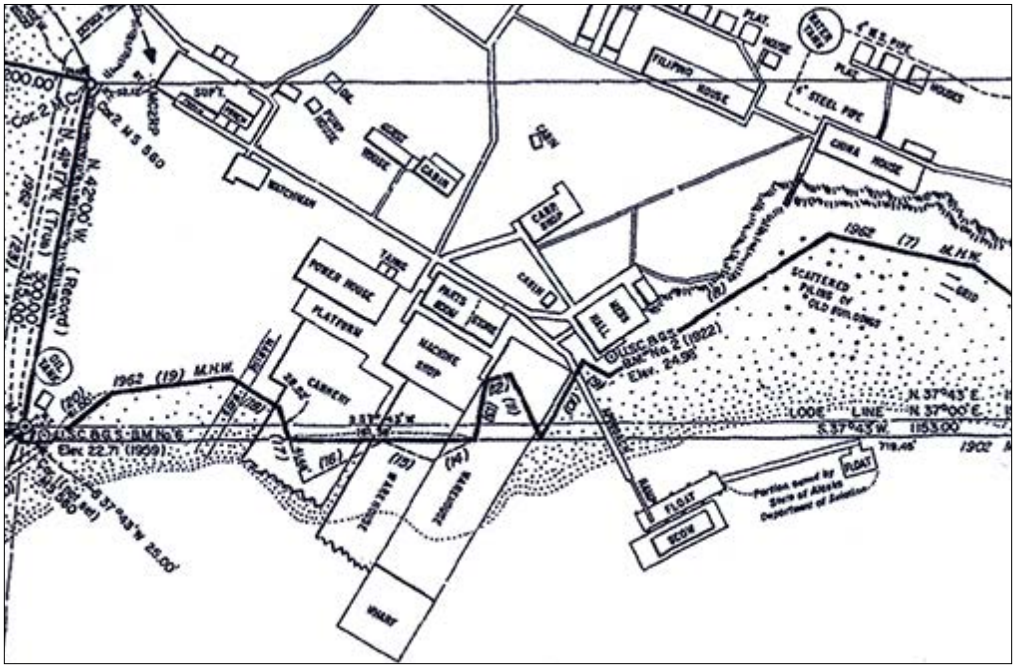


Figure 25.
When Alaska Tidelands Survey 147 was platted in 1962 the map (upper image) captured most of the Funter Bay cannery buildings present during operation, as well as buildings added for Aleut occupancy during World War II. Lower image is an enlargement of the cannery area.

The cannery's old carpenter shop (Figure 32) is in good shape in its original location on creosote pilings installed in the early 1990s. In replacing the foundation the building was probably elevated above its original floor level. The building is a long wood-frame building with a wide hinged freight door centered on the south gable end and about a dozen original 6/6 double-sash windows penetrating the walls. A window is centered on each gable. The roof is now covered with ribbed metal painted red, and a large loading deck is appended to the

Figure 26.

Five Quonset huts including these three were erected at the Funter Bay cannery to house Aleut families. A note with the image states Dora Dushkin's family lived in the first Quonset, and the Melevedov family lived in the second.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, Fr. Michael Lestenkof collection

Figure 27.

St. Paul villagers eventually built a small wood-frame chapel at the Funter Bay cannery.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association, Fr. Michael Lestenkof collection

south elevation. The building's dimensions are approximately 24' x 60'. It's construction date is unknown but it appears on the 1942 map (Figure 12), on which it is labeled as the "TOOL HQ" rather than "CARP SHOP" as on the 1962 map (Figure 25).

Harold and Mary Hargrave, they lived over near the cannery. Harold had been the watchman at the cannery before we knew him. After that they did some salmon trolling…they retired from that…The wooden crosses in the old Russian Orthodox design...were still standing thanks to Mary Hargrave – I think she took care of the cemetery during the whole time she lived near it… . Everybody in the bay got together quite a bit for potlucks….You picked up and dropped off your mail at the cannery… once a week. By the time we got here there was a mail plane….It was kind of a social event… . Jim and Blanche Doyle… were the last caretakers before it was sold. Jim was a retired Coast Guard chief petty officer… .That's [watchman's cabin] still there, that's where Jim and Blanche lived. And that's where the watchman before them, Scotty Todd, lived… . One winter Harold, and Gunnar [Ohman], and I think the third one was Harvey [Smith] lived in the superintendent's house.

Karey Cooperrider

Figure 28.
By the time historian Bob DeArmond photographed the Funter Bay cannery in 1961 the end of the wharf was mostly gone.
Bob DeArmond photograph courtesy of Patricia Roppel

Less than 100' northwest of the watchman's cabin is a woodshed, a small water tank with a framed enclosure, and a cylindrical metal fuel tank (Figure 33). The woodshed is a small metal-clad frame building that in the 1970s (and perhaps still) held an old two-cylinder Lister diesel engine, according to local resident Joe Giefer. The other building measures about 8'x8' and 12' high, with a ribbed-metal shed roof. Missing and broken siding revealed vertical 8"x8" posts at each corner inside the building that support a water tank. The age of the

building is unknown but Joe Giefer said that by the early 1970s it was unsafe to enter; old nail holes in the plain plank siding indicate that the boards were once nailed to a different set of studs.

I bought the [Funter Bay] cannery from Bristol Bay Native Corporation. Most of it was a public nuisance – a liability for us – so we burned and buried the cannery building. The bunkhouse fell down in place. I built my cabin in 1990 – the log cabin right at the dock.

Reed Stoops

I purchased property at the cannery in 1993, and built my house from scratch from 1994 until 1999. I have some photographs of the last of the power house. It had part of the boiler, with fire brick. Reed Stoops hired John Gitkov, a marine contractor with several cranes and barges. In front of my house all that scrap is buried, and in my backyard are two of the fuel tanks. The woodstave tank on the point was torn down by Gitkov – I've got a few of the timbers under my house. Those three machines are early vintage gasoline engines, about 10-20 horsepower, that drove overhead power trains. There's a guy in Fairbanks that drives one in their annual Golden Days Parade.

Gordon Harrison

According to Giefer, muskeg water was pumped into the tank from the shallow pond behind the carpenter shop and used by the occupants for all but drinking. The metal fuel tank matches the two in their original location near the former power house, and the isolated example was probably moved to serve the watchman's cabin in the decades since cannery operation or Aleut internment.

A dilapidated but standing cannery cabin off U.S. Mineral Survey 560 to the west, on USFS land, still has remnants of magazine pages papering the ceiling and parts of the walls (Figures 34-35). The building is a one-story frame affair with many exposed interior studs, and likely represents one of the five cabins numbered four through eight at the far west end of the 1942 map (Figure 12); the 1962 map (Figure 25) was not carried far enough west to include those buildings. Papering the cabin's ceiling are pages from The Saturday Evening Post and Collier's Weekly magazines, with at least one page dated 1919.

Corresponding to either the centrally located "GUEST HOUSE" or "CABIN" plotted on the 1962 map (Figure 25) is a small one-story frame building missing its windows. The cabin measures approximately 12'x20' and has board-and-batten siding (Figure 36), but was not inspected further.

BUILDING RUINS

In contrast to the five standing buildings left from the cannery and internment periods are numerous features classed here as building ruins. The distinction is an arbitrary division of the integrity continuum; one criterion considered is whether a building could be made habitable (a term relative to the experience and fortitude of the potential inhabitant). The brief field investigation at the Funter Bay cannery allowed photography of many building ruins and

correlation of some with the 1942 and 1962 maps. Completely gone by 2008 were the main cannery building, warehouses, power house, machine shop, parts room, store, and mess hall. Remaining were remnants of the Filipino House from the cannery era, as well as wrecked Quonset huts, frame cabins, and outhouses from the Aleut internment period.

Figure 29. *As viewed approaching the public floats, the Funter Bay cannery site is now occupied by four dwellings, of which the three modern examples are visible: Gordon Harrison's cabin with a shed-roofed dormer (left) built in the late 1990s where the power house used to be, the 1990 cabin (center) built by Reed Stoops where the mess hall once stood, and Randall Gray's two-story log cabin (right of center) constructed over the China House site.*

Of the pair of two-story bunkhouses from the cannery period – the China House and the Filipino House – only the latter (the westernmost example) survives in close to a recognizable form (Figure 37). Visible in the twisted pile of lumber are walls constructed of 2"x4" studs covered with diagonal 1"x6" plank sheathing, overlain by tarpaper and 1"x4" drop siding. Window and corner trim boards are coated in a faded, oxidized green paint. Pieces of corrugated metal roofing protrude from the pile, as do round untreated pilings approximately 10" in diameter.

Of the wartime buildings erected at the Funter Bay cannery, the Quonset huts are easily identified by their steel metal frames. A group of three and a group of two Quonset huts were plotted on the 1962 map (Figure 25), and the remains of all five were found in 2008. The trio appear in an archival photograph (Figure 26), and were found in their original location (Figure 38). The other two were found in their plotted 1962 locations (which likely represent their 1942 locations as well). None of the Quonsets have any corrugated metal roofing or siding left, and likely the sheets were salvaged by locals long ago. The steel frames have mostly collapsed, and scraps of plywood and beaverboard are visible among the debris.

Two sets of cabin ruins were found corresponding to the two rows of "HOUSES" built for Aleut evacuees in 1942-43 behind the Filipino and China bunkhouses (Figure 25). A group of five buildings near the pair of Quonset huts are tumbling down but most still have at least one standing wall (Figures 39-41). More deteriorated ruins of another three are located to the

northeast. Judging from the more intact examples the cabins were constructed of 2”x4” studs, 2”x6” rafters, and 1”x8” plank walls and roofs covered with tarpaper. Traces of beaverboard are visible nailed to the interior studs and ceiling joists.

Figure 30.
The cannery power house site now holds a cabin and several small sheds built by Gordon Harrison between 1994 and 1999.

The 1942 cannery map shows two outhouses: one over the intertidal zone reached by a boardwalk from the China House, and another along the shore 500’ to the northeast (Figure 12). The example near the China House is likely the one shown in Figure 19. One of two small building ruins hanging off the bluff northeast of the industrial area in 2008 (Figures 42-43) likely represent the second outhouse mapped in 1942 – the one further to the northeast (Figure 12).

Other building ruins not observed during the brief 2008 field investigation likely remain to be found.

FEATURES

The Funter Bay cannery site in 2008 retained evidence of infrastructure other than buildings, including boardwalks, stationary equipment, and collections of debris. The central boardwalk that once extended from the floats southwest to the superintendent’s house (Figure 25) is still maintained as far as the former watchman’s cabin (Figure 31). It consists of four parallel 2”x12” planks nailed to four-foot stringers (Figure 44). North of the superintendent’s cabin where once there was a boardwalk to Scow Bay, now there remains the brushed alignment and remnants of the stringers that once supported the planks (Figure 45). The 1962 map plots a web of boardwalks serving the cannery complex (Figure 25), little of which was evident in 2008.

The huge wood-stave oil tank once located at the peninsula's point (Figure 14) and the water tank upslope from the two-story bunkhouses (Figure 25) were both demolished years ago, but the water tank foundation remains in place. It consists of about two dozen untreated round pilings supporting heavy timber stringers, which in turn supports a circular plank platform (Figure 46). Moss and small trees and shrubs have gained a footing on the rotten platform, which sags over the pilings in several places.

There were a lot of buildings standing when we first got here, but things were starting to deteriorate, and as things fell down and dropped into the water people who needed wood for one purpose or another would scavange it. We had the whole of one of the warehouses on the beach…[the wood-stave water tank] was salvaged. It had two- to three-inch redwood staves, and they made excellent decking for walkways and stairs. They were about six by three, three by six [inches]. Beautiful wood, so it was nice that it was used instead of just melting into the ground.…The carpenter shop – at that time that was in the best condition. It's a beautiful building. That's still there. It's divided down the center. It's two stories. It's probably 30'x70', I'd say. It has a good 12' ceiling and a ladder that goes upstairs. At the time we worked on it, early '90s…it needed new pilings, because it was sinking into the mud and the original pilings were falling apart. So we got new pilings from the Hawk Inlet cannery – we salvaged creosote pilings and put those in underneath.

Joe Giefer and Karey Cooperrider

The cannery had at least two and possibly more water sources – all inadequate for the cannery's commercial operation. Near the carpenter shop the water table is high and a dark pool of water about 14' across with a low berm around it obviously represents an improved source, but the dark muskeg water was not potable. A dam was also built to tap a creek at the far northeast edge of the 1962 cannery map (Figure 25, upper image), near the Aleut cemetery, and it was still in place in 2008. The modest structure consists of two parallel rows of small pilings stretching across the bottom of the creek, each held in place by a horizontal log (one upstream and another downstream), with gravel filling the space between (Figure 47).

A 2" galvanized steel pipe protrudes downstream from the dam face.

The cannery's industrial compound was built on pilings over a short reef protruding into Funter Bay, creating another feature type observed in 2008. Circular depressions about 12" in diameter and up to 10" deep are carved into the bedrock where the pilings were set beneath what would have been the east warehouse.

Stationary equipment observed in 2008 consisted of three machines, each a low-horsepower (10-20 hp range) gasoline engine affixed to a concrete pedestal. One large Fairbanks Morse engine sits prominently in a grassy clearing to mark the machine shop's location (Figure 48). A second Fairbanks Morse engine missing its cylinder is located at the former power house site (Figure 49). A third gasoline engine of unknown manufacture, also minus its cylinder, is located inland among second-growth forest (Figure 50).

Several other features at the cannery are large but not stationary. Two cylindrical fuel oil tanks of about 1000 gallons each are located behind Gordon Harrison's house (Figure 51). They may be in their original position (Figure 25). The tanks are identical to the one beside the enclosed little water tank near the old watchman's cabin (Figure 33). A debris pile north of the superintendent's house site contains mangled strap steel representing dozens of racks to hold cans in the cannery retorts (Figure 52). The cannery grounds undoubtedly hold smaller features like coal scatters (Figure 53) that escaped observation during the brief 2008 investigation.

Figure 31.
The cannery's watchman's cabin is an original building maintained as a private residence.

Figure 32.
The cannery's carpenter shop is still standing thanks to new pilings and a roof installed in the 1990s.

ALEUT CEMETERY

The cemetery (JUN-975) in which both St. George and St. Paul interred their dead during the war is located near the cannery dam (Figure 47), northeast of the separate parcel on which former cannery caretaker Harold Hargrave once resided. Management of the land may have shifted from USFS to Alaska with the creation of a state marine park at Funter Bay (Zacharof 2002), but the state park as mapped does not include the cemetery (Reid 1994:165), and agency officials were not able to verify the transfer. Twenty-three graves are marked on the west side of the creek, on a low rocky bench otherwise surrounded by the stream canyon's steep sides. The surrounding forest is composed of second-growth spruce and hemlock. A wood arch painted white has been erected where the trail from saltwater enters the cemetery, and 18 of the graves have white-painted wood Russian Orthodox crosses (Figure 54). The

Figure 33.
Near the watchman's cabin is a dilapidated frame building enclosing a water tank (left), and a cylindrical metal fuel tank (right) matching two in their original location near the former power house (see Figure 51).

graves are roughly parallel and each has a marker at the end nearest the creek. Vertical wood plank borders that once outlined the graves (according to archival photographs) are gone and most of the graves are now outlined with rocks placed there in 2000 (Zacharof 2002). The wood cross at the head of each grave is made of 2"x2" stock, to replace older wooden markers

made of 2”x4” stock which have been left inside the grave outline (Figure 55). Colorful paper-and-plastic icons have been affixed to the centers of most crosses, and at least one plastic flower arrangement was noted. Associated with five individual graves are stone monuments (of which at least one postdates WW II). The Aleut cemetery at Funter Bay is well-maintained under the remote circumstances. The 2000 “restoration followed Orthodox Church doctrine...” (Zacharof 2002). As part of this investigation, AHRS number JUN-975 was acquired for the site to distinguish it from the cannery property.

Figure 34.
A ramshackle cannery cabin at the west edge of the cannery, on USFS land, has a ceiling papered with pages from The Saturday Evening Post and Collier’s Weekly magazines.

Summary

The Funter Bay cannery has been cleared of most old buildings and subdivided into residential lots, with some original cannery features intruding onto adjacent USFS land. Three new residences have been built, joining the only original cannery dwelling (the watchman’s cabin) to total four houses on the property. Four other cannery buildings remained standing in usable condition in 2008: the carpenter shop, a small enclosed water tank, and two small frame cabins. Otherwise the cannery’s buildings are in various states of ruin – mostly collapsed and decaying into the archaeological record.

Those building ruins included several that could be correlated with cannery maps (Figures 12, 25), such as the cannery’s Filipino bunkhouse. The twisted wrecks of five Quonset huts erected during the war are still visible in their original locations as a group of three and another group of two. Two separate alignments of rotting lumber represent one row of five

small frame cabins and a second row of three, all built during the war for Aleut families. Two outhouse ruins were still visible in 2008.

> *That [superintendent's house] was standing, and in quite good shape. It looked like a lovely old turn-of-the-century home, with a nice front porch, and steps leading up to it. Wainscoting inside. Lots of books on shelves. There was some wallpaper in some of the rooms. It would have needed to be cleaned up, but it was a habitable building. Two-story. The roof went bad several years after we were here, and eventually it started to deteriorate, and it was torn down and moved off when the cannery was sold and subsequently subdivided….That larger building [mess hall] – on the beach to the right of the ramp and the floats as you go up – we always called it the superintendent's office because upstairs had beautiful wainscot and little office rooms. Quite nice....[The China bunkhouse and Filipino bunkhouse] They were something. Two-story. Up on big pilings, both of them. And they had external stairways to the second floor. They were both in good shape. The China House seemed to be in better shape. It was divided into little 10'x10' rooms upstairs. Each one had a window. And they had beaverboard. Probably didn't have any insulation. Downstairs was all open, but upstairs was partitioned off. And they had one central heat [source]….The big heating stove in one of them was still there, when we first arrived. It would have been hard to keep it warm….It [old watchman's cabin] was a one-room house. It had wainscoting inside. It was just a beautiful one-room, probably 12'x15'. And it wasn't used. That wood was also salvaged while we were here.*
>
> **Joe Giefer and Karey Cooperrider**

Other features observed at the Funter Bay cannery included the water tank foundation, water impoundment dam, boardwalk alignments, piling depressions in the intertidal bedrock, debris piles, and coal scatters.

Figure 35.
The cabin papered in old magazines has pages as old as 1919.

The Aleut cemetery that served both Pribilof villages at Funter Bay is not far from the cannery and has been maintained by Funter Bay residents and by Aleut relatives who occasionally visit. The cemetery, Quonset huts, frame cabin ruins, and outhouse ruins would appear to be the primary elements reflecting the Aleut WW II relocation experience at the site.

Figure 36.
Centrally located on the cannery site is a small frame board-and-batten cabin from the cannery era.

Figure 37.
A large two-story building ruin is all that remains of the cannery-era Filipino bunkhouse.

Figure 38.
Steel frames of three Quonset huts were found where they were erected for Aleut housing during World War II. Compare with the almost identical wartime view (Figure 26).

Figure 39.
A group of five cabins built for Aleut occupation during the war are now ruins, though several have at least one standing wall.

Figure 40.
The most intact Aleut cabin is simply constructed of horizontal 1”x8” planks covered with tarpaper, with a central door on a gable wall and few windows.

Figure 41.
The interior walls of the most intact Aleut cabin are covered with beaverboard painted white.

Figure 42.
Northeast of the industrial area is a small building ruin (likely an outhouse) hanging off the rock cliff overlooking the intertidal zone.

Figure 43.
A second small building ruin near the first (Figure 42) likely represents another former outhouse built over the intertidal zone.

Though artifacts evoking the Aleut experience were not observed at the site, in 1982 or 1983 Funter Bay resident Phil Emerson found a handmade wooden toy boat (Figure 56) tucked in the rafters of a bunkhouse being salvaged for material. Its details suggest an ocean-going ship. The hull is one piece of wood, with four separate pieces added to make the cabin, pilot house, and stack. The top of the stack is painted black. Small ferrous nails fore and aft clasp the stubs of mooring lines, and the starboard nail still has a piece of string attached. The bottom of the hull has a dark stain representing either faded paint or a watermark from use. Since the bunkhouses held only adult cannery workers during commercial operation, it is likely the toy was made by a St. Paul adult for a child during the relocation years. Perhaps it was intended to represent the ship that would someday return the villagers to their home in the Bering Sea. The toy is a poignant symbol of the Aleut experience at Funter Bay.

Figure 44.
Most of the central boardwalk from the floats to the watchman's house is still usable.

Figure 45.
A boardwalk once lead north from the site of the superintendent's house towards Scow Bay – a small cove to the northwest.

Figure 46.
The cannery's redwood-stave water tank was salvaged years ago, leaving the foundation remains – now in very poor condition.

Figure 47.
The cannery's water supply came from this small earth-and-timber dam located to the northeast, a little upstream from the Aleut cemetery.

Figure 48.

A large Fairbanks Morse gasoline engine still attached to its concrete pedestal is located where the cannery's machine shop once stood.

Figure 49.

A second large Fairbanks Morse engine – this one missing its cylinder – marks the former power house location.

Figure 50.
Part of an engine assembly is still mounted on its concrete pedestal in the forest.

Figure 51.
Two large fuel oil tanks of about 1000 gallons each are located behind Gordon Harrison's cabin (left), probably in or close to their original position from the cannery days.

Figure 52.
North of the watchman's cabin is a large pile of metal cannery debris including the remains of many strap-steel trays or racks used to hold cans for loading into the retorts.

Figure 53.
Coal was used for domestic heat, as indicated by this small scatter noted in 2008 near the cabin with the magazine-papered interior.

Figure 54.
The cemetery (JUN-975) near the cannery dam holds the graves of 23 Pribilof villagers who died at Funter Bay.

Figure 55.
Wooden Russian Orthodox crosses were replaced in 2000, and the originals were left inside the grave boundary.

Figure 56.

Funter Bay resident Donna Emerson holds a handmade wooden toy boat that likely dates to the Aleut relocation era, found in the early 1980s tucked in the rafters of the cannery's China House as it was being salvaged for lumber.

Chapter 3: Funter Bay Mine

Figure 57.
Historic buildings and building ruins of the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine are visible along the shore of Funter Bay. From left to right are: the wash house ruin, the two-story bunkhouse, the shop, the roof of the mill (in trees right of center), the Sam Pekovich residence, and a modern prefabricated metal utility building.

Villagers from St. George were housed at the shoreside camp of an old gold mine on Funter Bay (Figure 57). The Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine is a collection of old buildings including a mill, a road and tramway inland, two adits and other workings, and the seasonal homes of Sam Pekovich and Andrew Pekovich. The mill and mining camp are located about one mile from the cannery, on the southeast shore of Funter Bay (Figure 9). The mine is patented land owned by Sam and Andrew Pekovich and the Admir-alty Alaska Gold Mining Company, and includes old mineral claims going back to the late 1890s. The land near the coast is gently rolling and steepens inland to become Robert Barron Peak. A thick forest of hemlock and spruce, with some cedar and fir, blankets the landscape (Guard 1958:6).

Early Years

The claims were originally staked by Richard G. Willoughby, a prospector and opportunist who worked his way north along the Pacific Coast in the mid-19th century, arriving in Wrangell by 1875 (DeArmond 1957). Willoughby was a contemporary of Joe Juneau and Richard Harris – the historical discoverers of gold at Juneau in 1880. He subsequently kept a cabin in Juneau on the street eventually named for him, becoming “one of the best known pioneer miners in Alaska” (New York Times 1902). Between July of 1888 and January of 1889 Willoughby and his partner A. Ware staked ten mineral claims on the southeast shore of Funter Bay (Chipperfield 1935). The territorial governor reported in 1891 that the Funter Bay mine “has continued its usual activity” (Knapp 1891:30), but the details are unknown. Six

years later Willoughby (without his partner) amended the claims, according to Chipperfield (1935), and in 1902 he died while in Seattle (New York Times 1902).

> *The first few claims that became the patented Admiralty Mine property were staked about 1897 by a guy named [Richard S.] Willoughby – the same guy that Willoughby Avenue in Juneau was named after – and his partner. The claim passed through several hands until eventually a guy named Hunter got it, and then my dad – W.S. Pekovich – got involved in 1915. My dad had immigrated from Yugoslavia....My father along with Henry Roden was one of the original incorporators shown in the Articles of Incorporation dated December 20th or 29th, 1919....Our family has had an interest in that property for over 90 years. We have a stock-holding company with 3300 stockholders.*
>
> **Andrew Pekovich, May 8, 2008**

The Territorial Commissioner of Mines (Maloney 1915:12) reported in 1915 that "the old Funter Bay mine on Admir-alty Island has been reopened and "was operated on a profitable basis during the year." On December 20th or 29th, 1919, Henry Roden, W.S. Pekovich, and other citizens of the Territory of Alaska incorporated the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mining Company with control over Willoughby's claims, according to documents in the possession of mine investor, officer, and caretaker Andrew Pekovich. By then several owners had come and gone, according to Pekovich – a son of Serbian immigrant W.S. Pekovich. The Admiralty Alaska Gold Mining Company was formed to develop the Funter Bay claims, and the sale of shares funded construction of a waterfront mill and support buildings (Figure 58), plus a rail line to workings including two adits inland at the base of Robert Barron Peak. In July of 1923 the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mining Company amended and recorded Willoughby's ten claims (Chipperfield 1935).

Figure 58.
Looking south from the dock around the early 1920s, the mill building of the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine stands at far right. The two-story bunkhouse right of center was still in use in 2008, as was the tool shed immediately to its right.

Alaska State Library Winter and Pond collection PCA 87-0394

U.S. Geological Survey geologist A.F. Buddington (1926:46) described the Funter Bay deposits as mostly gold-quartz veins accompanying the Mertie Lode – a mineralized sulphide at about the 2000' elevation and 6000' from the mill. By 1929 gold-quartz veins had been mined from four claims: the Tellurium, Uncle Sam, King Bee, and the Heckler Blanket, and three concentrate shipments were sent to the smelter at Tacoma in 1926 and 1927 (Eakin 1929:6-7). W.S. Pekovich left the Board of Officers to serve as General Manager during those years, according to Andrew Pekovich.

"Uncle Dick" Willoughby, as he was commonly known, was reported to have been born in North Carolina or Tennessee and to have first gone to California in 1849. A few years after that he was in Kansas and was married in Missouri in 1854, leaving at once with his bride for California....His wife died during the Civil War....In 1859 or 1860 he went to the Fraser River and from there to Cariboo, where he was reported to have "cleaned up" more than $100,000 in a few weeks and to have "blowed" it almost as rapidly. He moved to the Omineca and the Cassiar and was in Wrangell in 1875, running a dance hall. From there he went to Sitka, prospecting in the summers and running a saloon in town during the winters. In the summer of 1880 Willoughby was prospecting in Glacier Bay, where an island is named for him, at the time Juneau and Harris made their strike in Silver Bow Basin. He reached the new camp in December, 1880. He mined around Gold Creek, engaged briefly in the hotel business and spent most of his time in the later years around Funter Bay. In Juneau he owned a cabin near the present corner of Main and Willoughby Avenue. Known as a practical joker and a free-wheeling story teller, and entertainer, Willoughby was also said to have been a pretty fair fiddle player and to have been much in demand at miners' dances.

DeArmond (1957)

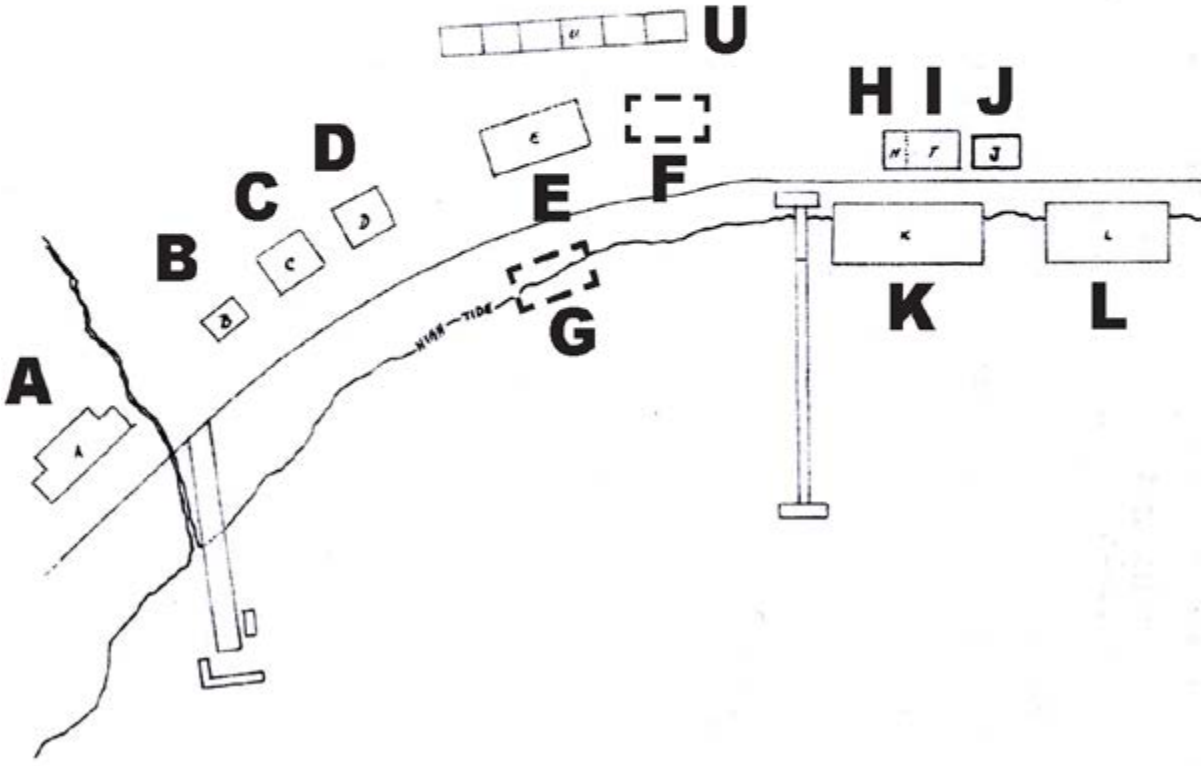
The 1930s were generally good years for mine operators, at first because of the Depression's cheap labor, then inadvertently in 1934 because President Franklin D. Roosevelt made private ownership of gold illegal, forced citizens to sell to the government at $20.67 per ounce, and subsequently revalued it at $35 per ounce (Saleeby 2000:33-34). But the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine had little if any production during those years. In 1935 the company applied for a patent to the ten Funter Bay claims, prompting the USFS District Ranger's report (Chipperfield 1935) and leading to legal ownership of the land. Chipperfield described the buildings and workings, and their condition, and opined that the claims had been idle for the three prior years.

The lack of activity noted by the USFS District Ranger in 1935 reflected the Funter Bay mine's corporate officers' attention being focused instead on mining to the south at Hawk Inlet. In addition to being an officer for the Funter Bay mine, Henry Roden was also President of the Alaska Empire Gold Mining Company according to a December 12, 1932, letter submitted with a Hawk Inlet mine report by Juneau surveyor Frank A. Metcalf. That company was associated with the Hawk Inlet Gold Mining Company (Alaska State Library 2002). W.S. Pekovich was also General Manager for the Alaska Empire operation and lived at Hawk Inlet with his family for much of the time between about 1932 to 1950, reports Andrew Pekovich, leaving his father's cousin Rado Pekovich as caretaker at the Funter Bay mine. Connections

between the mining companies were strong, with suggestions in the archival record that claims and equipment were shared or exchanged (Stewart 1933:13; Townsend 1941). Together they controlled 200 claims stretching from Funter Bay to Hawk Inlet (Stewart 1933:13).

Strategic material surveys conducted in support of World War II prompted the U.S. Geological Survey to assemble existing mining reports for government review. Geologists A.F. Buddington's notes and reports of visits to Funter Bay in 1936, 1937, and 1938 were used by geologist John Reed (along with his own visit) to evaluate Funter Bay's potential wartime mineral contribution in 1942. Of interest was the nickel-copper component of the Mertie Lode

	Rooms
A. Permanently occupied by Mrs. S. Pekovich	4
B. Shanty-type shack	2
C. Permanently occupied by Rado L. Pekovich, Watchman	3
D. Bungalow (used as hospital)	3
E. Bunkhouse (no partitions)	-
F. Mess house w/storage rooms	4
G. Shower-room	1
H. Laundry	1
I. Assay office	1
J. Living quarters and/or office	1
K. Messhouse (used as warehouse & office-Dorm.in loft	3
L. Bunkhouse (no partitions)	20
M. Tool shop	1
N. Living quarters	3
O. Women's toilet	1
P. Men's toilet	1
Q. Mill	-
R. Living quarters	4
S. Outhouse	1
T. Laundry-toilet-shower bldg.	5
U. Newly built quarters housing 6 families	5
V. Native-constructed shack	1



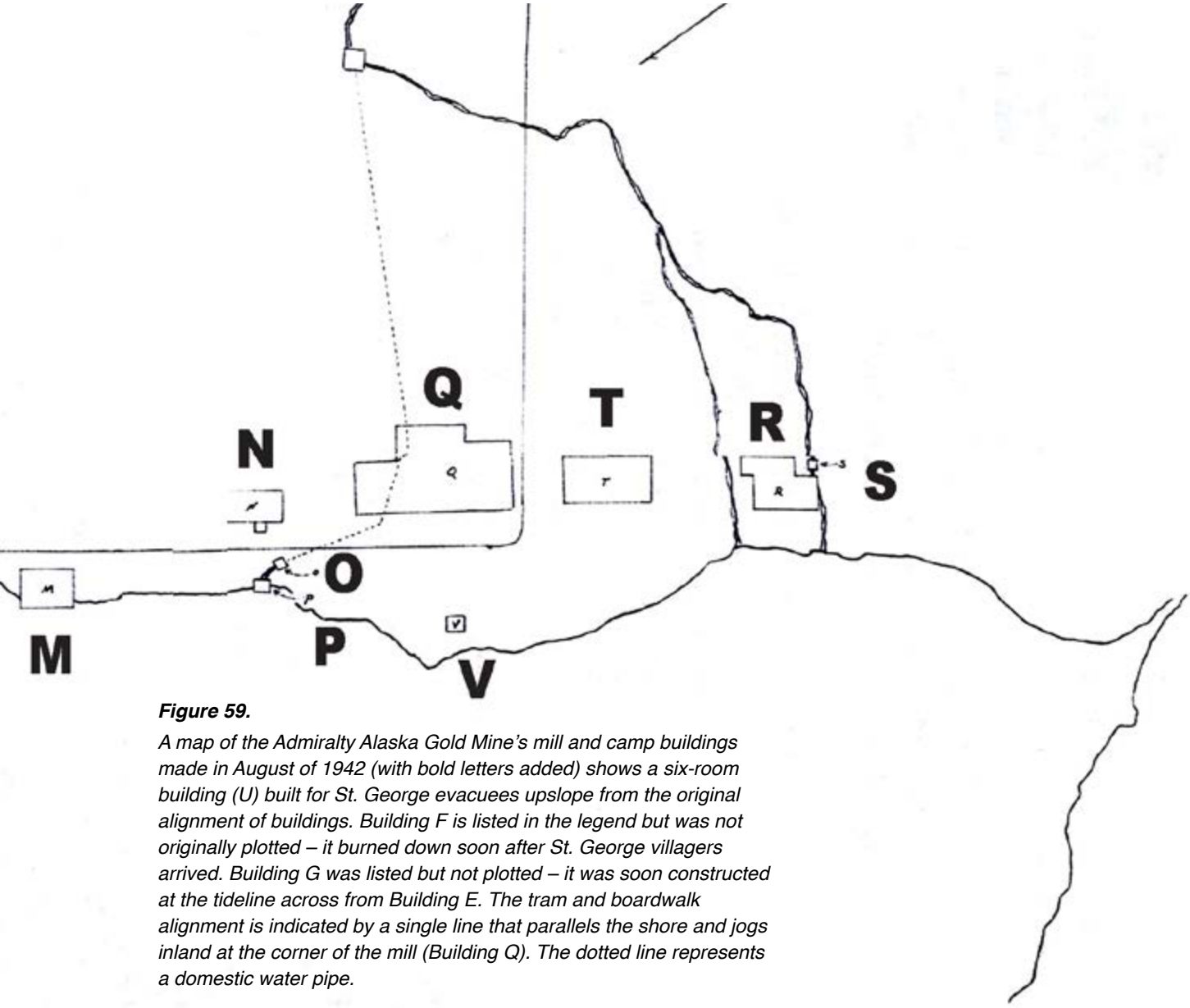


Figure 59.

A map of the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine's mill and camp buildings made in August of 1942 (with bold letters added) shows a six-room building (U) built for St. George evacuees upslope from the original alignment of buildings. Building F is listed in the legend but was not originally plotted – it burned down soon after St. George villagers arrived. Building G was listed but not plotted – it was soon constructed at the tideline across from Building E. The tram and boardwalk alignment is indicated by a single line that parallels the shore and jogs inland at the corner of the mill (Building Q). The dotted line represents a domestic water pipe.

higher up the slope of Robert Barron Peak, but Reed's (1942) report judged the ore grades insufficient to warrant mining.

> *All the buildings are located along the shore of the Tellurium and King Bee lodes. They consist of 4 frame dwellings each about 20 by 20 feet. Two of these are new, having been built in 1930. An assay office 12 by 30 feet, an old bunkhouse about 20 by 40 feet, and old mess house about 20 by 40 feet, a new unfinished bunkhouse 24 by 50 feet, unfinished messhall 24 by 40 feet, a new warehouse 14 by 25 feet, a mill 40 by 60 feet are all of frame construction. The mill was equipped with 10 stamps at one time but these have all been removed, and at the time of inspection the mill was not equipped for operation although the major machinery was still there. This consisted of 2 - 100 h.p. McKintosh-Seymore diesel engines, crushers, tables, lathes and drills. A rail tramway and small locomotive were used in connection with the mining… . Approximately 3/4 mile of open ditch had been constructed for the purpose of supplying water to the mill… . In valuing the improvements, one gains the impression that too much money has been expended for the results obtained… . An old wharf with 120 feet face and 300 foot approach extends from the Tellurium lode to deep water.*
>
> **Chipperfield (1935)**

A map made in August of 1942 shows most of the original shoreline buildings described by Chipperfield seven years earlier (Figure 59). All the buildings were of frame construction. Dominating the shoreline was the tall mill building, measuring 40'x60', with its steep, conspicuous roof. A tram track from the upland workings dumped ore from a cart into the top of the mill to begin the processing system. In a typical mill of the period, the ore would fall onto a "grizzly" or grate and be sorted for feeding either directly into a battery of stamps or through a crusher first and then the stamps; from there the finely crushed ore would progress down through the mill across amalgamating plates and on to concentration tables (Sagstetter 1998:56). In 1935 Chipperfield noted that the ten stamps once operating at the mill had been removed. A photograph of a building said to be the assay office incidentally shows a pile of vanner rollers (Figure 60), providing more detail about the ore concentrations and sorting systems. Other major industrial features on the shoreline were a shop and an assay office, plus one and then later two wharfs (Figures 58-59).

Many of the shore buildings mapped in 1942 were for housing. Two buildings on the north end of the alignment were "permanently occupied" – one by Rado L. Pekovich, who was identified as the watchman, and the other by Mrs. S. Pekovich – the first wife of W.S. Pekovich. A two-story 24'x50' bunkhouse on pilings over the intertidal zone, with space for 20 people, was described as unfinished in 1935 by Chipperfield. An older bunkhouse (Building E), identified as 2-story from photographs (Figures 58, 61), measured 20'x40'. Three buildings are identified as "living quarters," with three or four rooms each (Figure 59). Other dwellings consist of one "bungalow" and a couple "shacks." Two buildings (one 20'x40', the other 24'x40') are listed as "mess house," each with a secondary function – one had storage rooms, the other was used as a warehouse and office with a dormitory in the loft. The 1942 map doesn't plot the mess house with storage (Figure 61) because it burned down within a couple months of the Aleut arrival.

Utilities for the mine were simple. Water was piped to a large laundry/toilet/shower building south of the mill –Building T (Figure 62). The source was either a small impoundment box on a creek to the southeast or via the existing large 3'-diameter penstock laid in a ¾ mile-long ditch to serve the milling process. A WW II period photograph of a kitchen interior shows a wood washing basin served by two independent sets of 1" pipe, indicating a hot-water heater (Figure 63). An outhouse serving the southernmost dwelling (Building R – the home of "Smiley" Jukich, the maternal grandmother of Sam and Andrew Pekovich) was perched over a small creek about 30' from the high tide line. Outhouses serving the remainder of the pre-war mining camp are not identified on the map and may have been attached to one or both wharfs extending into the bay. Two small buildings near the tide line identified as women's toilet and men's toilet (Figure 59) were almost certainly constructed for the mine's new wartime occupants. A wartime photograph shows a third outhouse on land upslope (east) of a shoreline boardwalk (Figure 64).

> *Funter Bay...has two docks, one at a cannery on the north side, where there is a post office, and another, which belongs to the owners of the Mertie Lode, on the southeast side. A number of buildings, including cabins, a bunkhouse, a cook- and mess-house, an assay office, and a mill have been constructed near the dock on the southeast side of the bay. From the mill a narrow-gauge railroad extends southeastward about three-fourths of a mile over bench land, in part swampy, to the foot of the steep slope of Robert Barron Peak at an altitude of about 200 feet. From the southeast end of the railroad a long tunnel, driven in the search for gold deposits, extends southeastward into the mountain, and from a point nearby, two aerial tramways, now in disrepair, diverge from the railroad – one southeastward....The Mertie Lode was discovered in 1919. It was named for J.B. Mertie, Jr., of the Geological Survey, who was one of the discoverers.*
>
> **Reed (1942:350-352)**

The Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine had more than one power source, though likely not all were in operation at once. Installed in the mill were two large 100 horsepower Seymour-MacIntosh diesels, accounting for one system. According to Sam Pekovich, another generator was housed in a shed just east across the boardwalk from the bunkhouse (Building L; though the small building isn't plotted, it shows on WW II photographs). Serving the mine adits and aerial tram was a large onsite Pelton wheel. Archival photographs show poles and overhead electrical lines extending north at least to Building B, and – since the northernmost cabin A was identified as "permanently occupied by Mrs. S. Pekovich" – the line probably extended to her home also.

World War II and the Camp Experience

By June of 1942 the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine had been out of production for at least 15 years, and no longer was there the need for a large crew of workers or the shoreside facilities to serve them. Rado Pekovich was the mine's onsite caretaker and at least one other related individual lived there, while the W.S. Pekovich family lived (until about 1950) at nearby Hawk Inlet. Negotiations between the federal government and representatives of the mine are

evidenced in the archives only by a July 15, 1942, letter sent from USFWS General Superintendent Edward C. Johnston in Seattle to Alaska Indian Service agent Claude M. Hirst in Juneau, implying that initially the President of the mining company (probably still at that time Henry Roden, a well-connected territorial politician) wanted $250 per month to house Aleut evacuees. Ultimately the mine was leased for one dollar per year, according to Pekovich family members.

Figure 60.

A one-story frame building north of the mill (Building N on Figure 59) is said by Sam Pekovich to have been the assay office, though the 1942 map identifies it as living quarters and a smaller building further south as the assay office. Note at lower left a stack of rollers for vanners – devices for sorting ore from waste rock.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA306-neg898.187 (Aleuts)

St. George villagers had more or less the same evacuation experience as the St. Paul villagers, arriving at Funter Bay on the USAT *Delarof* together and disembarking at the cannery on June 24. The following day the St. George villagers were moved across the bay to the mine. Fewer archival photographs are available for the mine compared to the cannery, and only two wartime images show activity – men chopping wood for the mess house (Figure 61), and a meeting between Rado Pekovich and USFWS officials Lee McMillan, Carl Hoverson, and Roy Hurd (Figure 65).

The mining camp facilities adequate for the Pekovich family's activities were not adequate to comfortably serve the entire village of St. George, and an onsite report prepared by USFWS officials three days before the arrival of the *Delarof* and its human cargo described those inadequacies. Old cords and bare wires created electrical hazards, the assay office and mill contained poisonous chemicals, the existing sewage system consisted of only two outhouses on pilings over the beach, and drinking water was not piped to any of the buildings. The mining camp's buildings were generally smaller than those of the cannery, but were in better shape.

Figure 61.

St. George men chop wood for the old mess house (Building F) that was destroyed by fire in 1942, thus dating this image to the early weeks of the relocation. At upper left is a bunkhouse (Building E).

University of Alaska Fairbanks
Fredericka Martin collection
91.223.3417

Figure 62.

Building T south of the mill was mapped as a laundry, toilet, and shower facility in 1942, and was later incorporated into the home of Sam Pekovich. Both plank doors visible here remained in place in 2008.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

Villagers immediately set to work to make the place more habitable, erecting tents, repairing buildings, improving the plumbing, and addressing the most obvious safety issues. Many cords of wood had to be cut – with saw and axe – to heat the drafty buildings. Fishing teams, hunting parties and clamming expeditions were undoubtedly organized to feed the villagers as they were for the St. Paul contingent across the bay. An annotated photograph of the camp (Figure 66) indicates that the village priest, Father Feodosiy, lived three winters in Building B (Figures 59, 65). A room at the end of the mess house (Building K) was converted into a small chapel using the icons and vestments brought from the church at St. George (Figures 67-68).

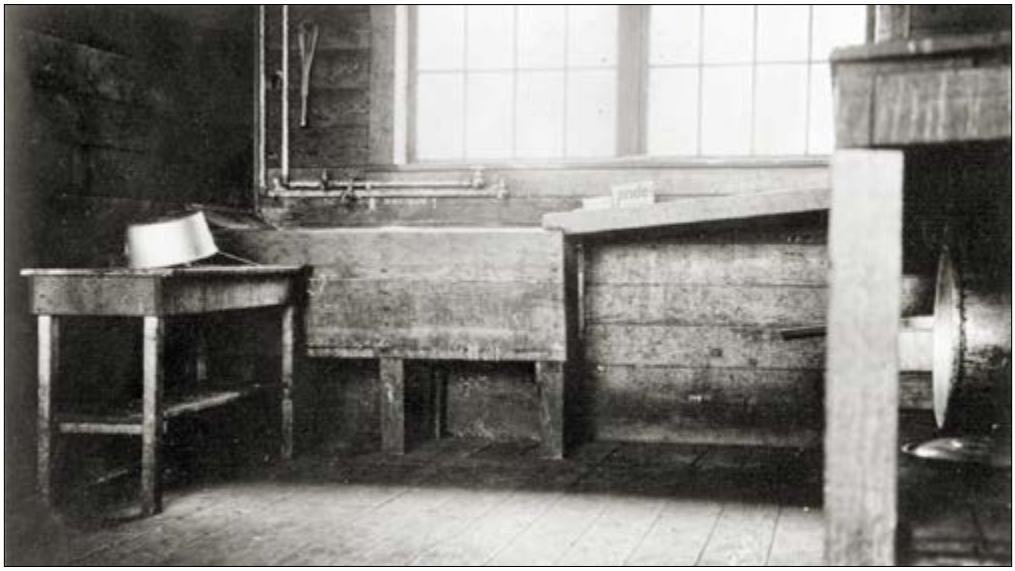


Figure 63.

Large pots and a sloping dish-drainer suggest this may have been the interior of the mine's mess hall, with two 1" water lines indicating a hot water heater nearby.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

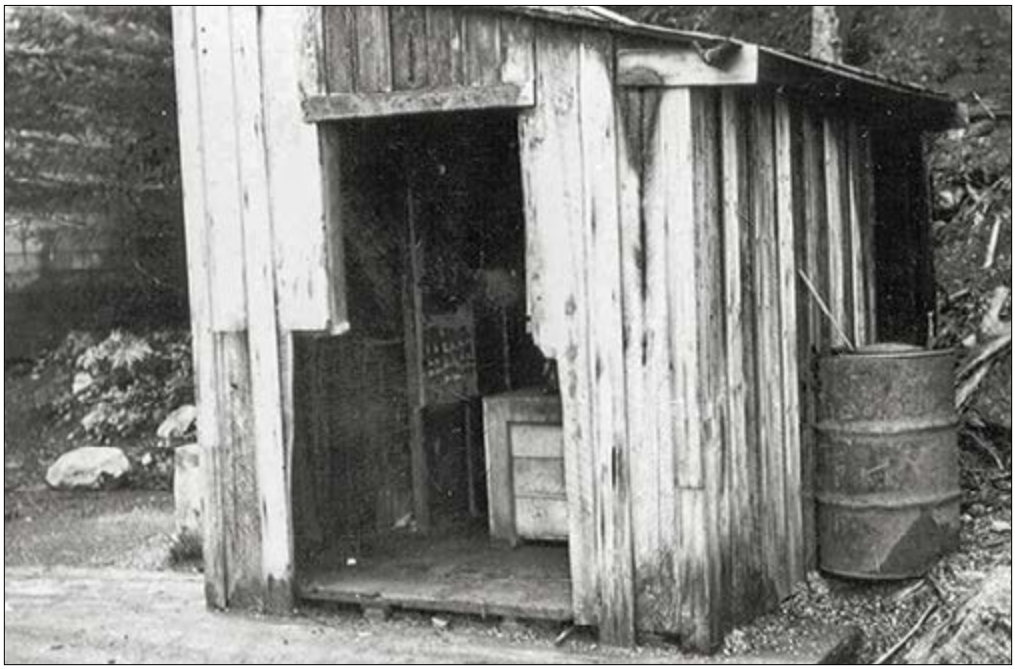


Figure 64.

In contrast to the cannery's known outhouses on pilings over the intertidal zone, the Funter Bay mine had at least one outhouse on land.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

The cannery continued to be the social center, having the post office, the store, and the floats and wharf for delivery of freight and passenger service to Juneau and elsewhere. Of the two Pribilof villages St. George typically received less federal attention and resources compared to St. Paul because the latter had much larger seal rookeries and a harbor – and therefore a larger Native population maintained by USFWS. So it was not surprising that the St. Paul camp, with three times the population as St. George, was the hub of activity. Small resident boats and skiffs plied Funter Bay regularly but the Aleut villagers arrived with only two baidars and those belonged to USFWS, so local transportation was likely limited at first. Father Michael Lestenkof had evacuated his outboard motor from St. Paul, and Father Feodosiy procured a skiff, according to St. George elders Terenty Merculief, Sr., Andronik Kashevarof, Sr., and Victor Malavansky, who alluded in a 1998 interview to a youthful wartime event in which some or all of the three "borrowed" the priest's boat and almost swamped it in the bay.

Health and sanitation were chronic problems at both Funter Bay camps during the internment, and several government officials from various agencies wrote frank reports describing the dismal circumstances of the displaced Aleuts. One of the more sensational accounts was that of Alaska Attorney General Henry Roden as delivered in an often-cited letter to Governor Ernest Gruening after Roden "had occasion to visit Funter Bay in mid-September 1943" (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:43). Overlooked is the fact that Roden had been a longtime officer (President and Treasurer) in the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mining Company (Alaska State Library 2002), and he may have been the person who had attempted negotiating the $250 lease for the property. Roden had a long political career that included seats in the 1st Territorial Senate (1913-1914), the 13th (1937-1938) and 15th (1941-42), as well as service as Attorney General in 1928-1929 for Governor James Wickersham and later in 1943. As both a

Figure 65.

Mine watchman Rado Pekovich (right) talks with USFWS agents Lee McMillan (center), Carl Hoverson (left of center), and Roy Hurd (far left). At far right is the mess house (Building K). At far left is Building B with Buildings C, D, and E behind and center.

University of Alaska Fairbanks
Fredericka Martin collection
91.223.277

well-connected territorial official and a longtime Funter Bay mine investor he may have had an influential role in the decision to house Aleuts at Funter Bay.

The Delarof transport came in from St. Paul, picked everybody from over there, and anchored right here. And everybody, families, group by group, they go in baidar and they go on the ship. We didn't have time to pack anything. They rushed everybody. Four hours. I was young enough it was fun, you know. Me too, I thought it was fun. Remember? We didn't sleep. We stayed up all night….People didn't have enough suitcases so they had to use sacks and just put them by the warehouse down there. A lot of people didn't find their things because there was everybody from St. Paul, even from Aleutian [Atka] you know. Seven hundred to eight hundred people aboard that one transport. You know what this island manager [Benson] did? We put every three gallons of gas by each houses, even church, even this building [hotel]. They were ready to burn everything. And Coast Guard and Navy came and stopped them. They would have been just gone. They don't want the Japs to use them. But they quit that. It could have been something like Atka. They burned Atka's buildings, you know, including the church. This church was brand new. The Virgin Mary icon came with us, down to southeast Alaska with us, and it came back with us again and put it back. Maybe it gives us good luck.

Andronik Kashavarof, Sr., Terenty Merculief, Sr., and Victor Malavansky, University of Alaska H1998-34

Having received orders from the Navy to prepare for an immediate evacuation of all white and native population, the entire village has been mined with TNT; the cattle were rounded up and stanchioned, then shot; pails of gasoline stationed in each house to facilitate destruction, etc. Everyone was limited to one suitcase only; however at the last minute, several small boats and outboard engines were salvaged.

St. George Agent's Log for June 16, 1942

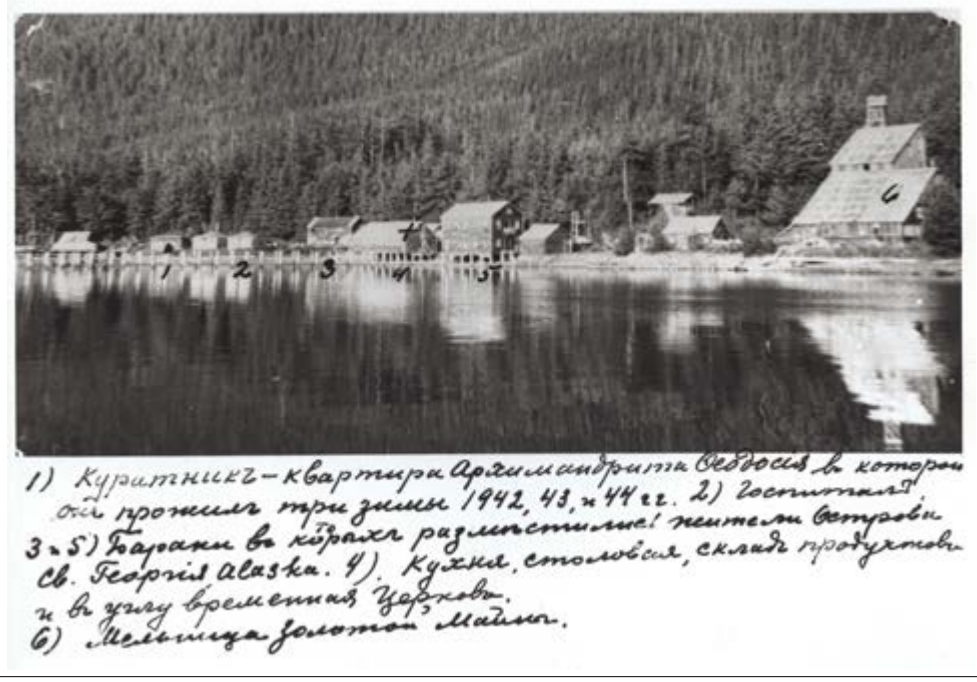


Figure 66.

A photograph of the Funter Bay mining camp annotated in Cyrillic translates as: 1) Chicken coop (possibly misspelled) – an apartment of Archimandrite Feodosiy in which he lived three winters of 1942, 1943, and 1944. 2) Hospital. 3) and 5) Barracks in which the inhabitants of St. George Island (Alaska) resided. 4) Kitchen, canteen, food storage/warehouse and a temporary church in the corner. 6) Gold mine mill.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association Fr. Michael Lestenkof collection

Wartime Construction

Tents were used to house the overflow of villagers at the Funter Bay mine until more buildings could be erected. One of the first construction tasks was to complete the unfinished bunkhouse. In early August the USFWS vessel *Penguin* delivered materials with which to build a long narrow one-story bunkhouse (Kohlhoff 1995:94), labeled as Building U on the 1942 map (Figures 59, 69). It was constructed on a raised bench overlooking the camp and was reached by a flight of stairs from the boardwalk (Figure 72). Materials were also delivered for a wash house (Building G) built on pilings at the high tide mark across from Bunkhouse E (Figure 70). The building had four doors facing east towards the boardwalk. Based on his post-war familiarity with the building, Sam Pekovich described the south room as containing a wash room and a one-hole privy against the wall over the beach. The next room north contained three toilets. The room after that contained three showers. The north room contained a woodstove and boiler, a 300-gallon wood water tank, and a 4-kw generator that likely postdated the war period. In 1944 ten surplus Army Quonset huts were brought to Funter Bay, of which two were erected at the mining camp on the water side of the boardwalk across from the assay office or Building N (Zacharof 2002).

Some original mining camp buildings were destroyed during the internment. Within a few short months a power house and the old mess house (Building F) burned to the ground, according to Sam Pekovich.

> *The gold mine dwellings were in somewhat better shape than those across the bay at the cannery. Two cottages had cots, heaters, and cooking ranges, but no plumbing. An old two-story bunkhouse was in fairly good condition except that its inside was unfinished and the sleeping cots were damaged. The old mess hall contained usable equipment, as did a newer mess hall, which nonetheless lacked a range and heating unit. Unlike the cannery, the gold mine had a bath house, a small unit containing one shower. This facility had a hot water system that could be repaired and expanded. A bunkhouse had been started but was only a shell with roof and flooring….There was a private residence, a good four-room house.*
>
> **Kohlhoff (1995:90) summarizing the USFWS Geeslin to Hirst report of June 23, 1942**

Post-War Development

After the villagers went back to St. George, the Pekovich family continued their involvement in the Funter Bay mine property through their stock holdings in the Admir-alty Alaska Gold Mining Company (which owns 130 acres), their status as officers and caretakers for the company, and their eventual ownership of about 35 adjacent acres. The Territorial Commissioner of Mines continued to list the mine as active into the 1950s, when 30 people were said to have been employed doing maintenance (Holdsworth 1955:75). As late as 1958 “the main camp buildings and general facilities are adequate to take care of a large crew,” and except for “a small jeep..., a power wagon, Willys-pickup, or other front-wheel-drive truck, pipes, rails, ties, vent pipes, fan...for driving a 1,200 foot tunnel, [and] a small jumbo [drill],...the equip-

ment and tools on the property are nearly adequate to proceed with the suggested exploration program" (Guard 1958:3-4).

The mine's shoreline was mapped as part of Alaska Tidelands Survey 712 in 1970, at which time most of the original buildings were still standing (Figure 72). Little work was done on the claims in subsequent decades, but the continuing stream of lead, zinc, silver, and gold from Hecla Mining Company's Greens Creek mine only 20 miles away has sustained the hope that the Funter Bay deposits will someday be brought into production. For two summers in the mid-1980s crews mapping the geology of the Mans-field Peninsula for Noranda Exploration leased the two-story bunkhouse, according to Sam Pekovich.

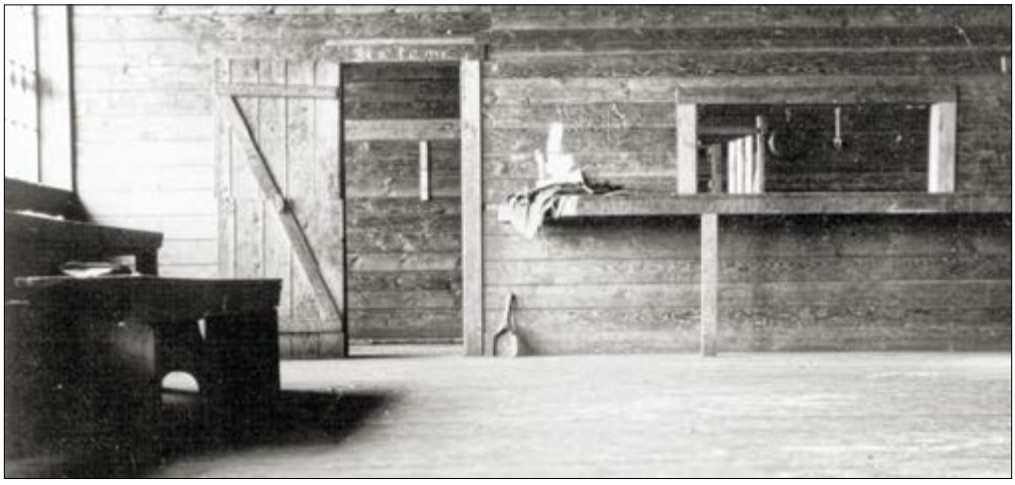


Figure 67.
The one-story mess house (Building K) had a room set aside as a chapel, here seen through the doorway with a Russian Orthodox cross and the date "1944" painted above.
Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

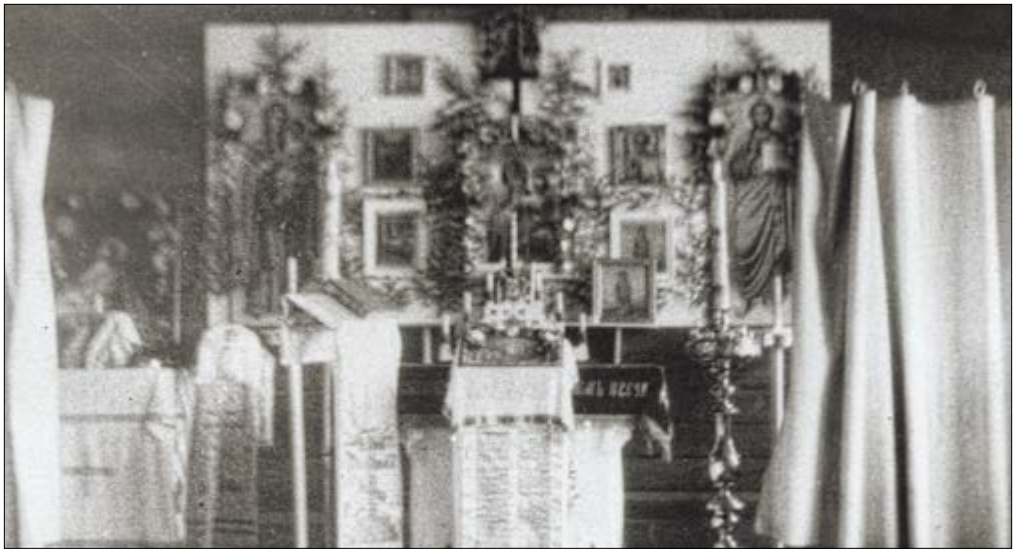


Figure 68.
St. George villagers brought with them the icons and vestments from their Russian Orthodox Church and reconstructed the village altar.
Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association Fr. Michael Lestenkof collection

The camp has seen some changes in its building inventory in recent decades. Building T at the south end of the camp was remodeled and enlarged by Sam Pekovich as a second residence to

his home in Juneau. The dwelling (Building R) at the far south end of the complex (Figure 71) was removed and a modern prefabricated utility building (Figure 73) was installed nearby in about 2005. At least one other original mine building was demolished for the material by local residents.

One Elder recalls that Mr. Rado Pekovich...insisted that the [gift of his venison] meat be given to the internees over the objections of the federal overseers and that he emphasized his determination to back down the federal officials by the judicious brandishing of his shotgun.

M. Richard Zacharof, in a November 12, 2001, letter to Andrew Pekovich, Juneau.

Henry Roden was shown as being one of the incorporators, one of the directors, and the president in the [Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine] Articles of Incorporation dated December 20 or 29, 1919, and a director and one of three signers of Amended Articles of Incorporation dated April 6, 1931. He was also one of three signers of the Certificate of Amendment dated March 27, 1952, and shown as president on a prospective dated October 19, 1954. Whether he held the president's position at the time [when the government lease of the Funter Bay mine was negotiated] I have no way of knowing. My father was general manager.

Andrew Pekovich

At noon every day Henry Roden, Charley Wagner, collector, Fox, attorney and Beers meet in my office & we smoke cigars and talk for an hour.

Judge James Wickersham in his diary entry of September 19-20, 1935

I have no language at my command which can adequately describe what I saw; if I had I am confident you would not believe my statements....in short, the situation is shocking. I have seen some tough places in my days in Alaska, but nothing to equal the situation at Funter.

Alaska Attorney General (and long-time President of the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mining Company) Henry Roden, describing the Funter Bay mine and its Aleut occupants in a September 20, 1943, letter to Governor Ernest Gruening.

Current Condition

Compared to the five other WW II Aleut relocation camps, where most buildings have been razed or removed, most of the Funter Bay mine buildings have decayed in place. Thus its remains are the most evocative of the six sites. Inland are the mine workings and equipment, while the shoreline holds the mine camp that had been occupied by St. George villagers. The buildings described here as "standing" are those with effective roofs making them usable; those described as ruins may have one or more standing walls but are nonetheless well on their way to becoming archaeological features. Other features are grouped for discussion according to whether they are along the shoreline (part of the mining camp) or inland (part of the mine workings). Alaska Tidelands Survey 712, made in 1970, plots the buildings evident at that time and forms a good base map for describing the 2008 circumstances (Figure 72).

STANDING BUILDINGS

Figure 69.

A one-story six-room bunkhouse (Building U) was built in the forest upslope from one of the existing bunkhouses, using materials delivered by the USFWS vessel Penguin in early August of 1942.

National Archives Still Picture Branch

Figure 70.

The Penguin's 1942 shipment included materials to build a wash house (Building G) with showers, toilets, and a wood-fired hot water heater.

National Archives Still Picture Branch

Figure 71.

A house (Building R) above the tide line at the far south end of the mining camp was the home after the war of Pekovich family matriarch "Smiley" Jukich. It was moved to make room for a prefabricated metal utility building erected in about 2005.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association

Standing buildings at the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine include a modern prefabricated metal utility shed, historic Building T that has been remodeled into a home, the two-story bunkhouse (Building L), a small shop (Building M), and three small sheds. The prefabricated building has an arched roof and walls made of windowless metal panels with ribbed joints, with a vehicle entrance at one end (Figure 73). The building was erected 20'-30' from shore at the south end of the site in about 2005. Other storage sheds consist of two small gable-roofed buildings clad in T-111 serving Building T, and an older (but not wartime) gable-roofed shed immediately southwest of the Quonset hut. The latter building is sided and roofed with corrugated metal sheeting, and is windowless (Figure 74).

[Conditions were] terrible. Not really good. We stayed in one big building. The smells! Small rooms, about ten by ten. Just with the blankets. No privacy. Some of the elder guys like my dad, uncles, they go to Juneau. They work for Army defense. Like my dad – he was a carpenter, building everything down there in Juneau. Big warehouse, stuff like that. A lot of people from St. Paul and St. George started going to Juneau to get better house for the family, because we were losing quite a bit, of the sickness. People. We lost quite a bit. You know what really happened? There was German prisoners only forty miles from where we are. They were fed more better than us, we find out. Government! And we just mostly eat soup, every day. Boiled bacon for supper or whatever. But I thought it was fun, though. We eat clams. But we didn't know how good they were, you just had to take what's coming. Some of those clams were not too hot, I know that. We used to fish down there. We used to catch salmons – cohoes. Remember that? We used to use that Father Feodosiy's boat and go out fishing. We take them to the St. Paul side, and take them back to St. George side....Every time somebody gets sick you just have to cross that lake [Funter Bay] to get them to see a doctor. Even people with pneumonia. Doctor can't come over, have to take the patient over.

Andronik Kashavarof, Sr., Terenty Merculief, Sr., and Victor Malavansky, University of Alaska H1998-34

The only other new construction at the site since the Aleut experience is a frame addition to Building T, the Funter Bay residence of Sam Pekovich, who caretakes the site on behalf of the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mining Company. The composite building is an attractive one-story dwelling with the addition's north gable end attached to Building T's south gable end (Figure 75). Both components have a metal roof. The addition is clad with T-111, while the original building is unclad and has nail-stains on the weathered horizontal boards that show the stud patterns. The older building has an enclosed entry facing the water and another facing inland, each with a simple plank exterior door. Both front and back doors are original wartime fixtures (compare Figures 62 and 76). Whereas the building once had only six-pane fixed windows (Figure 62), now all but two in the front entry have been replaced with single-pane windows (Figures 75-76).

Standing side-by-side as a conspicuous part of Funter Bay's built environment are the mine's original two-story bunkhouse and warehouse/shop (Figure 77). The bunkhouse (Building L) is a simple wood frame gable-roofed building on pilings over the upper intertidal zone. Five

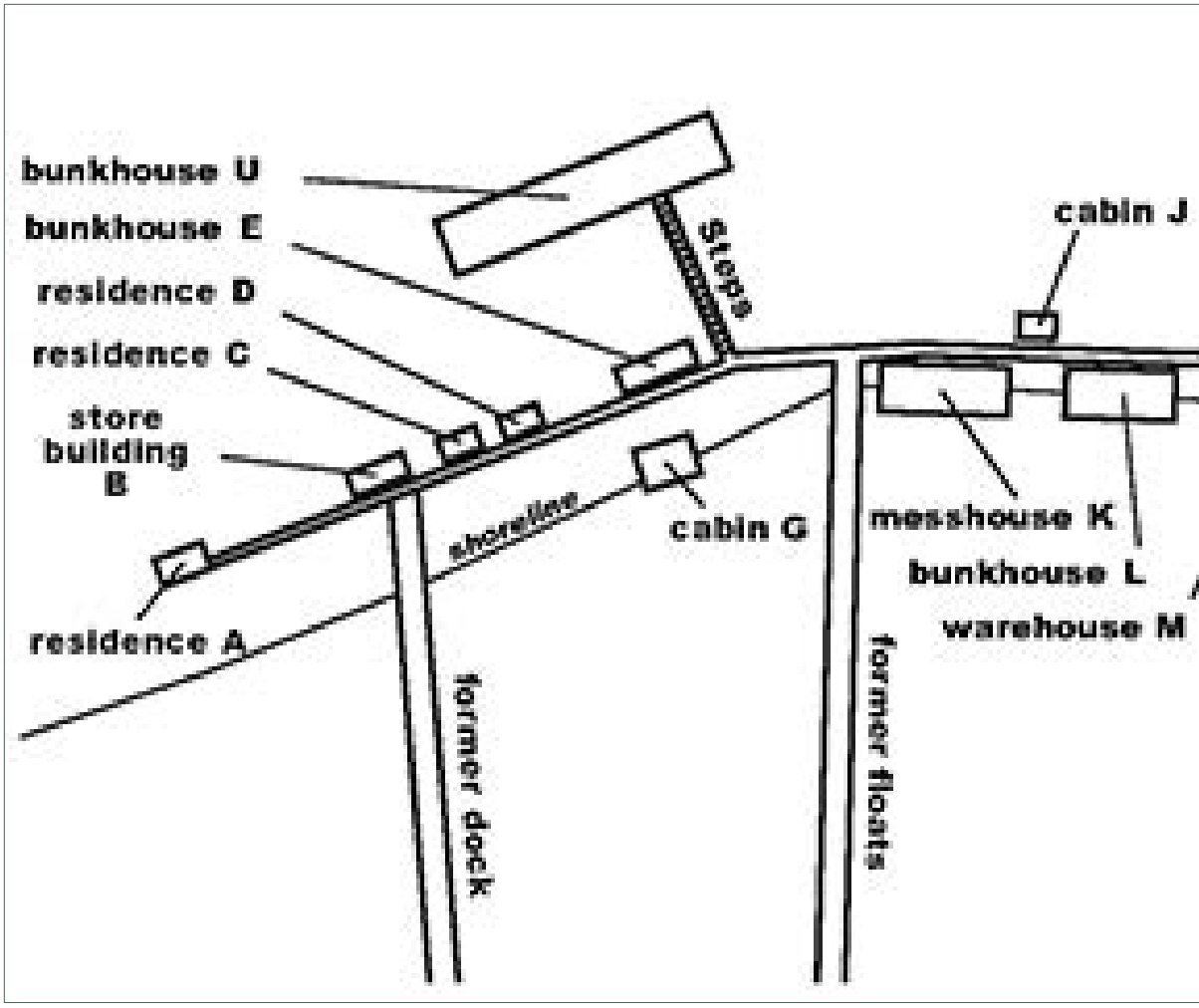
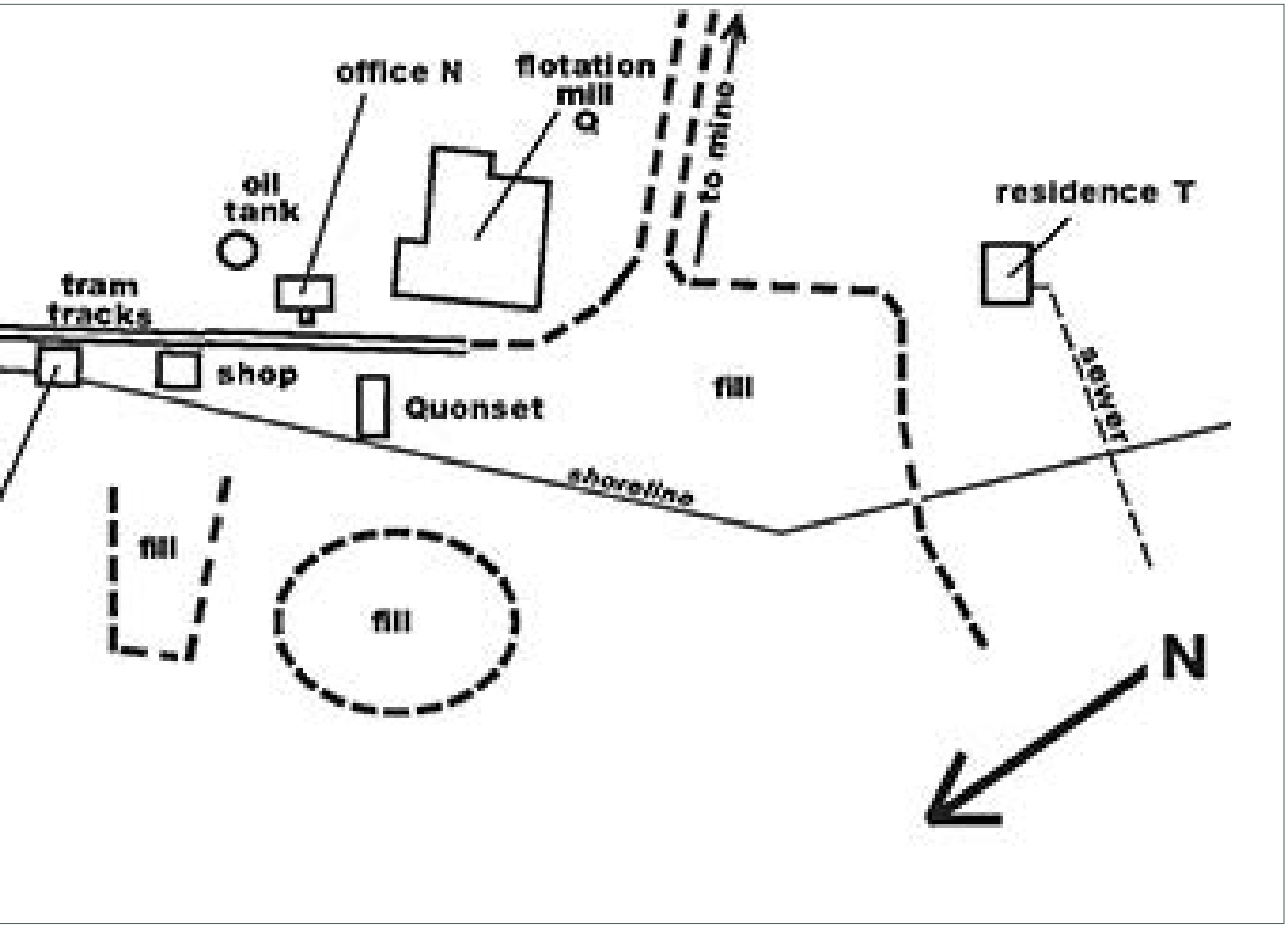


Figure 72.
In 1970 the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine's shore features were mapped as part of Alaska Tidelands Survey 712 (from which this illustration was prepared). Labels are those of the 1970 survey; letters correspond to those of the 1942 map (Figure 59).

equidistantly spaced windows penetrate the east and west eave elevations on both floors to create two long identical parallel walls. Each gable end has symetrically spaced windows upstairs and downstairs, with a door centered on each floor of the south elevation (Figure 78). The north elevation has no doors. The interior was not inspected, but the building style is typical of simple two-story bunkhouses built by canneries and mines in southeast Alaska, with its long axis parallel to shore (Mobley 1993:34-41, 1999:16-25; 2009:42). The building's materials consist of drop siding, red-painted corrugated metal roofing, and 1/1 sashed windows replacing original 6/6 sashed units. Most of the north- and east-facing windows are boarded over. The south gable end has exterior stairs to the second floor and a stovepipe from the first floor up to the roofline (Figure 78). In 2008 the building was inhabited, and has been sporadically for the last couple decades, according to Sam Pekovich.

Immediately south of the two-story bunkhouse (Figure 77) is original Building M. The building is of the same materials as the bunkhouse, with dilapidated drop siding, red-painted corrugated roofing, and a single six-paned window penetrating the south gable wall (Figure 79). It still functions as a warehouse/shop as it did 70 years ago (Figure 80).



BUILDING RUINS

Classed as ruins are buildings ranging from those with deteriorated roofs, walls, and/or foundations making them too dilapidated to be of use, to buildings consisting of little more than rotten boards protruding from the forest floor.

The most prominent ruin in 2008 was the mill (Building Q), a large wood frame building with several floor levels and roof angles (Figure 81). Though its walls and roof appeared relatively intact during the field investigation, the building's interior was a dangerous jumble of collapsed beams and equipment that precluded anything more than a glimpse from inside one door. According to Sam Pekovich, snow collapsed the building during the winter of 2008-2009. Construction materials consisted of 12"x12" posts and beams, 2"x12" planks, and smaller lumber. The majority of the building's window frames were in place and more than half the glazing was intact, with most windows – including a massive bank on the south elevation – being fixed 16-pane examples (Figures 81-82). Some of the building's siding was of vertical planks, and some were horizontal (Figure 82).

Our father thought he was doing the patriotic thing by providing the property with no lease fee required. We were brought up, during the summer, in those same buildings that the Pribilof folks lived in. When they complained about the conditions, they were actually criticizing where we lived. I understand the cannery was terrible – way worse than the mine. The water was bad there.

Andrew Pekovich, May 8, 2008

They dumped us all in a broken down cannery. There were only two bunkhouses there. One was a Filipino bunkhouse, the other was Chinese. Everybody slept on the floor that night from both islands….The Chinese bunkhouse had a kitchen and a big stove where they did the cooking for everybody. We lived mostly on beans and eggs when we first got there….The bunkhouse where I was staying was completely bare. So later on people who were living there put the Army blankets for a little privacy. We had no kind of heat where we were living so everybody had to wear their warm clothes day and night just to keep warm. It was in that cold, heatless place that I gave birth to my son Harry….Most of the men from both St. Paul and St. George were sent to the islands the next summer to harvest seals. They didn't get back until November. Thirty-seven people died during that time and my dad was one of them.

Martha Krukoff, St. Paul, 1981 testimony

The 100-hp diesel engines mentioned by Chipperfield (1935) were still in place in 2008, on the bottom floor midway along the south wall. A large Westinghouse switchboard with copper breakers remained in the building (Figure 83). A large metal lathe and drill press were positioned in the southwest corner of the building. Visible from the building's southwest corner door was an ore hopper on the second level. An ore elevator visible through a window had its manufacturer stenciled on the side: "J. Jacob Shannon & Co., Pasadena, N.J." (internet

Figure 73.
A prefabricated metal utility shed stands near shore at the far south end of the mine camp.

Phil Emerson and I got permission from Sam [Pekovich] to salvage [a mine building] because the roof was gone. But the floor and siding was still good. It had beautiful 1"x12" – full 1"x12" – vertical-grain fir planks inside.

Joe Giefer

references indicate the firm was a prominent farm and mine equipment manufacturer based in Philadelphia in the early 1900s).

Two small cabins shifting into the ruin category are similar in design. Each is a single-story frame building with gable walls perpendicular to the shore and a shed-roofed entry facing south (Figures 84-85). One of the two (Building A) has a second shed-roofed room on its north end (Figure 84). Each of the cabins has vertical plank siding, corrugated metal roofing, and windows with four and six panes. The second of the two cabins (Building J) still shows remnants of red paint (Figure 85). Building A's interior (Figure 86) is similar to that of Building J, with tattered beaverboard walls and ceilings. Its domestic function is evidenced by a derelict wood stove, a built-in ironing board, a wire-chain-spring bed frame, and a kitchen with counter space and pantry shelves.

Figure 74.
A small gable-roofed utility shed of corrugated metal is located along the shore near a Quonset hut.

Plotted as Building N in 1942 is a one-story building variously used as a residence and an office. The building is of frame construction with drop siding and a corrugated metal roof (Figure 87). The roofing metal – which appears to be only a few decades old – is too short, and rotten wood shingles protrude from under it at the eaves. A roof extension protects a small entry centered on the wall facing the waterfront. The entry has a five-panel wood door and a four-pane window; other windows are 1/1 sashed examples.

Figure 75.
The modern home of mine caretaker Sam Pekovich is composed of a modern addition (right) attached to original Building T (left). View is south.

Figure 76.
In 2008, Building T still retained two original plank exterior doors, including this one (compare with Figure 62).

During the Aleut experience the main approach to the mine was by way of the north dock (Figure 58), which disembarked passengers to the tramway/boardwalk running the length of the camp and deposited them before three buildings in a row. Remains of the three – Buildings B, C, and D – were easily distinguishable in 2008. Building B is a shed-roofed building with vertical plank siding and a decided list away from the water due to foundation failure (Figure 88). The porch upon which federal officials were photographed in 1942 (Figure 65) is no longer evident. During the internment Father Feodosiy lived in the building (Figure 66). The 1970 map (Figure 72) labels it "store building," meaning either a warehouse or a commercial retail establishment – both are logical functions given its position at the foot of the

dock. The building floor holds a jumble of documents that predate World War II (Figure 89). Ore reports and similar mining documents are mixed with other scraps of paper. A receipt dated December 1, 1920, from the company store at the Treadwell Mine in Juneau, lists the purchase of 56 lbs of ham, 52 lbs of bacon, and 25 lbs of onions (Figure 90). A calendar displaying the months of July, August, and September was dated 1938 (Figure 91).

Immediately south of Building B are the remains of Buildings C and D – a pair of pyramidal hip-roofed residences that stand out from the mining camp's other gable-roofed buildings (Figure 58). Both have failing foundations, roofs, and walls, and both are being reclaimed by forest vegetation (Figure 92). The 1942 map (Figure 59) says Building D was "used as hospital," but nothing inside would suggest that function.

The wash house built in late 1942 for St. George villagers (Figure 70) is slumping into the intertidal zone north of the two-story bunkhouse. The one-story frame building's foundation is giving way, and the north end is little more than a jumble of boards, but the south end is more intact (Figure 93). The building still displays evidence of its six-pane windows, drop siding, and five-panel wood doors, and inside a few shelves and other furnishings can be seen (Figure 94).

Another ruin of a building constructed during the war is on a bench upslope, or east, of the boardwalk alignment. Building U is listed on the 1942 map (Figure 59) as a new six-family dwelling with six contiguous rooms. In 2008 it consisted of a wide rectangular swathe of planks embedded in the forest floor (Figure 95). Here and there a window or door frame can be seen, and obviously the roof collapsed in place, but few structural details can be discerned. Furniture fragments or artifacts were lacking. The 1942 archival photograph (Figure 69) relays more immediate information about the building's appearance than does its archaeological context.

One Quonset hut is located along the waterfront side of the shoreline tramway/boardwalk, between Building M (Figure 74) and a post-war corrugated utility shed. The exterior wooden partitions at each end are badly deteriorated, and the building leans to the north (Figure 96). It was used mostly for firewood storage in 2008.

SHORELINE FEATURES

A pedestrian at the mining camp in 2008 could not help but notice the long path, some of which is graveled for vehicle traffic, along the waterfront between the buildings and ruins (Figure 97). The path is the current reflection of the wartime boardwalk and tram track (Figures 59, 65, 72). Rails for the tramway have been removed from the camp, but eventually they reappear on the inland section leading to an aerial tram station.

Another feature evident in 2008 is a large steel oil tank located upslope from the boardwalk (Figure 72). The tank is about 18' in diameter and 12' high, with a prominently beveled upper

Figure 77.
Conspicuous reference points in Funter Bay are the mine's original two-story bunkhouse (Building L) and warehouse or shop (Building M) – both on pilings over the intertidal zone.

Figure 78.
The bunkhouse (Building L) was home to one full-time resident in 2008.

rim. According to Sam Pekovich, the tank postdates World War II and is unused. A second tank is stored in pieces nearby.

Parts of two historic water systems were observed in 2008. One feature consists of a simple 2" steel pipe conducting water to a tap in the north part of the camp from a small spring upslope. The second system is evidenced by a small rectangular plank and sheet metal box or dam buried in a creekbed upslope from the mill, that once diverted water into a pipe and on to the

Figure 79.
Still in place in 2008 was a small frame building (Building M) identified as a warehouse in 1942 and a shop in 1970.

Figure 80.
Building M has probably served much the same function for at least 70 years.

camp. Though not labeled, the feature is drawn on the 1942 map as serving two gender-specific toilets at the high tide mark (Figure 59). Sam Pekovich described a 3' diameter pipe that once extended from the dam to the mill.

Suggested by only a few rotten boards in 2008 was the stairway leading up the mountainside from the boardwalk to the six-room bunkhouse (Figure 72). Since the bunkhouse (Building U)

Figure 81.

In 2008 the mill (Building Q) was a large frame building full of original equipment, but collapsed timbers and flooring made it too dangerous to enter beyond a couple steps inside one door. Snow the following winter collapsed the building.

Figure 82.

The mill's windows were relatively intact and still held most of their glass panels.

Figure 83.

The mill contained a Westinghouse electrical switchboard with copper breakers.

was built for Aleut use in 1942, the stairway was likely built then, too. The uppermost portion of it shows in an archival photograph (Figure 69).

Artifact scatters around the mining camp reflect the accumulation, storage, and discard patterns of the mine owners, and several collections of building material and machinery were noted in passing. One machine displaying a bank of three pistons, with the word FLECK cast into the metal, is embedded in the forest floor near the old office (Building N). The Fleck Brothers Company of Philadelphia manufactured steel industrial machines and supplies in the early years of the twentieth century (Williams Company 1911). Elsewhere a metal object – perhaps a cowling for a Pelton wheel – was observed with the manufacturer's name cast into it: B.D. STURDEVANT, BOSTON. Internet and other sources (Williams Company 1911) indicate the company was in business at least between 1884 and 1915.

Figure 84.
Building A is an unused one-story gable-roofed cabin with shed-roofed rooms at each gable end.

Figure 85.
Becky Saleeby examines Building J – an unused cabin similar to Building A that still retained traces of red paint in 2008.

Figure 86.
Dilapidated beaverboard covers the walls and ceiling of Building A.

Figure 87.
Building N is an unused one-story building ruin once serving as a residence and an office.

The 2008 reconnaissance did not inspect the intertidal zone for features. Areas identified offshore as fill on the 1970 map (Figure 72), no doubt consisting of mine tailings, now appear to be part of the natural beach. Sam Pekovich and his brother Andrew maintain private floats offshore to moor watercraft and aircraft, roughly corresponding to the old dock location, but historic piling patterns in the intertidal zone were not noted.

Figure 88.
Building B at left lists inland due to a failing foundation. At right are the pair of hip-roofed cabins – Buildings C and D.

Figure 89.
The interior of Building B is littered with documents predating World War II.

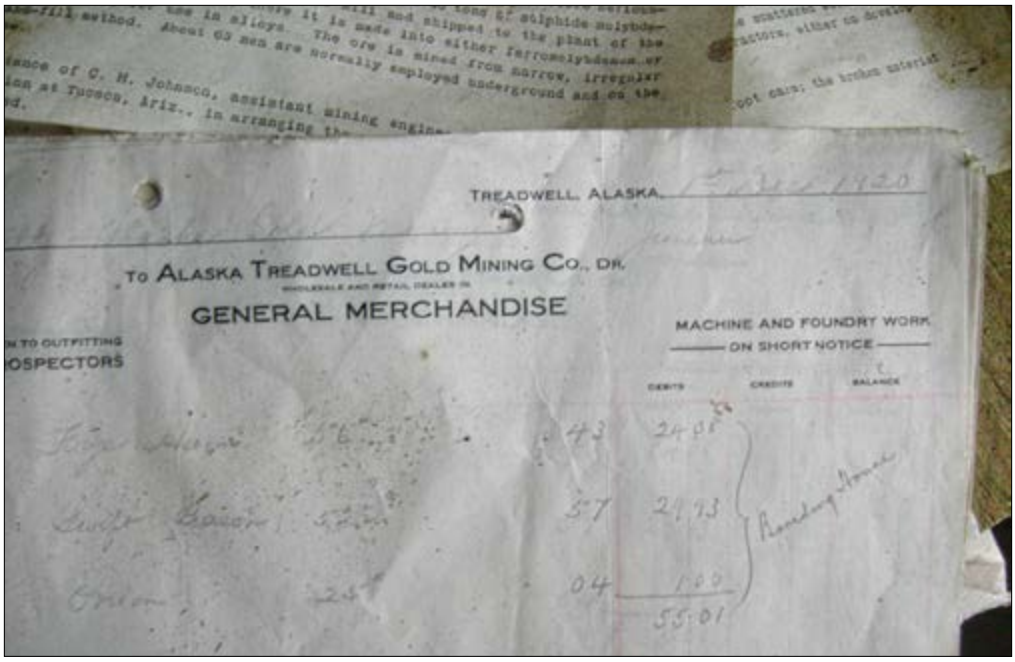


Figure 90.
Found in Building B was a receipt dated December 1, 1920, from the company store at the Treadwell Mine in Juneau, for 56 lbs of ham, 52 lbs of bacon, and 25 lbs of onions.

Figure 91.
Also noted in Building B was part of a 1938 calendar.

INLAND MINING FEATURES

The 2008 field investigation included brief inspection with Sam Pekovich of mining equipment inland from the mining camp. The tramway was followed upslope, past the mill, to the place where the steel rails meet an overhead tram system (Figure 98). The overhead tram station consists of a tripod of steel pipe supporting a steel cable – still taut – along with the

winching equipment. Built to serve workings far up the slope of Robert Barron Peak, the system has long been inoperable.

While the overhead tram appears to have been powered by a gasoline or diesel engine, evidence of two other power systems was observed inland near the lower workings. One is a steam engine (Figure 99). The other is a large Pelton wheel, fed by 700' of 3' diameter pipe narrowing to a 1" nozzle (Figure 100). According to Sam Pekovich, "it took three mules and five Serbs to roll the flywheel up here from the beach."

Figure 92.
The remains of Buildings C and D, here looking north, are overgrown with vegetation.

Figure 93.
The foundation of the 1942 wash house (Building G) is failing and the north third is mostly destroyed, but the south two-thirds (shown here) are relatively intact. Compare with Figure 70.

The lower workings consist of numerous mining features centered around two adits (Figure 101). Each adit entrance contains steel rail from the tram system, and one has an ore cart blocking the way. Both are obviously too dangerous to enter and are signed to that effect. Waste rock from the adits forms an artificial bench upon which the remains of buildings can be discerned, but in 2008 they consisted of little more than rotten plank piles over metal equipment and debris. That equipment includes an electric locomotive (Figure 101), a mucker, and drills and bits. Off the waste rock at a slightly lower elevation are other building ruins, one of which contains an air compressor. Vehicles noted in the vicinity included a tractor and a two-ton Chevrolet dump truck with dual wheels.

Figure 94.
The wash house still holds remnants of its interior furnishings.

Figure 95.
The ruin of Building U is a rectangular jumble of planks on a bench 40' above the waterfront buildings. Compare with the same perspective in Figure 69.

Summary

The Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine at Funter Bay is still owned by the Pekovich family and their fellow stockholders, as it was before and during the Aleut experience there. One building has been maintained and expanded upon as the residence of Sam Pekovich, and several utility buildings have been erected in recent decades. Wartime buildings still in good enough shape to use consist of the two-story bunkhouse and an adjacent shop. Otherwise the mine's original cabins and other buildings are quickly leaving the architectural realm to become part of the archaeological record. The mill collapsed some months after the 2008 field investigation.

Most of the wartime buildings could be identified, even though deteriorated. Referring back to the 1942 map (Figure 59), Buildings A, B, C, and D were distinguishable. Building E is completely gone, and Building F burned in 1942. Building G – built soon after the villagers arrived – is in poor condition. Building H/I is gone and in its place is a stack of wood and metal material. Nearby Building J is unusable but still has standing walls. Building K is gone but Building L (the two-story bunkhouse) and M (the adjacent shop) are standing and in use. Building N is almost whole but is not usable. Buildings O and P (two outhouses) and Building V were very small and built at the upper tide line, and no traces of them were seen in 2008. Building Q (the mill) is now collapsed. Building T exists, and – with an addition – serves as a residence. Buildings R and S are gone, and that location now holds a prefabricated utility building. The mine's lower workings hold no buildings but most of the original machinery has been left to deteriorate in place.

Figure 96.
One Quonset hut is located between the boardwalk and the shore of Funter Bay.

The mine workings are not directly relevant to St. George villagers' wartime experience, which centered instead on the mining camp along the shoreline. Eleven of the camp's main wartime buildings can be detected in their original location, even if some are becoming archaeological features. Despite the camp's general deterioration, the majority of the building remains and features of the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine are discernible and still convey much of the site's wartime layout and feeling.

Figure 97.
The tramway and boardwalk alignment connecting the shore buildings is now a narrow gravel track, visible here behind Joe Giefer and Becky Saleeby. Behind them is the shop (Building M) and two-story bunkhouse (Building L). At right is Building N.

Figure 98.
The tramway's steel rails lead inland from the mill building to an overhead tramway station, consisting of hoisting equipment and a still-taut steel cable leading to workings high on the side of Robert Barron Peak. Note ties and rail at lower right.

Figure 99.

A steam engine lies in place near the lower mine workings.

Figure 100.
The forest is reclaiming a large Pelton wheel that once provided electricity for the mining camp and the lower workings.

Figure 101.
Buildings around the two adits (upper right) of the lower workings have collapsed, leaving mounds of rusty mining equipment. At center is an electric locomotive.

We were supportive of the Aleuts revisiting the cemetery, but the more attention that gets brought to this site the harder it is for us. We have no-trespassing signs. The float is on our property. Sam's [Pekovich] house is part of the area where the Aleuts were interned. My house is a distance away. People look at it as an abandoned mine, but it's not abandoned, it's just dormant. There's not much left of the original buildings.

Andrew Pekovich

Chapter 4: Killisnoo Herring Plant

Figure 102.
The buildings of Whaler's Cove Lodge occupy about one third of the old Killisnoo site, here looking south across Killisnoo Harbor from the Angoon ferry terminal.

Villagers from Atka were housed during the war in the defunct herring factory at Killisnoo, near Angoon (Figure 102). Over 50 miles south of Funter Bay on the west side of Admiralty Island is a rich marine environment where the mouths of Mitchell Bay, Hood Bay, and Chaik Bay look across Chatham Strait at the entrance to Peril Strait (Figure 103). The lushly forested hills and mountains enclose many streams with large salmon runs. In the 1800s herring were plentiful and had long been a traditional staple of the local Tlingit Indians. Humpback whales plied the waters of Chatham Strait, preying on krill, herring, and other marine species. The rich marine resources attracted the attention of the Northwest Trading Company, which in 1878 established a station on the island of Killisnoo (Figure 103), near the Tlingit village of Angoon (de Laguna 1960:49). The Killisnoo herring plant was one of American Alaska's first industrial enterprises.

Early Years

The company constructed extensive wharf and warehouse facilities (Figure 104), began rendering herring oil and processing the fish waste into fertilizer – then called "guano" in reference to bat dung – in 1879, and began a whaling station the following year (de Laguna 1960:162). Native men from nearby Angoon were employed in the commercial whaling operation, leading to an infamous matter in 1882 involving Killisnoo, Angoon, and the U.S. Navy. Bare facts of the incident are that: a whaling gun exploded, killing a shaman employed on the boat, leading to a work strike by the Natives and the demand of restitution (the condi-

Figure 103.
Killisnoo is located south of Angoon on the west side of Admiralty Island, about 60 miles southeast of Funter Bay.

tion for return to the company of their whaling boat and two non-Native employees), scaring the non-Natives at Killisnoo, who contacted the U.S. Navy, which responded with several vessels armed with howitzers and gatling guns, culminating in the shelling of Angoon and its villagers, the burning of the village and 40 dugout canoes, and resulting Native deaths (Reckley 1982). Seasonal Native settlement was subsequently encouraged at Killisnoo, and soon a dense cluster of Native houses, sheds, and smokehouses formed northwest of the commercial buildings (Figures 104-105). The local Tlingit joined a multicultural workforce of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Swedes that lived year-round at Killisnoo.

Figure 104.

Killisnoo included a residential district – containing permanent employee homes as well as seasonal Native dwellings (upper right), the herring plant (out of frame at left), and a large wharf (foreground) to stack the hundreds of cords of wood required by the plant's reduction system. Just left of center is the company store with its gable reading "A.O. & G. Co."

Alaska State Library Vincent Soboleff collection PCA1-243

Figure 105.

The residential district at Killisnoo consisted of densely packed frame buildings, making the community vulnerable to fire.

Courtesy of Richard Powers, Whaler's Cove Lodge

Killisnoo became one of the first federally surveyed tracts in the Alaska Territory when U.S. Deputy Surveyor Charles W. Gorside mapped the facility in 1891 as USS 5 – the "Trading and Manufacturing Site" of the Alaska Oil and Guano Company (Figures 106-107). At that time a collection of about 40 "Indian Huts" at the northwest end of the site housed the families of the local Native work force. On the hillside south of those buildings was the territorial school, then a small reservoir, and south of the reservoir was the Russian Orthodox church and a fenced churchyard. Downslope from the church, at the water's edge, was a supply house and the agent's house. Southeast of the church were a group of buildings labeled in 1891 as "Russian Houses." Between those buildings and the shore were five small buildings, plus two small covered wells, and at the high tide line were two larger buildings of

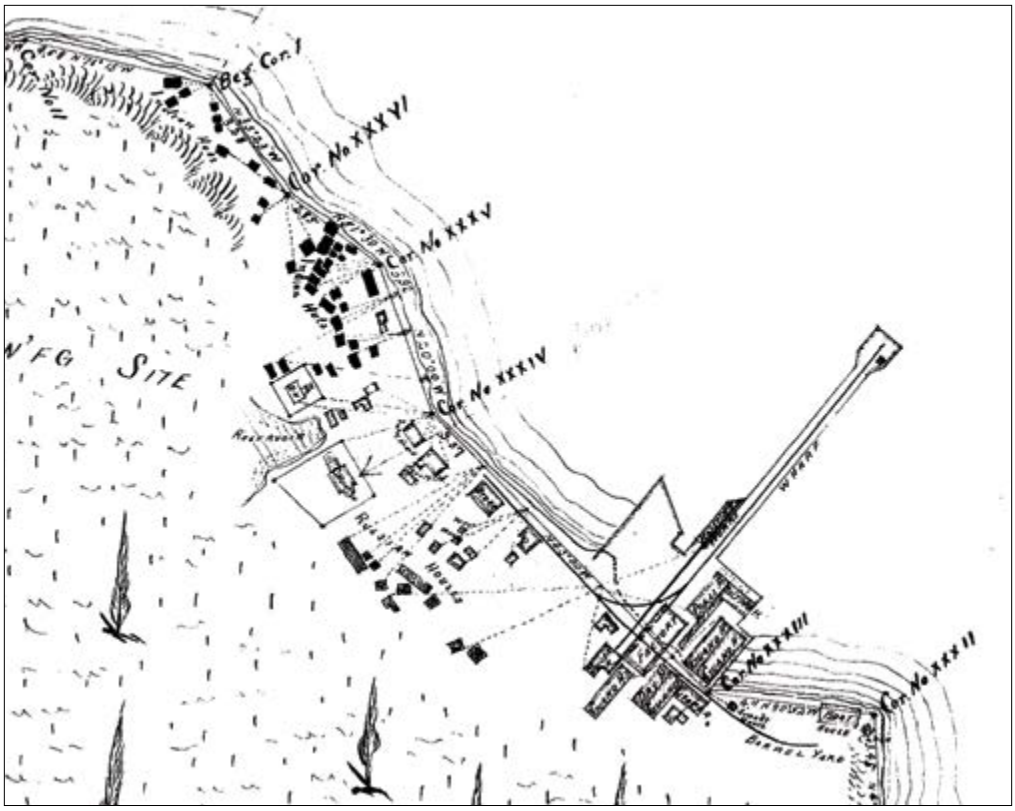


Figure 106.
In 1891 U.S. Deputy Surveyor Charles W. Gorside plotted the facilities of the Alaska Oil and Guano Company as U.S. Survey 5.

which one was the company store. Moving southeast along the shoreline from the store there was a gap of about 75' before the large industrial buildings of the plant began. Archival photographs show Killisnoo to be almost completely deforested by the late 1800s, with less than a dozen tall old-growth trees left standing.

An enlargement of the 1891 plat shows the array of industrial facilities at the Killisnoo plant (Figure 107). Prominent was a wharf perpendicular to the shore, extending 300' into Killisnoo Harbor. As the wharf approached the shore it broadened to create – including buildings – a work/storage space measuring more than 100' x 150' on pilings over the intertidal zone. At the shore end of the wharf was a boiler room on land, attached at one corner to a large building partly over the intertidal zone labeled "Factory." At the northeast corner of the complex was a "press house" and a "salting house." At the southeast corner was the cooperage, or barrel-making shop, and a building labeled "Day H." – perhaps the crew mess hall. Scattered among these buildings were four others labeled "Guano H.," where product in various stages of manufacture was stored. Continuing southeast along the shore from the factory complex were a small smoke house, a barrel storage yard, and a boathouse (Figure 107). At its zenith the Killisnoo herring plant was one of Alaska's largest industrial enterprises, with a bustling harbor and even a steam whistle to call the crews to work.

Killisnoo continued in operation in some form through the following decades, processing herring, whales, and sometimes other marine products. In 1928 almost all of the housing burned to the ground, leaving only the industrial plant and a few nearby commercial/industrial

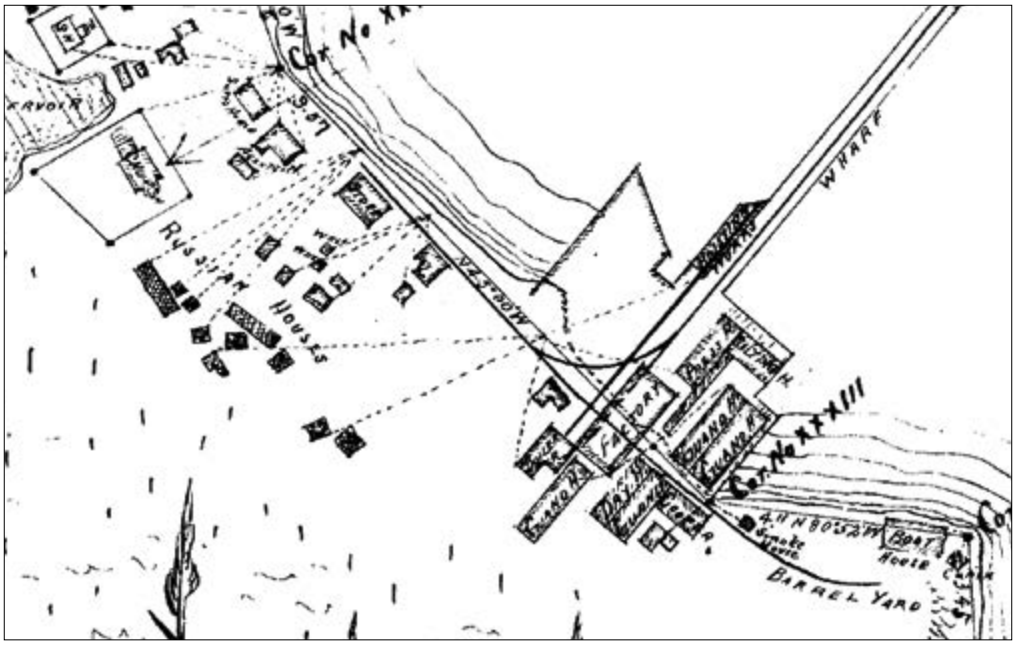


Figure 107.
An enlargement of USS 5 shows the industrial facilities with functions labeled as they were in 1891.

> *There were two kilns that were the fire boxes for generating steam which ran the plant and the steam engines….The main retort was about a 30' foot long drum that they used to cook the fish in…probably about ten or twelve feet in diameter....They'd shovel the fish into this drum, which rotated like a washing machine, except it was horizontal, and it was perforated so the steam could get through it and cook the fish as it rolled the fish inside of it. Then the oil would drain out into vats – cement-lined vats that they had underneath it. Then when all the oil was pretty well cooked out of it they'd shovel what was left, and they sold that for fertilizer. So they pressed that into blocks or bales… .*
>
> **Richard Powers**

buildings (de Laguna 1960:49). The story is told secondhand by Richard Powers that the fire began in a smokehouse when two small children, instructed to watch the smokehouse and not leave it under any circumstances, did as they were told and stood watching as the building caught fire and spread to the village. The effects were soon felt. The post office was shut down in 1930 after 48 years of operation (Ricks 1965). Census takers in 1930 found in the former community of Killisnoo, which had for 40 years a population of around 300 people, only three people (Orth 1967:519). After the fire the Tlingit work force moved back to Angoon, and the nearby cannery at Hood Bay became their primary source of income (Mobley 1999:13-44). Frederica de Laguna (1960:49) reports that prior to 1942 the Admiralty Island side of the channel across from Killisnoo (both sides of the channel were collectively called Killisnoo by the Tlingit) was home to a group of Japanese men who were subsequently interned elsewhere for the duration of World War II.

World War II and the Camp Experience

After Atka villagers were evacuated from Atka to Nikolski, they boarded the *Delarof* and journeyed to St. Paul Island to witness the boarding of that village, continued on to St. George

...for statistics about Killisnoo, I beg to submit the following: Alaska Oil and Guano Company; incorporated under the laws of Oregon; capital stock, $75,000. Business, fishing and trading. Fish found in our surrounding waters are herring, salmon, codfish, halibut. The trade in furs is small and does not exceed $1,500 per year. Bear, mink, land otter, and beaver are the principal furs. Fishing is our main business. We caught from August 4 to December 26, 1890, 53,000 barrels, equal to about 5,300 tons, or 42,400,000 herring. Fishing fleet consists of 3 steamers, 4 scows, and 2 fishing gangs of 2 boats each. A fishing gang has 12 men. We made 157,000 gallons of oil, about 3 quarts of oil to 1 barrel of fish. We made 709 tons of guano; 100 barrels of fish give about 2 tons of guano....We put up in 1890 about 900 barrels of salt salmon and 400 half-barrels of salt herring. The oil is sold in San Francisco and Portland, and partly shipped to England. Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] is the best market for the guano....We employ about 45 white men, 50 Indians, and a few Chinamen. Indians receive from $1 to $1.50 per day of 10 hours; white men, skilled labor, from $60 to $100 per month and board, and unskilled labor $40 to $50 per month....The mail steamer calls regularly twice a month.

Killisnoo manager Carl Spuhn in a letter to Governor Lyman E. Knapp (1891)

Island to repeat the experience, then spent eight days at sea before arriving at Funter Bay on June 24, 1942. Agent McMillan's log makes no mention of the Atka villagers. Kirtland and Coffin (1981:27) state that the *Delarof* discharged the Atka villagers at Killisnoo on the morning of June 25, while Kohlhoff (1995:96) says the villagers were off-loaded at Funter Bay and "at 4:00 A.M., they were packed on a 'hulking red scow,' a 'fish-stinking scow,' borrowed from the Hood Bay cannery" and towed down Chatham Strait to Killisnoo. They had no luggage. By the time they arrived at the old Killisnoo herring plant (Figure 108), the 83 villagers from Atka had spent the longest time in transit of any of the evacuees.

Alaska Indian Service Director Virgil R. Farrell inventoried the facilities at Killisnoo with possible camp service in mind and prepared a memo dated May 13, 1942. Available buildings included three houses, five cabins, a bunkhouse suitable for two families, a warehouse, a machine shop, a shed, and a store (Kohlhoff 1995:97). The water system needed repair, and three simple outhouses constituted the sewage system. Most of the buildings were unheated and not built for winter occupation. The *Delarof* off-loaded mattresses, blankets, and a four-day supply of food, then left for Seattle with most of the Pribilof Islands' non-Native evacuees. Atka school teachers Ruby and Charles Magee stayed at Killisnoo as the federal onsite authority until early 1943, when they moved to Kenai, and thereafter the villagers at Killisnoo received little official federal attention (Kohlhoff 1995:97-98; 119-123).

The villagers' circumstances at Killisnoo paralleled those at other evacuation camps in having poor water sources, little functioning plumbing, and poor sanitation, along with inadequate supplies and tools, limited or no hunting and fishing equipment, and drafty cabins and industrial buildings for quarters. To ease the villagers' lack of transportation a Pribilof baidar from Funter Bay was sometimes loaned to Killisnoo (Figures 109-110). Eventually boatbuilder Constantine Golley began crafting wooden skiffs in one of Killisnoo's shops (Figure 111). Women wove baskets in the traditional Aleut manner using local grass (see Figure 227), and sold them if they could. Difficult conditions contributed to 17 deaths during the wartime stay

SOS WHOLE VILLAGE OF KILLISNOO AFIRE. CANNOT LAST VERY MUCH LONGER. PLEASE RUSH ALL AVAILABLE ASSISTANCE....FIRE GETTING TOO HOT NOW. GOT TO GO. SUFFOCATING. GOODBYE AND HURRY.

Radio operator John Harris's last two messages from Killisnoo, received by Bremerton Naval Station the evening of June 9, 1928

They told the [1928 fire] story at the [Alaska Native Brotherhood] lodge one evening. Two Japanese workers hired them [Tlingit children], or ordered them, anyway, to watch their smokehouses, to keep the dogs out of their smokehouses during the working days. So they gave them the instructions that they weren't to leave those smokehouses for any reason whatsoever....So both kids (they were like five or six years old at the time) – when it caught on fire they debated for some time because they were told not to leave for any reason whatsoever. By the time they did leave and ran for help it was too late, and the fire caught and burned most of the houses on Killisnoo….

Richard Powers

(Kohlhoff 1995:120), and a small cluster of traditional white-painted wood Russian Orthodox crosses formed beside the old Killisnoo village cemetery in the forest nearby. Men sometimes left the village to work in a cannery nearby, earning cash to augment their meager government supplies. The funds from Atka's federally managed fur harvest of the previous year were used to fund a community store at Killisnoo, which became self-sustaining (Kohlhoff 1995:122).

Finally, after almost three years, the Killisnoo refugees returned to their burned-out village in April of 1945, thus becoming not only the first village evacuated but the last village repatriated (except for the Attuans incarcerated in Japan, who were not returned until late 1945) (Kohlhoff 1995:163). Another military transport – this time the USAT *David W. Branch* – returned the refugees to Atka (Figures 112-113). Photographs of the barge lightering the villagers from the Killisnoo dock to the ship show many possessions including two small boats (Figure 113) – symbols of the people's thrift and perseverence in defiance of the harsh circumstances.

Wartime Construction

Records of buildings added to or subtracted from the Killisnoo complex during the war are few. A memo indicates that by January of 1943 Atkans were building "new cottages" at Killisnoo (Kohlhoff 1995:122), but they aren't apparent in the archival photographs consulted. One photograph shows small boys playing on a stack of new lumber in front of the Killisnoo store porch (Figure 114), and another photograph of the villagers assembled on the day of their departure shows the store's porch newly framed-in (Figure 115). The new room had been outfitted as a kitchen, according to current property co-owner Richard Powers.

Post-War Development

When the Aleuts left Killisnoo in 1945 the infrastructure was more or less as it had been prior to their arrival three years earlier. Some buildings including the store had been improved with

Figure 108.
Atka villagers found the Killisnoo wharf to be unmaintained but servicable. Gable ends of industrial buildings show at upper left in this view to the southwest.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

Figure 109.
On occasion one of the Pribilof baidars from Funter Bay was loaned to the Atka villagers at Killisnoo, providing the community with a welcome taste of traditional transportation.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA306.1040[1]

new materials, making them more suitable for the villagers' needs. But the herring plant was still a derelict commercial facility of little value. In 1950, according to de Laguna (1960:49), "one elderly white man lived alone on the island." This was probably watchman Oscar H. Pedersen, a single man who lived in a large two-story cabin that still stood into the early 1970s between the reservoir and the lodge's current shop, according to Richard Powers. Pedersen's occupancy likely included the wartime years, but he isn't mentioned in the documents consulted from that era.

Most of the buildings in the industrial complex at Killisnoo burned in 1952. Pederson eventually gained title to the property in compensation for his long unpaid tenure as watch-

Figure 110.
Atka men (stern to bow) George Prokopeuff, William Golley, and Dan Nevzoroff maneuver a Pribilof baidar alongside a boat in Killisnoo Harbor to load freight, including three pair of new oars, several rolls of tar paper, a case of Argo brand gloss starch, and a case of Fuller brand paint.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA306.898.143

man, and a warranty deed was filed in March of 1954 selling the 156.5 acre parcel for $3,000 to Carl A. Jacobson, Jr. By that time many of the buildings had been cannibalized for material by local residents, as is the custom in southeast Alaska (Wilkinson 1990:82-86; Mobley 1999:24), and Jacobson continued salvaging from the complex. The fenced property of the Russian Orthodox church mapped in 1891 (Figure 107) was not relinquished as part of the warranty deed, and officially remains in church hands (as an inholding within the Whaler's Cove Lodge parcel).

Richard L. Powers joined Jacobson in several local business interests including the intention of developing a fishing lodge, and "in 1970, the principals of Whaler's Cove, Inc., started construction by clearing the site of dilapidated Killisnoo buildings and dock remains" (Whaler's Cove Lodge 2011). The first year of operation for Whaler's Cove Lodge was in 1983. Powers soon purchased Jacobson's interest in the lodge, and they divided the property.

Whaler's Cove Lodge was built exclusively from the beach midpoint and northwest on what was the residential portion of old Killisnoo, and Jacobson retained the remainder including the southeast half of the beach where the industrial zone had been. In the 1970s the Jacobsons

Figure 111.
Atka boat-builder Constantine Golley began building dories in the Killisnoo warehouse.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA306.1032

cleared a survey line into the middle of Killisnoo Island, platted 25 lots on each side of it (for a total of 50 lots), and put them up for sale at $3,000 each, according to Tom Aubertine. The cemetery was surveyed separately and offered to the City of Angoon about 20 years ago, according to Chris Aubertine, but the offer was declined. In 2008 the old Killisnoo industrial area was part of a large parcel owned by the Aubertine Trust, under the control of Tom and Chris (Jacobson) Aubertine (Figure 116).

Current Condition

The site of historic Killisnoo is now primarily split between the Whaler's Cove Lodge and the Aubertine Trust (Figures 117-119). The lodge property extends from the midpoint of the beach fronting Killisnoo Harbor (Figure 118) northwest almost to the point guarding the harbor (Figure 119), where a new cabin has been built on Lot 1N of the Jacobson subdivision. Abutting the lodge property and extending southeast to the opposite point are the home and associated buildings of Tom and Chris Aubertine (Figure 117). Subdivision lots in the interior of the island were not investigated. Evidence of old Killisnoo among the modern developments consists of features on land, features and artifacts in the intertidal zone, archaeological deposits, and artifacts col-

Figure 112.

Atka villagers gather on the Killisnoo dock in preparation for the barge trip to the waiting USAT David W. Branch and their return to Atka, in the late spring of 1945. Behind is the old boathouse that shows on USS 5. Note industrial debris discarded on intertidal spit at left.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

Figure 113.

Accompanied by two small boats and other supplies and possessions, Atka villagers are barged to the waiting USAT David W. Branch for their return to Atka.

National Archives RG75-N-Aleut-C-11

lected for display by the lodge-owners. There are no buildings or even building ruins from old Killisnoo. The old Killisnoo cemetery immediately south of the former industrial area is a separate but related site component (Figure 120).

Modern buildings overlying the historic site of Killisnoo belong to Whaler's Cove Lodge and the Aubertine Trust. Owner Tom Aubertine was a willing onsite guide (Figure 116), pointing out historic Killisnoo features on his property and the adjacent cemetery. Historic features on the Aubertine parcel were recorded, but buildings in use were not closely inspected. Five buildings are strung out more or less equidistantly along the harbor side of the Aubertine

Figure 114.
Atka boys sit on a pile of new lumber at Killisnoo in front of the store porch (left). Left to right: Johnny Golley, Peter Prokopeuff, Paul Zaochney, George Nevzoroff, Ted Golley, and Mike Snigaroff. Neither the first nor third child survived the Killisnoo experience.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA306.1061

We got to Killisnoo and most of the houses were in disrepair. The only decent house there they gave to Mr. and Mrs. Magie [Magee], the teachers, the only one that had the stove…later on, the men were able to repair the homes and eventually everybody had their own little apartment. Like we lived in a two room place, which was – well, summertime it was all right but wintertime it was icy cold and I remember being hungry. Some days were okay because we were able to get clams and crabs and fish, but a lot of time we had nothing. Well we did not have guns. We were not able to go out and get our own food.

Alice Petrivelli, Atka, in 1981 testimony

property, consisting of two boathouses and three dwellings. The most easterly building is a small boathouse, not far from where the herring plant's boathouse was plotted in 1891 (Figures 106-107). Next to it is a much larger boathouse (Figure 120); both buildings are sided and roofed in metal. Closer to the lodge are three dwellings in a row: a log cabin, flanked to the northwest by two frame cabins.

The lodge grounds were inspected, as was the second-growth forest along the shore further northwest. Owner Richard Powers authorized access to the lodge property and discussed the

Figure 115.
Seventy-seven Atkans assemble by the Killisnoo store, with its newly enclosed kitchen, on the day of their departure in April of 1945.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association (copy print, source unknown)

building history. Whereas Killisnoo's three historic use zones along the shore from southeast to northwest were industrial, commercial, and then residential, in 2008 those zones roughly correspond to the Aubertine Trust property, the Whaler's Cove Lodge facilities, and the second growth forest.

Whaler's Cove Lodge includes buildings of log, frame, and metal construction, with few unifying architectural themes, reflecting its gradual development as a seasonal fishing resort (Figures 121-125). The largest and most central building is the lodge (Figure 121), with a cafeteria, lounge, kitchen, gift shop, and other spaces. A power house and a shop – two large utility sheds (Figure 122) – are located inland. Other utility sheds, cabins, and two larger residential units are of frame construction (Figures 123-125). All the buildings are built on land above the high tide mark (Figure 126). A floating dock leads to a floating small boat facility, but it is seasonally operated and the floats are stowed on shore for winter.

The boundary of historic Killisnoo (SIT-014) has not been formally defined by archaeological survey, nor was the brief 2008 investigation sufficient to do so. Observations made the length of the shoreline facing Killisnoo Harbor (Figures 117-119) indicate that historic archaeological deposits potentially exist from one end to the other, though recent development has disturbed some areas.

Features on Land

A dense second-growth spruce-hemlock forest covered much of Killisnoo in 2008, reflecting the late 1800s clearing there (Figures 104-105); by the early 1940s the forest was already encroaching upon the facility (Figures 110, 112). Amid the modern forest are patches of bushes and shrubs marking past disturbance footprints (Figure 118), but their meaning is not obvious. Less ambiguous features observed on land were the ruin of a marine ways, the lodge's current reservoir, and large and/or stationary artifacts.

A linear clearing perpendicular to shore on the Aubertine property represents a marine ways – a track used to haul boats out of the water for storage and repair (Figure 127). The clearing is about 20' wide and extends from the shore about 60'-80' into the forest fringe (Figure 120).

[In 1969 at Killisnoo] there were several buildings. The cabin that the caretaker had lived in was still standing. It was a small two-story building that sat back on the property roughly…between our shop and the pond….I'd say it was maybe 20'x30' on the lower floor and 20'x20' on the upper floor. There was the store, which was I think probably more of a kitchen and food service area because the one whole end of it had an old stove and cooking facilities and stuff in it. It was still standing, but it said STORE on the front of it….That was a fairly large building, located roughly where Aubertine's cabin is, behind that just a little bit – probably in front of our shop more. There were a number of old steam donkey engines. Most of them are still there. Couple of them we drug over on the beach a little ways from where they were.

There was still part of the carpentry shop there. The old marine ways where they had a shipyard where they rebuilt ships was still pretty much in place….There's still remnants of the donkey that they used, the double-drum winch that they used to pull the ships out….The barrel factory, or the cooperage, was still pretty much intact. And a lot of the stuff, the bungs for the barrels, hundreds of galvanized rings [hoops] for the barrels, and the tools, and all that stuff was still just laying there when I first saw it….We found out where the Russian Orthodox church was and where the school was. You could see by the artifacts. Those were two major parts of the community. They set up on the hill above where some of our housing is….There's an old sewing machine and some desks that are grown into some of the trees by the schoolhouse [site].

Richard Powers

They [Killisnoo] had a little farm there – some stock. Chickens, and horses….They had cattle, some cows for milk. Chickens and ducks….They had to have them all penned in….

Right in above our pond was where they had the stock at. We found some of the old woven wire, fencing, there....They had a pretty good water collection system. They dug kind of a Y of trenches up on that end of the island, so that anything that flowed towards the island flowed into these trenches and into a collection pond – a reservoir….We've dug out the same ditches – collection trenches. And we've enlarged the reservoir, so we store a lot more water than they had, but that was one of the main sources. They had another source of water over on the Admiralty side and they had a water barge that they'd fill and bring across as often as it filled….

Richard Powers

A gravel track about 8' wide runs through the center of the alignment. Along the grade to the southeast are the remains of two large plank and plywood cradles mounted on steel railcar chassis. The cradles where they contact the boat hull are upholstered in carpet. Several lengths of regular-gauge rail protrude from beneath the two railcars, and several notched logs are associated with the collection. The condition of the clearing, gravel track, and plywood-and-carpet cradles suggested manufacture and operation decades ago. Owners Aubertine and Powers stated that the system included 4-5 rails salvaged from the Kanalku coal mine on Admiralty Island combined with rails and cars from a mine in Idaho, installed at Killisnoo long after World War II by Carl A. Jacobson, Jr., and Powers himself. The track and gear have not been used since the early 1990s.

Figure 116.
Tom Aubertine, who with his wife Chris (Jacobson) owns the Killisnoo industrial zone, points out a steam engine.

In 1891 Killisnoo had a reservoir plotted on USS 5 midway between the school (labeled "S.H." in the upper left of Figure 107) and church (Figure 106). The island's feeble seeps were channeled to it by way of intersecting ditches, some over four feet deep to bedrock, according to historic photographs. The ditch and reservoir system and a creek across Killisnoo Harbor (requiring a boat to access) were used by Atka villagers as water sources (Kohlhoff 1995:120). A secondary reservoir about 150' south of the one plotted in 1891 (Figure 107) must have been in use by then, as such a feature was enlarged by Richard Powers to serve the lodge. In 2008 a grassy embankment retained a small pond of dark water, backed up to a few spruce and hemlock trees (Figure 128). Water retention has been improved with a black pond liner. Evidence of the reservoir's historic origins was lacking.

At least eight boilers were observed in the former Killisnoo industrial area. Three (Figure 129) are located just inside the treeline immediately next to one of the boathouses on the Aubertine property. Another five or six boilers were found another 30' further inside the treeline (Figure 130). The large artifacts are rusty and overgrown with vegetation, and appear to have not moved for decades.

Several rusty artifacts from the herring plant have been moved and landscaped into the grounds of the lodge, but only one large stationary machine was noted in its original position. Located near the boundary of the lodge and Aubertine properties is a steam engine on a concrete pedestal, mounted with the power shaft parallel to the shore (Figure 131).

Figure 117.
Buildings on the Aubertine property are mostly hidden by trees behind Whaler's Cove Lodge's small boat floats in this panorama of Killisnoo. The 2008 reconnaissance extended along the beach as far southeast as the point at far left.

Figure 118.
The central portion of Killisnoo contains Whaler's Cove Lodge, with the lodge building at far left and cabins at center.

Figure 119.
In 2008 the northwest portion of Killisnoo was covered in second-growth timber hiding what was – before the 1926 fire – the residential district of Killisnoo. The reconnaissance extended almost as far northwest as the point at far right.

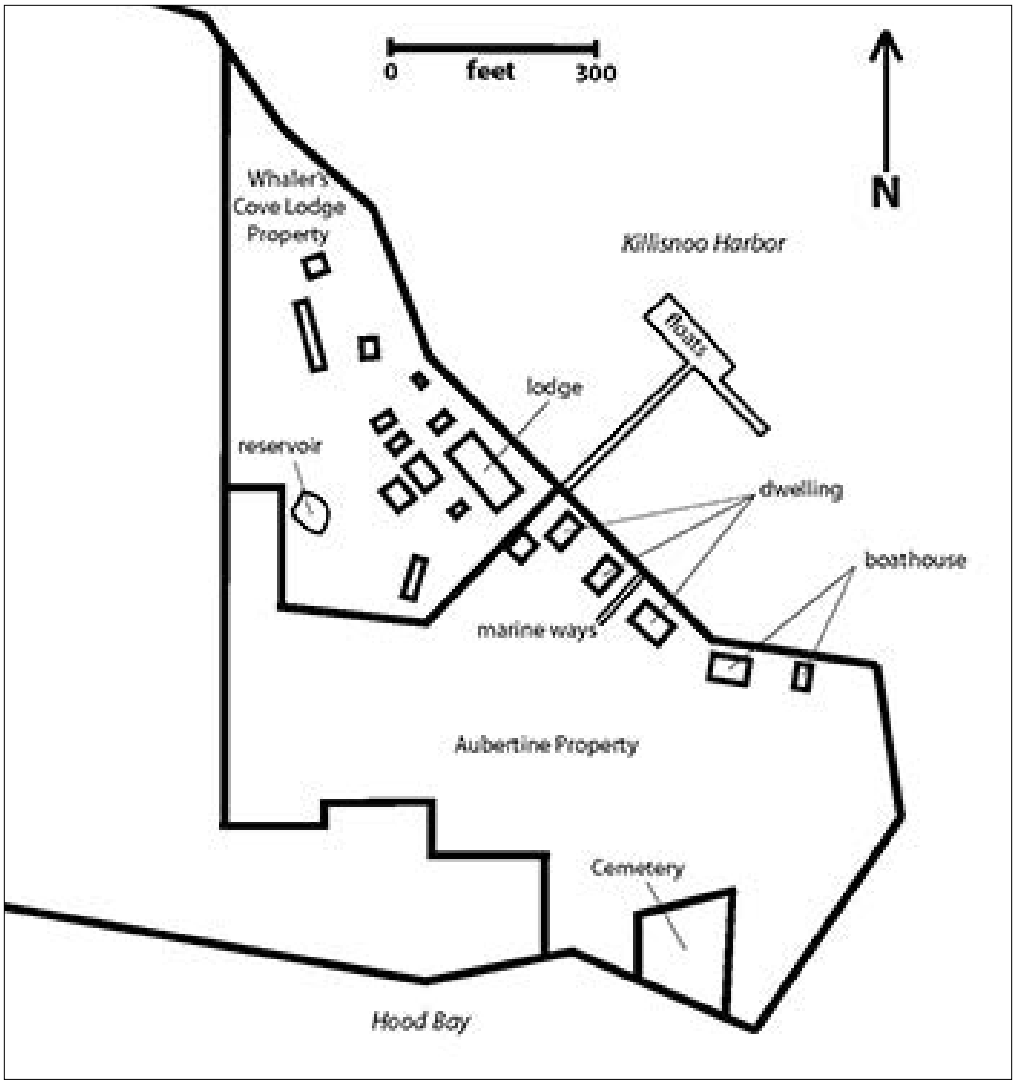


Figure 120.
A sketch map of Killisnoo in 2008 was compiled from a 1977 survey for the Aubertine property, an aerial photograph, and field notes and photographs.

INTERTIDAL FEATURES AND ARTIFACTS

Killisnoo's intertidal zone was not extensively inspected in 2008. Piling stubs ground flush and buried beneath the beach gravels are likely present offshore, as are isolated artifacts, and local resident Frank Sharp as well as Richard Powers mentioned sport divers bringing up historic artifacts from the harbor where the dock was located. But the only features recorded in 2008 consisted of an extensive scatter of industrial debris on a long reef marking the southeast end of the beach (Figures 132-133), and a pair of pilings.

Within the reef scatter are remains of two boilers, cable, chain, pulleys and gears, vehicle axles and tire rims, barrel hoops and other sheet metal items, angle iron, pipe and wire in various diameters, and some glass and ceramic items. Metals represented include iron/steel, copper, brass, and lead alloys. The scatter shows in a 1945 photograph of the Aleut departure (Figure 112), so it holds more than 65 years of antiquity. Industrial debris from Killisnoo has been discarded there into recent decades, according to Tom Aubertine.

Figure 121.
The largest building at Whaler's Cove Lodge is the lodge – a long frame building containing a large dining room, kitchen, lounge area, gift shop, and office.

Figure 122.
Frame utility buildings nestled inland among the trees include a shop, generator shack, and a shed where clients check out boots for their stay.

Figure 123.
Guest accommodations at the lodge include this two-story building with several rooms.

There was another fire that burned most of the facilities of the old plant – 1952....But that was about the time Jacobson purchased the property, or just before then. The Jacobsons took care of the caretaker – the old man that watched the property for about twenty years, without being paid for it. He'd acquired the property...for back wages…. When he decided to sell he asked them if they wanted to buy it.

We met Carl A. Jacobson….[In the early 1970s] we bought a little sawmill, a little mobile dimension sawmill, and set it up on the beach and started cutting beachcombed logs….1983 was our first year [operating Whaler's Cove Lodge]. I bought Jake [Jacobson] out. We own basically about half of the harbor end of Killisnoo Island, which is where we were developing, and he retained the other half for his family. So the Aubertine Trust property, that's where most of the manufacturing plant was on that portion of the property, is still in Jacobson's heirs, or the Aubertine Trust….

There were people that had salvaged out of the buildings, like the store building that was still standing. Most of the structural material somebody had taken out of them: the two-by material – 2"x8", 2"x10". Somebody had already been in there [the store] when I first saw it and taken most of the usable lumber out....Probably people that were building and rebuilding in Angoon, much the same that had happened with Hood Bay cannery later.

We used the tanks. We built an addition onto Angoon Trading Store using the stays out of one of the tanks. They were 3"x6" clear Douglas fir. Beautiful stuff. 100 years old when I started building. Perfect shape.

Richard Powers

The pair of pilings consists of one at the vegetation line onshore and another about 20' offshore perpendicular from it, approximately 80' southeast of the marine ways. Tom Aubertine believes these mark the former location of Killisnoo's original historic marine ways.

TERRESTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS

Several localities within the current resort have disturbances revealing black organic deposits and historic artifacts. Intact deposits revealed by natural exposures (primarily the rootwads of fallen trees), were observed in two places. The most extensive evidence is northwest of the resort where the historic village of Killisnoo was destroyed by the 1928 fire. Large metal artifacts like stove parts protrude through the forest floor. Smaller artifacts noted on the surface included leather and ceramic items (Figures 134-135), as well as enamelware utensils. Second-growth timber covers most of the area and the sod and moss were sufficient to hide most cultural features, but clam shell clusters showed in several places. Bits of rotten planks could be discerned – sometimes in isolation and sometimes in clusters defining a building footprint. Near the far northwest end are several concentrations of rotten planks from buildings that either escaped the 1928 fire or were built later.

The second deposit of archaeological interest is an exposure of densely packed shell less than 50' inland from the old marine ways (Figure 136). Overlying the shell and worked into it was a layer of crusty black bunker fuel visible in 2008; since then bioremediation has almost totally removed the oil, according to Richard Powers.

Figure 124.
Several small wood frame buildings such as this shed and cabin serve the lodge.

Figure 125.
One of the lodge's employee quarters is a one-story wood-frame cabin with a hipped roof.

SCAVENGED ARTIFACTS

In addition to a few large industrial artifacts landscaped into the grounds for the enjoyment of lodge patrons, smaller artifacts have been collected for display. Arranged on the southeast exterior wall of the lodge is a collection of firearm parts – mostly metal barrels and actions – recovered during lodge development (Figure 137). One specimen has a fire-warped barrel, and the sheer number of specimens (at least 30 on display) attests to the speed of the 1928 fire – people had no time to salvage essential items such as shotguns and rifles.

Figure 126.
The Whaler's Cove Lodge buildings (here viewed to the southeast) are all built on gently sloped land above the intertidal zone.

Figure 127.
The remains of a marine ways including a few rails salvaged from a coal mine at Kanalku Bay postdate World War II. The boat cradle and railcars at right are from a mine in Idaho.

Almost as useful were the large saws needed not only to provide firewood for domestic use but to cut the large quantities of industrial boiler cordwood. As with the firearms, the large number recovered and displayed at Killisnoo gives a sense not only of how common the tool was in the typical Killisnoo household but also of the speed of the fire that prevented their owners from saving them. A one-story frame cabin immediately southeast of the lodge, named the Hasselborg Cabin after one of Admiralty Island's notable historic characters (Orth 1967:409), has its entrance flanked by saw blades (Figures 138-139). Also displayed with the saw collection is a galvanized steel cone used by Killisnoo's coopers as a barrel anvil. A

Figure 128.
In 2008 the main ditch-fed reservoir for Whaler's Cove Lodge is a pleasant pond, located southwest of the reservoir on the 1891 survey (Figures 106-107).

Figure 129.
Three boilers rest just inside the treeline next to a boathouse on the Aubertine property.

second metal cone – this one of galvanized tin – is the herring plant's steam whistle (Figure 139).

Inside the lodge building is a collection of glass bottles found at Killisnoo, arranged in a display case for visitor enjoyment (Figure 140).

Figure 130.
Tom Aubertine points to a boiler about 30' inland from his house.

Figure 131.
Near the lot line between the Whaler's Cove Lodge and the Aubertine property is a steam engine on a concrete pedestal.

KILLISNOO CEMETERY

The Killisnoo cemetery (SIT-749) is a collection of graves south of the Killisnoo industrial complex, on a surveyed parcel fronting the south shore of Killisnoo Island (Figure 120). Vegetation consists of second-growth timber and a dense cover of berry bushes and ferns, hiding several types of graves. Cut and polished stone markers with Christian motifs numbered in the dozens, with Japanese, Tlingit, and EuroAmerican surnames appearing on them. Granite, marble, and limestone were included in the collection, and dates of death ranged from the 1880s to the 1930s. Some stones are damaged, and some are no longer erect. Grave

Figure 132.
Killisnoo's wide arcuate gravel beach is bounded on the southeast by a reef that at low tide reveals an extensive scatter of industrial debris. Some of it predates WW II (see Figure 112).

Figure 133.
The barnacle-clad ferrous and cuprous artifacts on the reef south of Killisnoo's beach are fast deteriorating into unidentifiable flakes and lumps of metal.

fences of concrete, wood, and wire mesh were observed in various states of disrepair (Figure 141). An elaborate wooden Chinese grave house is falling down, though major structural elements and paint are still discernible (Figure 142). At least one example of Tlingit formline design was noted – carved in stone (Figure 143).

On the north edge of the cemetery are the remains of five wooden Russian Orthodox crosses said by Tom Aubertine to mark the Aleut cemetery from the World War II era (Figures 144-146). Both Aubertine and Powers remember at least a dozen standing at one time,

decades ago. The crosses are scattered within an area approximately 25' by 50' in size, and none are upright. Instead they are broken and laying on the ground or against a tree. Two prone crosses have stubs protruding from the sod nearby to suggest their original location (Figures 145-146). All five crosses show traces of faded white paint, and Cyrillic letters in black appear to spell out religious scripture rather than names. A votive candle was nestled in the moss at the base of one cross. Another cross is of newer wood than the others and has Russian lettering "sans seraph" rather than the others' more ornate style, suggesting it might be a replacement for an older marker.

Figure 134.
Archaeologist Becky Saleeby holds a leather boot fragment observed in the former residential portion of Killisnoo.

Summary

The site of the Killisnoo herring plant still holds one large stationary machine, at least eight boilers, at least one large intertidal artifact scatter, and an extensive tract of second-growth forest hiding the archaeological remnants of the residential district that burned in 1928. There are no standing buildings that date to the operational period of the plant or the later World War II Aleut occupation. Numerous artifacts have been recovered by the existing landowners – Richard Powers and the Whaler's Cove Lodge, and to a lesser extent Chris and Tom Aubertine. The many saw blades as well as gun barrels and actions salvaged from the site over the years attest to not

Figure 135.
Domestic artifacts such as this transfer-printed ceramic bowl fragment were observed on the surface of the old Killisnoo village area.

Figure 136.
Inland from the marine ways is an exposure of densely packed shell overlain and penetrated by solidified bunker fuel from the old Killisnoo industrial plant.

> *They also had some bunker fuel, and once petroleum products came in there were two big wood-stave tanks that they had bunker fuel in. They were pretty close to where our generator building is. In fact we've had to do some soil remediation there….Up until we started doing that you could still dig in there – you find some chunks of that. It looks just like tar. Solidified bunker oil.*
>
> **Richard Powers**

only the utility of those two tool types during the early twentieth century but also the speed of the 1928 fire that destroyed the dwellings in which many of those tools resided. Other artifacts displayed by the lodge include glass bottles, a cooper's anvil, and the herring plant's steam whistle. The former residential portion of the site indicates considerable potential for buried archaeological remains.

The only evidence of the Aleut presence at Killisnoo is the collection of Russian Orthodox crosses along the north edge of the cemetery. Identical white wooden Russian Orthodox crosses can be seen in archival photographs of the Killisnoo cemetery taken long before World War II, reflecting the local Tlingit Indian's conversion to that faith in the late 1800s. But the Aleut association with these particular markers is certain; Tom Aubertine and Richard Powers mentioned that occasional Aleut visitors care for the graves, such as Alice Petrivelli in the documentary film "Aleut Story."

Figure 137.
Displayed on an exterior wall of the lodge are firearms recovered from the grounds – relics of the 1928 fire that destroyed the old village.

I had friends in the 1960s who dove at the end of the dock and found bushel-baskets of opium bottles and rice wine bottles. Hundreds of them!

Richard Powers

My son who is a diver…says that that's really good diving off of where the [Killisnoo] dock was, because they threw all their trash off into the water…Artifacts!

Frank W. Sharp

In the 1960s people came over and dug on the island – people traveling through. People used to scuba dive out front and find bottles. Most of those in the lodge came from there. Those rusty rifles came from our excavations for various projects. Beads have been found here. But I don't dig.

Tom Aubertine

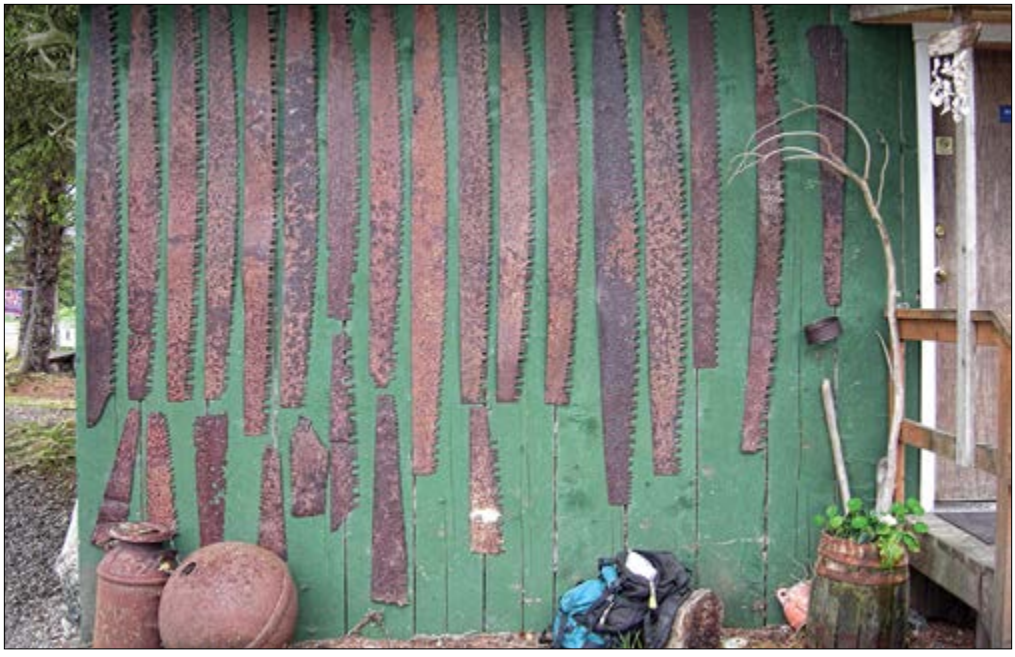


Figure 138.
The Hasselborg Cabin immediately southeast of the lodge is adorned with saw blades on both sides of the entrance – more evidence of the 1928 fire.

Figure 139.
Besides saw blades, the Hasselborg Cabin collection contains the herring plant's steam whistle (the cone at left), and a barrel anvil (the cone at right).

Figure 140.

Glass bottles found at Killisnoo are displayed in the Whaler's Cove Lodge.

Figure 141.
The Killisnoo cemetery (SIT-749) contains several types of monuments. In the foreground is a concrete grave wall, left of that is a wood bannister grave fence, left of that is a stone grave marker, and behind that at upper left is the Chinese grave house.

Figure 142.
The elaborately painted Chinese grave house includes a wooden plaque with the date 1899.

TOP

Figure 143.

Among the conventional stone memorials with traditional Christian motifs are some with Tlingit formline art – like this dog salmon.

BOTTOM

Figure 144.

On the north edge of the cemetery are five wood Russian Orthodox crosses marking Aleut interments.

Figure 145.
Two Russian Orthodox crosses including this example may be near their original position.

Figure 146.
The wooden Russian Orthodox markers have barely legible Cyrillic lettering not of names but rather of scripture.

Chapter 5: Wrangell Institute

While Aleuts from Atka and the Pribilof Islands were taken directly to their wartime camps, the others were housed during late summer of 1942 in a tent city on the grounds of the

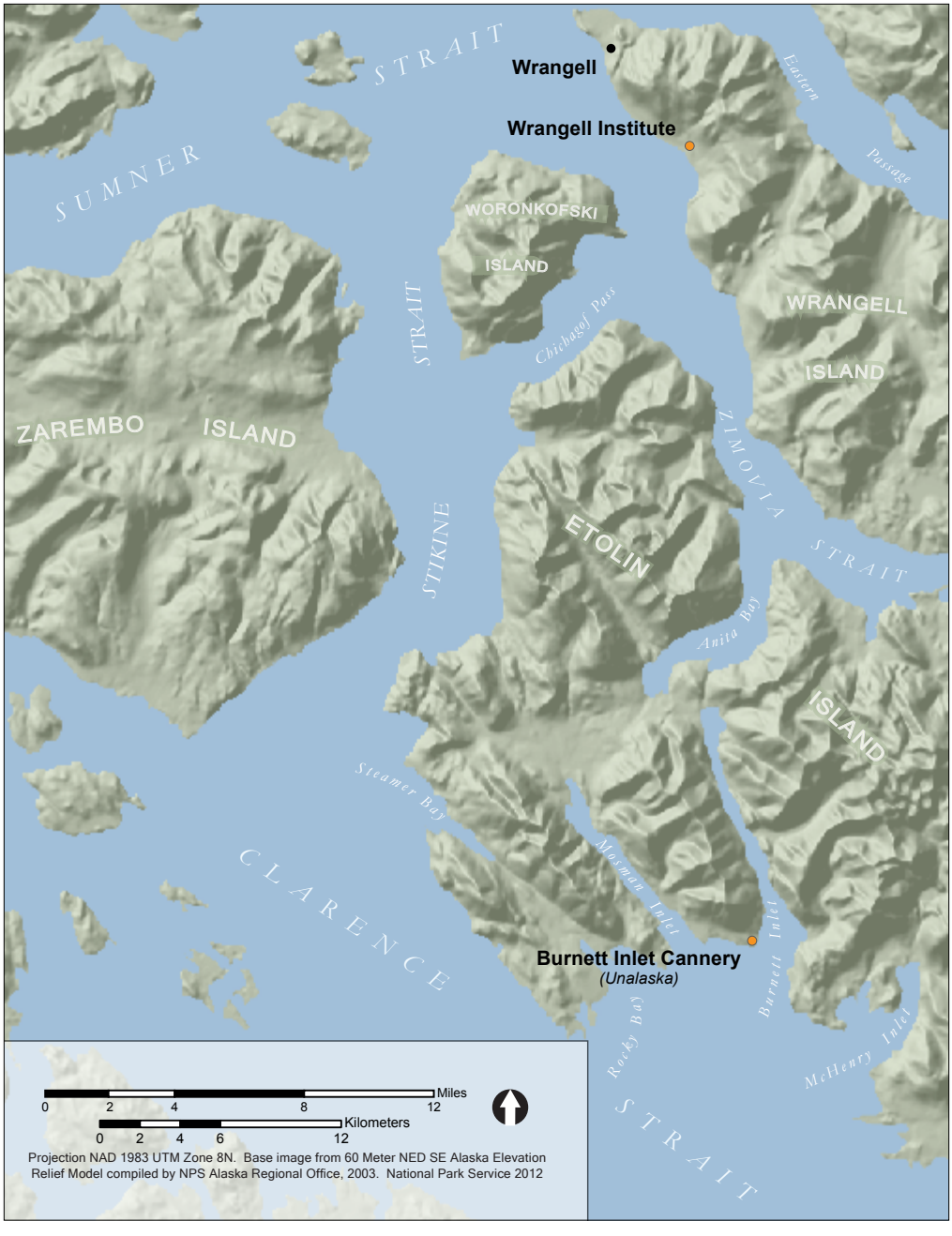
Figure 147.
In 2008 the Wrangell Institute was an alder-covered rectangle with mounds of contaminated soil (some covered with white or grey tarpaulins) ready for removal. The boathouse stands at lower left.

Wrangell Institute – a large territorial boarding school on Wrangell Island near the town of Wrangell – until facilities at the Burnett Inlet cannery and Ward Lake CCC camp were readied. Like its neighbors, Wrangell Island is mountainous and cloaked in deep forest (Figure 147). At Wrangell the huge outflow of the Stikine River meets the deep channels of Frederick Sound, Sumner Strait, Stikine Strait, Zimovia Strait, and Eastern Passage radiating out like spokes on a wheel (Figure 148), supporting a rich marine life. In the early 1800s the availability of sea otter and other furs encouraged the Hudson Bay Company and Russian American Company to develop posts for trading with the local Tlingit. The town of Wrangell survived to become one of southeast Alaska's few population centers, cyclically relying on furs, fishing, mining, logging, and tourism during the 1900s and into the subsequent millennium.

Early Years

By the 1930s Alaska had a history of church- and government-sponsored Native boarding schools and orphanages at Sitka, Eklutna, Seward, Holy Cross, Unalaska, Kanatak (in Bristol Bay), and elsewhere. The Territorial Commissioner of Education had announced the intention to build an industrial school in southeast Alaska as early as 1924 (Parks 1932:95). In October of 1932 the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs began classes at the new Wrangell Institute, a large

Figure 148.
The Wrangell Institute was located several miles southeast of Wrangell on a coastal road following the shore of Zimovia Strait. Note Burnett Inlet cannery at lower right.



complex overlooking Shoemaker Bay several miles south of Wrangell (Figures 148-149). The school was described as "one of the pet projects of the Roosevelt Administration" (Yzermans 1979:55). An appropriation of $171,000 was made to clear the land and erect the first five buildings (Parks 1932:95).

Initial enrollment consisted of 71 high-school students drawn mostly from southeast Alaska. Students were expected to obtain a vocational education, and school maintenance tasks formed part of the instruction. Home building, nursing, commercial fishing, and home eco-

nomics were among the list of trades taught (MacPherson 1998a). In 1937, prior to his 1941 appointment as Curator of the Alaska Territorial Library and Museum (a position he held until 1965), Edward L. Keithahn began teaching at the Wrangell Institute (Alaska State Library 1996). He authored articles and books on Alaska topics including totem poles (Keithahn 1945), and supervised the student-carved totem poles that can be seen in early photographs of the school (Jordan 1966). Though ostensibly not affiliated with any religious organization, Wrangell's Catholic priest took an interest in the school and incorporated it into his parish (Yzermans 1979:55-56).

The size of the Wrangell Institute's land parcel has been reported as 171 acres or 141 acres (MacPherson 1994, 1998a), with development concentrated in a cleared rectangle measuring approximately 1000' x 500' (Figure 149). Centrally located was a large school building connected by enclosed walkways to large flanking two-story dormitories – boys on the left (northwest), girls on the right (southeast). With the school measuring 110' long, the dormitories 144' long, and the walkways spanning about 30' between the buildings, the enclosed space was over 450' long. Other buildings bounded large rectangular yards and parking lots; and eventually driveways, sidewalks, and terraces added more geometry and symmetry to the plan (Figure 150). Reports compiled in 1944 by the federal government describe a compact campus with about a dozen significant buildings. Most of the building materials were standardized: walls of 2"x6" studs, shiplap, with stucco on the outside surface and metal lath and plaster (or plasterboard) on the inside surface; roofs of 2"x8" rafters overlain with shiplap and asphalt shingles; and 2"x14" joists for the basement floor and 2"x10" joists for the first and second floors, overlaid by shiplap and 1"x4" hardwood flooring.

The school building was a 17,620 square-foot, two-story building with a half-basement, and a one-and-one-half story flat-roofed gymnasium on a concrete pad centrally attached to the back of the building. The main building had a simple hipped roof with a central bell tower (Figure 149); a central cross-hipped entrance block with three arched penetrations and a central entry facing the waterfront. Three oil-fired boilers in the basement provided steam heat to radiators

Figure 149.
In 1938 the three central buildings – the boys dormitory at left, the school building right of center, and the girls dormitory at right – were surrounded by a wide clearing.

National Archives Pacific Alaska Region RG75 (BIA) Box 14 4/8/8(3)

> *[Wrangell Insitute] students study the natural life of the sea and shore, the village communities and their economic and health problems, business accounting, and homemaking. ...In addition, contributory skills are taught: woodworking, building construction, boat building, blacksmithing and machine shop practice, engine installation, operation and repair, navigation, and the household arts....The students also assume responsibility and cooperate with staff members in assemblies, control of health and sanitation, upkeep of the lighting and heating facilities, student accounts, and athletics.*
>
> **Colby 1941:140-141**

in the school and adjacent dormitories. The basement also contained two shops. The first floor held four classrooms, two offices, and the gymnasium, while the second floor held four more classrooms, an assembly room, and a library. When inventoried in 1944 the school building had drinking fountains in the halls but no bathrooms – likely bathrooms in the boys and girls dormitories were relied upon.

The girls and boys dormitories were built from the same plans as mirror images of each other, attached to the school by covered walkways with arches matching those of the school and dormitory entrances (Figure 149). Like the school, the dormitories had two stories, but the girls dormitory had only a partial basement and the boys had none at all. Like the school, they had a simple hipped roof with a central cross-hipped entrance block and arches facing the waterfront. The first floor of the girls dormitory contained a kitchen, a separate dining room, a social room, and "two rooms used for sewing and cooking classes," according to the property inventory form. On the second floor were two large dormitory rooms, a bathroom, two private rooms, and a three-room apartment for the girls dormitory supervisor. The first floor of the boys dormitory contained a laundry, two social rooms, a bathroom, and three private rooms, while the second floor held two large dormitory rooms, storage rooms, and a three-room apartment for the boys dormitory supervisor. Unique to the boys dormitory was a "smoking room" on the second floor. Each of the dormitories contained more than 12,500 square feet of space, housing a maximum of 96 boys and 83 girls.

Some Wrangell Institute teachers and employees lived in Wrangell and commuted to work, but others lived on the grounds in a ten-unit apartment complex at the north end of the clearing (Figure 151). The staff house was a two-story building with a partial basement containing a laundry room and the oil-fired boiler for the steam heating system. Two- and three-room units were available, and the lobby was designed as a social area. The building contained over 3,000 square feet of space. The apartment's architecture matched the school and dormitories, with a hipped roof and a central cross-hipped entrance block with three arches.

The medical clinic was completed in 1932, a year after the school, dormitories, and staff house were built. It was a one-story building with a basement and attic apartment at the south end of the clearing. The building's hipped roof and central cross-gabled entrance block with three arches matched the architectural details of its companions. The side opposing the entrance also had a cross-gabled block and a rear entrance, and the roof had a small shed-roofed dormer (Figure 152). The small basement held an oil-fired boiler for the steam heat

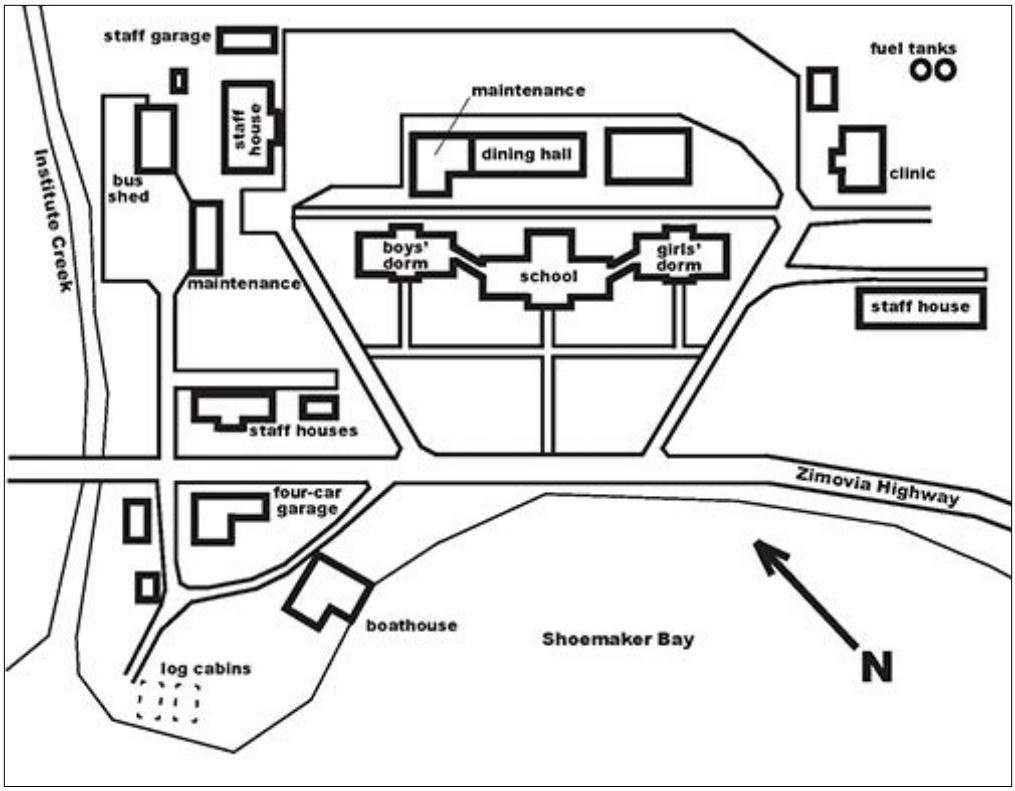


Figure 150.
A 1975 Government Service Administration (GSA) auction notice for the Wrangell Institute furnishings included a plan (redrawn here) that identifies building functions.

system, while the first floor contained a clinic and five small wards, a "diet kitchen," an office, a room for the attendant, and three bathrooms. The nurse lived in an attic apartment with a living room, kitchen, and bathroom.

In 1934 the school built a vehicle garage, and the following year they built two more. The first was a one-story L-shaped building constructed on the shore side of the highway, with four enclosed bays facing the campus (Figure 153); another two open bays were added on the shore side (facing Shoemaker Bay) in 1936 (Figure 150). Students and staff made the building with a hipped roof to match the other buildings, and poured two concrete grease pits into the floor. The original building measured 20'x43', while the addition measured 20'x23'. One of the two garages built in 1935 was also a four-car design with a hipped roof, open bays, and a shop area, with the addition of a gasoline pump and a 500-gallon fuel tank, lubrication oil dispensers, and an air compressor (Figure 154). The building measured 20'x45', or 900 square feet. It was situated near the large staff apartment and intended to house staff vehicles. The second 1935 garage was a small 11'x18' one-story building with a hipped roof.

The ten-unit apartment building was not the only staff housing available by World War II. In the late 1930s the CCC began construction of two 22'x30' log cabins behind the six-car garage, near the shore (Figures 155-156). Left uncompleted by the CCC, one was finished by students and staff in 1941 and the other in 1942. Each cabin contained a living room, kitchen, bedroom, and bathroom, and was heated by a wood stove. The main gabled roof was complemented by shed roofs over a door at each gable end.

At the water's edge students and staff built a 20'x60' boathouse on a concrete foundation, where vessels could be winched for repair and storage using a 40' marine ways (Figure 157). Archival photographs indicate construction in 1938. Shiplap siding protected the exterior walls, and asphalt shingles protected the roof. The large bay facing the water had tall plank doors to keep out the elements, but a shed-roofed extension of posts and trusses on the north side of the building was left open (Figure 158). Rather than following the lead of the Sheldon Jackson boarding school in Sitka, which had its own fishing boat to help feed the campus, the Institute built watercraft rigged solely for transportation, according to Richard Stokes. Simple wooden boats named *Institute 1* through *3* reached lengths of 40' (Figure 159). By 1942 the CCC had completed a dock and floats for the school (The Wrangell Sentinel 1942a).

Figure 151.

A ten-unit apartment was built in 1931 near the north side of the campus for teacher and staff housing, on fill (note rock retaining wall), and was already slumping by the time this 1944 photograph was taken. The four-car staff garage is at right. Note totem pole at building corner.

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Figure 152.

The rear of the medical clinic, shown here in 1944, had a cross-gabled central block to create a small nurse's apartment in the attic.

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The 1944 property inventory listed several other campus features, including a small building to house fire hose, and the two 20,000 gallon oil tanks and pumphouse that served the individual buildings (Figure 160). Near the waterfront staff and students also built an open fish-cleaning station in the Adirondack style, with cedar shakes on spruce poles and a concrete slab foundation (Figure 161). Nearby was an elevated smokehouse of similar construction, with "plank catwalks for hanging fish" (Figure 162). The 1944 inventory also includes photographs of a timber dam approximately 15' high and perhaps 40' long – probably constructed northeast of the campus up Institute Creek and used to collect domestic water.

As the 1944 photographs illustrate, unlike the other locations where Aleut evacuees found themselves, the Wrangell Institute was a fully-functioning federal facility at the beginning of World War II.

World War II and the Camp Experience

The Aleut experience at the Wrangell Institute was of two kinds. Villagers from Unalaska, Nikolski, Makushin, Akutan, and Kashega arrived there directly as fresh evacuees from the Aleutian Islands before being forwarded to their ultimate wartime destination (Figure 163). Then, after being settled in their camps, children from the relocated villages were sent to the Wrangell Institute for schooling.

The Alaska Steamship Company's vessel SS *Columbia* arrived at Wrangell Institute on July 13, 1942, to deliver 160 Aleuts into the custody of the Alaska Indian Service – the U.S. Department of the Interior's agency for administering Native affairs in the territory. The six-village contingent consisted of 41 people from Akutan, 18 from Biorka, 20 from Kashega, eight from Makushin, 72 from Nikolski, and one from Unalaska (Kohlhoff 1995:80-81). Military and political matters delayed evacuation of Unalaska, and reports differ on the event

Figure 153.

By 1944 a garage on the shore side of the road, originally built with these four bays facing the campus, had a two-bay addition on the other side to make a six-car garage.

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Figure 154.

Bumpers of what would now be vintage cars peek out from the four-car staff garage in 1944.

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Figure 155.

CCC crews began two log cabins near shore in the late 1930s, leaving them for staff and students to finish in 1941. The boys dormitory shows at right in this 1944 view to the east.

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details. On August 1, 1942, 137 Unalaskans arrived at Wrangell Institute on board the Alaska Steamship Company's vessel SS *Alaska* according to Kohlhoff (1995:84), while Kirtland and Coffin (1981:35) state that 111 Unalaskans arrived there on July 26 – one week earlier.

The Juneau office of the Alaska Indian Service began making arrangements in mid-July to receive Aleut evacuees at the Wrangell Institute (Kohlhoff 1995:80). The broad terraced grounds were to become a temporary city. More than twenty large pyramidal military tents were erected along the existing sidewalks, each on its own tent platform (Figures 163-165). The entry of each tent faced southwest, towards the sidewalk and the beach beyond. Each tent was equipped with a small camp stove – photographs show both sheet-metal and cast types –

Figure 156.

A 1944 view to the west shows the second identical log cabin (right) built beside the first (left), both facing the bay.

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Figure 157.

The boathouse in 1944 had a servicable marine ways to haul watercraft into the building.

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stationed in a long row outside the tents on the opposite side of the sidewalk. Obviously used for cooking rather than heating, the stoves' locations indicate a concern for fire danger among the closely packed dwellings. Canvas patches are visible on some tents. According to one evacuee, women and children were assigned to live in tents (Figure 165), eight per tent, with one cot per tent, while men and boys slept in the vacant dormitories (Kohlhoff 1995:101). The Wrangell Institute tent camp was intended to be struck in the fall of 1942, after better accommodations were readied elsewhere (and before returning students arrived to begin the new school year). Villagers from Unalaska spent less than a month there before moving to the cannery at Burnett Inlet (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:35). Villagers from Akutan, Biorka, Kashega, Makushin, and Nikolski built a barge (probably using the Institute's boathouse) that

Figure 158.
A shed roof supported by posts and trusses was attached to the north side of the boathouse, here looking southwest in 1944.

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Figure 159.
The Institute 3 was one of the boats built at the Wrangell Institute boathouse.

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was then filled with building supplies and towed to Ketchikan by the USS *Penguin* in late August (some remember an Institute vessel pulling the barge); 25 villagers accompanied the barge while the remainder traveled to Ketchikan onboard an Army transport vessel (Kohlhoff 1995:103-104).

By early September the tent camp was gone and the Wrangell Institute started its regular school year, beginning the 1942 fall enrollment with an unprecedented number of Aleut students. Lee McMillan's log at Funter Bay recorded the USFWS's *Brant* leaving October 17 for the Institute, bringing 20 Pribilof Islands schoolchildren, their two schoolteachers, and the schoolteachers' children, and the children were also enrolled the following year (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:62). Children from other evacuation camps also attended school at the Wrangell Institute (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:63), but "the record of enrollment of children from Killisnoo, Ward Cove and Burnett Inlet has not been discovered."

Figure 160.

Two 20,000 gallon steel tanks (viewed here in 1944) behind the clinic held the campus's heating oil.

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Figure 161.

A fish-cleaning station of spruce poles and cedar shakes in the Adirondack style was built near the beach.

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Figure 162.

Near the fish-cleaning station was an elevated smokehouse also in the Adirondack style.

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Figure 163.

Workers build tent platforms in July of 1942, on the grounds of the Wrangell Institute, in preparation for the arrival of Aleut evacuees. Note boathouse at upper right.

National Archives Still Picture Branch

Post-War Development

Unlike other evacuation camps, the Wrangell Institute was in operation immediately prior to the war, it continued its education mission during the war, and it remained a boarding vocational high school immediately after the war. But after the war the U.S. Navy no longer needed their huge seaplane base at Sitka, so in 1947 the newly created Bureau of Indian

Figure 164.
Large military tents were erected along the sidewalks in front of the Wrangell Institute to house the Aleut evacuees during the late summer of 1942.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA306.2266

Affairs (or BIA – successor to the Indian Service) transformed the Sitka naval station into Mt. Edgecumbe High School, reducing the Wrangell Institute to an elementary and junior high school (Jordan 1966). The main school and dormitory buildings changed little (Figure 166), but more buildings were added to the campus. A bus shed and a maintenance shop were added at the north corner of the clearing, according to archival photographs. A large building was constructed northeast of the school as a maintenance facility and dining hall, and another of unknown function was built adjacent to the dining hall. Added to the existing staff house at the north corner of the complex were another large staff house at the south corner of the complex (Figures 167-168) and two smaller staff residences by the road near the west corner (Figure 150). A long wharf at the south end of the complex that was in good repair in the 1940s was quite dilapidated by 1961 (Figure 167). One of the last buildings

Figure 165.
Most Aleut Islanders except those from Atka (and Attu) spent time at the Wrangell Institute tent camp. Eva Borenin (age 15) and Evdokia (Eva) Borenin (age 55) were residents of Makushin. Both died at Ward Lake in 1943 and were buried in Ketchikan.

National Archives Still Picture Branch

I was born in Craig, Alaska, in the sixth month, the 25th day, year '29….I came up to Wrangell to attend high school….I didn't come up until late '42…I graduated in the last graduating class as a high school [1947].… Everybody had one week [out of four] where you didn't go to school. You had the kitchen, or you had the bakery, or you had the laundry, or you had the health center, or you could work for staff and get paid…. It was real disciplined. Everybody got up at 7:00. Everybody ate breakfast by 8:00. Everyone did their chores between 8 and 9, and then you went to school. We had our algebra, we had all math classes, science classes, geography classes, and history. English. And then of course we had a band.…We could come in to Wrangell every Saturday, and maybe Sunday for a movie.

Wilma Stokes

Mr. Barrett, the principal of Wrangell Institute, came to Funter Bay on June 16 [sic], 1942, and asked if there were any boys and girls of high school age who would like to attend his school. As soon as I heard this I wanted to go. But I knew that a boy over sixteen can't go any farther in school, because where I come from the Government Service of Fishing and Wild Life puts them to work....When I got to the Institute I was homesick. The students were strangers to me, and the trees looked ugly, because I had never seen a tree in all the sixteen years of my life.

Sixteen-year-old Flore, from St. Paul, quoted in Beech (1944:20)

added to the complex was a garage near the boathouse sometime after 1966, according to an aerial photograph (Jordan 1966).

In the mid-1960s as many as 260 students attended classes at the Wrangell Institute, but the curriculum of four decades earlier had evolved, and home economics was the only vocational course still taught (Jordan 1966). The staff included two registered nurses, four practical nurses, four guidance counselors, 12 teachers, 10 teacher's aides, and three nighttime dormitory keepers. Just under 90 students were enrolled in January of 1975, when the BIA announced it would close the facility that June (The Wrangell Sentinel 1975). During its last semester, in its 43rd year of operation, the school employed 45 people including seven teachers. Alaska's continued expansion of rural bush schools lessened the need for BIA boarding schools, and the closure of the Wrangell Institute was warranted on the basis of "rising costs, decreasing enrollment and major renovations needed," according to a BIA spokesman (Hanchett 1974). The campus infrastructure development was at its zenith by 1975, though the two log cabins near the mouth of the creek (Figures 155-156) had been removed.

The Wrangell Institute was soon declared surplus federal property and assigned for sale under the U.S. General Services Administration (GSA). Cook Inlet Regional Corporation or CIRI, a Native regional corporation established under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, announced in early 1977 that it was claiming the property under a provision in the Act that entitled CIRI to select surplus federal property nationwide in compensation for the lack of available land near Anchorage (The Wrangell Sentinel 1977). GSA issued CIRI a temporary use permit for the property, allowing CIRI in 1977 to lease the facility to

Figure 166.
Students stroll the sidewalk behind the school and dorms, looking south, probably in the early 1960s. The boys dormitory is at right, the school (with bell-tower) is left of center, and the girls dormitory is at the far left.
Wrangell Museum

Figure 167.
The school's dock was in place by 1942, but it was dilapidated by the time this 1961 image was made.
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the U.S. Forest Service as a Young Adult Conservation Corps camp (The Wrangell Sentinel 1977). After opening in January, 1978, "the work camp employed about 100 16- to 23-year-olds as well as about 40 staff members who worked on public works and conservation projects" (MacPherson 1994). That use continued until 1980 (Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation 2007:3). Title to the property was officially transferred to CIRI on August 11, 1978, but the Native corporation was cautious about predicting future development (The Wrangell Sentinel 1978). Some buildings were leased as private rental units (Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation 2007:1).

After 1980 the buildings remained idle for almost 15 years. Then in 1994 CIRI demolished three buildings and conducted asbestos abatement and lead-based paint removal programs, in

There were two large 20,000 gallon fuel tanks which stored heating oil for the school. The fuel was transferred from tankers uphill to the tanks by a pipeline and then dispersed to the individual fuel tanks at each building by another pipeline. There were 12 small tanks on the property. In 1999, the City removed all of the tanks and excavated 750 cubic yards of contaminated soil which was stockpiled in a rockpit. In 2001, the City performed a site assessment of the property, demolished all of the buildings, [and] excavated additional contaminated soil which was stockpiled near the site….Approximately 6,000-8,000 cubic yards of petroleum-contaminated soil remained on site in the spring of 2007. The groundwater is also contaminated….The State will receive $2.35 million as reimbursement for past and future costs….The soil will be cleaned up to DEC's most protective cleanup levels, which will allow for unrestricted future use of the property.

Website: Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation Contaminated Sites Program: Wrangell Institute

turn causing a fuel spill, and under a special 1995 Congressional authorization CIRI relinquished the property in exchange for approximately one million dollars in other surplus federal property (MacPherson 1998b; Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation 2007:3). Since then the history of the Wrangell Institute has been one of hazardous materials removal and demolition. Asbestos removal was almost completed in 1998, and in 1999 the City removed fuel tanks and removed and stockpiled some contaminated soils. According to the Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation (2007:1-3), in 2001 additional contaminated soils were removed and stockpiled and all buildings were demolished (though the original boathouse was found standing in 2008).

Current Condition

On-site investigations at the Wrangell Institute were so brief that a taxi was kept waiting. The City's permission to conduct the field investigation had not been conveyed to onsite individuals supervising remediation, and time was not available to request additional permissions. The site visit was long enough to photograph the loss of the central building complex, the soil remediation process, and the standing boathouse. Campus features obscured by alders or the forest fringe were not observed during the brief field visit.

Most of the Wrangell Institute was demolished by 2008. The property northeast (upslope) of the highway contains long plastic-covered mounds of contaminated soil waiting removal (Figures 169-170). These mounds and the graveled surfaces between correspond to the area once holding the dorm and school building alignment and the maintenance and cafeteria buildings (Figures 150, 166). No building debris was observed; the contents of the covered piles were not inspected. Young alder, spruce, and hemlock are revegetating other parts of the main campus. Dilapidated chain-link fence and gates guard the upslope Wrangell Institute property on the northeast side of the highway (Figure 170).

On the southwest side of the highway next to a playground and tennis courts is the Wrangell Institute's boathouse, which dates to 1938 (Figures 157-158, 163). In 2008 the building was

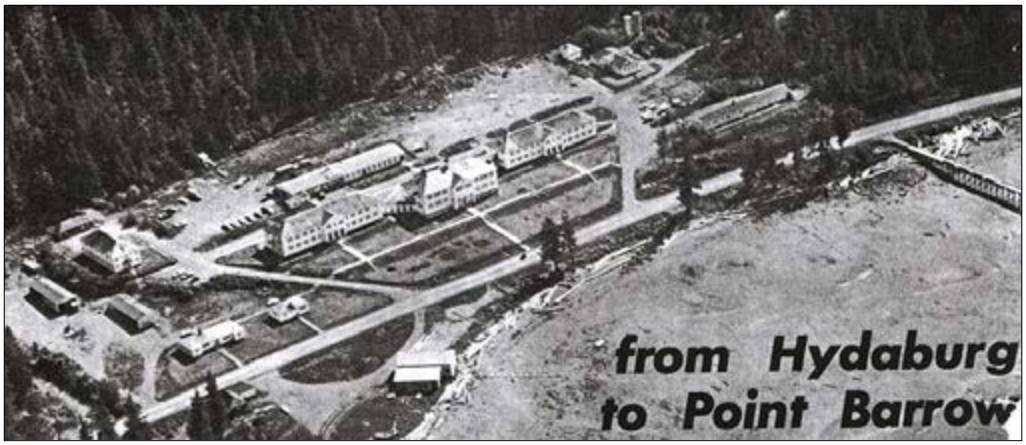


Figure 168.
An aerial photograph published in the June, 1966, New Alaskan shows the final layout of the Wrangell Institute.

in fair repair (Figure 171), but it hadn't been used as a boathouse for many years (Figure 172). Interior observations were not made.

The wood frame boathouse has a tall gable-roofed main block at the water's edge with large doors facing Zimovia Strait that allowed boats to be winched or floated in (Figure 159). Three windows equidistantly spaced on the south elevation are battened with plywood, as are two on the east (Figure 171); archival photographs (Figures 157-158) indicate they once held 4/4 double- sash windows. The building is clad in simple wood drop siding, and roofed with ribbed metal. Distinctive eave returns on the gable ends appear as they did during the war (Figure 158). A windowless plywood sliding door is centered on the east elevation where there was once a plank door perforated by a pedestrian door in turn having a six-pane fixed window (Figure 158). A metal stovepipe that wartime photographs show penetrating the roof near the southwest corner is no longer in evidence.

In 1944 the boathouse had a low, open, shed-roofed block attached to the north elevation, supported by roof trusses and braced posts (Figure 158); by 2008 that block was completely enclosed. The north and south walls are clad in simple drop siding like the remainder of the building, while the east wall consists of plywood, T-111, two plywood doors on a track, and one hinged plywood door (Figure 171). The roof of the shed block is identical to the main block, being ribbed metal.

North of the boathouse, past tennis courts and playground, is a small one-story gable-roofed shed with two large bay openings. It may be a building plotted but unidentified on the 1975 campus map, but that was not confirmed. In 2008 the building serves the recreational complex.

Summary

After the Aleut relocation experience, the Wrangell Institute continued its Alaska Native boarding school programs until 1975. The property was sold to Cook Inlet Region Incorporated (CIRI) in 1978 and left idle from 1980 until 1995, when it was traded back to the federal government for one million dollars in other surplus property. Since then the City of Wrangell

Figure 169.
In 2008 the Wrangell Institute had been leveled of most buildings and workers were preparing contaminated soil (under cover) for removal. Compare with the similar perspective (looking southeast) in Figure 166.

Figure 170.
From the highway the Wrangell Institute's main campus consists of mounds of contaminated soil surrounded by encroaching vegetation.

Those [construction] workmen were fabulous, 'cause those buildings were just as good as new.

Richard Stokes

has acquired the campus and overseen the demolition of most of the buildings and removal of huge volumes of contaminated soil. The 2008 field reconnaissance documented a boathouse as the one Institute building definitely constructed before 1942. The brief onsite visit did not systematically scrutinize the campus, and other historic features likely remain along the margins of the parcel.

Figure 171.
The Wrangell Institute's boathouse, built by 1942, is in fair repair (compare with Figure 158).

Figure 172.
The boathouse has wide, tall doors facing Zimovia Strait. Vegetation, beach berm, and logs indicate that decades have passed since the building served that function (compare with Figure 157).

Walter Rudolph was the boat instructor. He was a good man. And they built the Institute 1, and the Institute 2. There was a lot of skiffs, and stuff [built there], but I'm talking the power boats. The Institute 2 was the largest – it must have been 40' at least. [Built probably] '34, '35. Her [spouse Wilma Stokes] uncle bought it, after they used it. They used it for transporting kids back and forth, to here, and Sitka, and Petersburg. I don't know about Ketchikan. They were just transportation, but it became a fishing boat when her uncle got it. So it could have been even 45'. It was a good-sized boat.

Richard Stokes

Chapter 6: Burnett Inlet Cannery

Aleuts from Unalaska were resettled at the Burnett Inlet cannery, not far from Wrangell Institute (Figure 148). Burnett Inlet is a narrow water body seven miles long on the southwest side

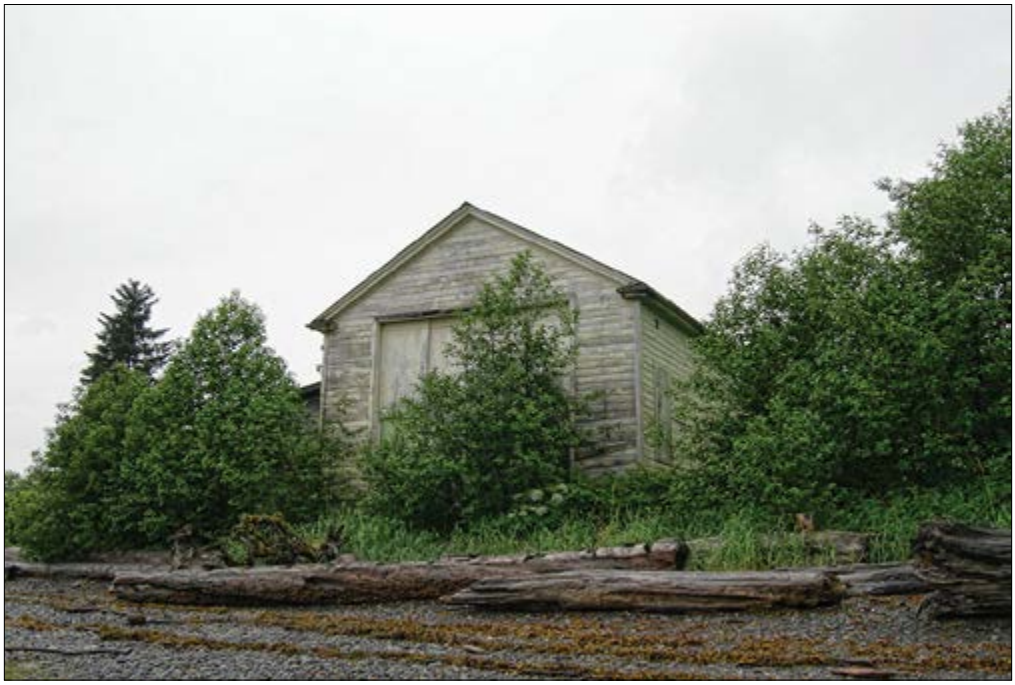


Figure 173.
The cannery and warehouses of the Burnett Inlet Salmon Company were wrapped around the shore of Cannery Point, facing the photographer (looking southwest), with other buildings on pilings tucked into the cove at right.

of Etolin Island, about 30 miles south of Wrangell (U.S. Department of Commerce 1978:83-84). The island's rugged mountains reach heights of over 3000', and the land is covered in spruce/hemlock/cedar forest up to an elevation of about 2000' (Figure 173). Near the mouth of Burnett Inlet, on the west side, is a small bulbous peninsula known as Cannery Point.

Early Years

In 1912 the Sanborn Cram Company of Astoria, Oregon, built a cannery at Cannery Point (Cobb 1917:50). The Sanborn family had a long history in business and were part of Astoria's affluent during the late 1800s; in 1889 under the name Astoria and Alaska Packing Company, George W. Sanborn and a partner built one of Alaska's earliest canneries at Pavlof Harbor on Chichagof Island – across Chatham Strait midway between Funter Bay and Angoon (Cobb 1922:40). The same year they began the Burnett Inlet cannery, George W. Sanborn and his son Frank joined several other investors to form the Sanborn Cutting Company and built a cannery at Kake (District of Columbia Court of Appeals 1918:673-679; MacDonald 1949:33; Mobley 2009). The two companies were based in Astoria and for a time were contemporaries – both firms exhibited at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco (Wahlgreen Company 1915). By 1920 a large portion of the Astoria waterfront was taken up

Figure 174.
One of the few pre-war images of the Burnett Inlet cannery looks northwest at the cannery and warehouses on Cannery Point.
University of Alaska Fairbanks Southeast cannery collection 82.108.5

by the docks and warehouses of George W. Sanborn and Sons (Pacific Fisherman 1920:21), at a time when the elder Sanborn was one of the city's three port commissioners (Special Correspondent 1918:142).

The Burnett Inlet industrial plant was contained in four large buildings on pilings over the intertidal zone, facing east into the mouth of Burnett Inlet (Figure 174), while other buildings crept up the slope and back down again into the intertidal zone of a small cove to the north (Figure 173). Archival research did not turn up an historic map, but likely there were close to a couple dozen buildings counting individual cabins and bunk houses. After packing fish for six years, the Sanborn Cram Company sold their Burnett Inlet property in 1918 to the Burnett Inlet Packing Company, which operated the plant for the subsequent 12 years (MacDonald 1949:33). Polk's Alaska-Yukon Gazetteer for 1923-24 lists the company in its Wrangell pages with Adolph Hall as manager (R.U. Polk & Company 1923:35). In 1930 the Burnett Inlet Packing Company sold the cannery to Alaska Pacific Fisheries, which may have operated it that season (Bower 1931:42). But the company thereafter shuttered the cannery, and it didn't pack fish again until 1937 when the plant was sold to the Burnett Inlet Salmon Company.

The revitalization was short-lived, however, because the industrial plant caught fire and burned on November 21, 1940 (The Wrangell Sentinel 1940). The one-line operation had been packing fish for several seasons under the ownership of A.W. Breuger – a local Wrangell packer who had merged his operation with that of the Far West Alaska Company in 1935 (Paige et al. 2009:15). Three dwellings, the main cannery building, the store, and the warehouse were lost as well as considerable netting and gear. But no boats were destroyed, and the buildings were insured, according to the newspaper account.

The Burnett Inlet Salmon Company stayed in business, purchased a floating cannery – the *Retriever* – from the Red Salmon Packers Association, and packed fish on Lisianski Inlet at the north end of Chichagof Island (Bower 1942:25). Then the company moved its operations the following year to a facility at Elfin Cove at the north end of Chichagof Island (U.S. Senate

I was born here in Wrangell, 83 years ago….I spent three years in Burnett [before the war]….My dad fished and my mother worked in the cannery….They had small houses about the size of this room here – they just had it divided into two rooms. The kitchen, the parlor, and everything else. They had a good stove, kitchen – they had everything that we needed. It was right during the Depression, too. My mother would make an egg-less, milk-less, butter-less cake, and it was good!...There was another bunkhouse, yes, for the non-Filipinos…right near the superintendent's quarters. The [Ole P.] Nergaard family lived there, and he was the superintendent, if I remember right. There used to be a little store there, off the main deal. You could get whatever you wanted. I know I used to charge a nickel's worth of hard candy, and boy you could get a lot for a nickel in them days. The Native workers lived in those little houses, and there was a boardwalk [6' wide], and there must have been at least ten houses. And they usually had people in all of them. A gridiron [marine railway], they called it, was off the side, in between the cabins. No one lived there [Burnett Inlet cannery] during the winter, except the Aleuts. It must have been miserable for them. Not much there. There was good fishing along in there, though. Halibut, king salmon. Lot of deer.

Richard Stokes

1941:209), and was in business at least until 1948 (Commerce Clearing House Inc. 1963:9822). But fish were never packed at the Burnett Inlet cannery after the 1940 fire.

World War II and the Camp Experience

The Burnett Inlet Salmon Company still owned the cannery when the federal government began searching for potential camp locations in earnest, and a deal was struck. In late August of 1942 when 111 Unalaska evacuees were moved from Wrangell Institute to the Burnett Inlet cannery, they found eleven cabins and a large bunkhouse still standing (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:35). Though dilapidated, the original cannery buildings still retained their red paint (Mayberry 1943:48). One board-and-battened cabin on pilings extending into the cove to the north illustrates the austerity of the accommodations (Figure 175). Several of the building's window penetrations seem to have no glazing. Blankets hang to dry, and five people including two men, a woman, and two children appear to be hanging fish to dry.

A row of small cabins was hastily constructed among the scorched machinery left from the cannery fire, facing the inlet (Figure 176). The example photographed in 1943 is a one-story frame cabin about 20' long with a shallow gable roof and a gable facing the inlet. The north wall was perforated for a stove chimney, and a door was set in the east end of the north eave wall. Tarpaper covered the roofs (Mayberry 1943:48). While many of the cannery buildings were elevated above the wet ground on piling foundations, the new cabins appear to have been set low to the ground. Plank boardwalks were rebuilt to connect the new buildings to the old (Figures 175-178). Mayberry (1943:48) described the camp layout as a "V" with two wings of buildings, meeting at a low promontory on which a school and church were built (Figure 177). The new cabins built along the shore over the burned cannery zone were one arm of the V with the apex at the north end of Cannery Point, and the second arm consisted of original cannery buildings on pilings inside the cove to the north (Figure 173).

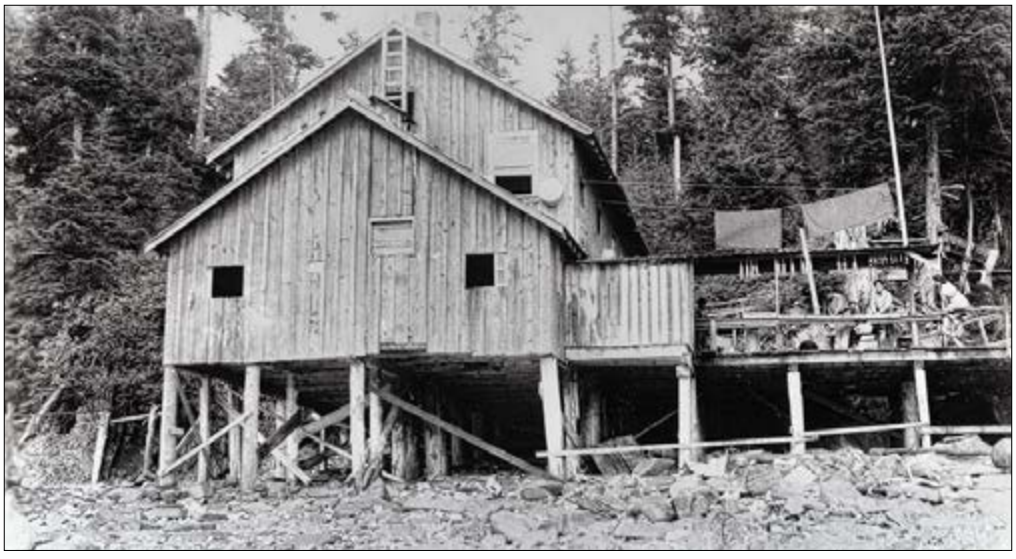


Figure 175.
A cannery bunkhouse that survived the 1940 fire became one of the housing units for Unalaska evacuees in 1942.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association Gertrude Svarney collection

The church was built to facilitate worship in the Russian Orthodox faith and housed icons, vestments, candelabra, and other religious items selected for the purpose by elder Anfesia Shapniskoff, who otherwise buried the majority at Unalaska before the villagers were evacuated (Oleksa 1991:50; Kohlhoff 1995:124). It had a shallow-pitched gable roof (Mayberry (1943:48) described it as already sagging) and an enclosed gable-roofed entry (Figure 177). The main block and the entry were each topped by a white Russian Orthodox cross. The entrance was approached by a plank boardwalk and stairs fitted with handrails. Mayberry (1943:48) refers to "four silver-toned bells" outside the church, possibly hung from the rack visible outside the entry (Figure 177).

The Burnett Inlet cannery was the most isolated of the evacuation camps, and exhibited the initial deficiencies found at the others: crowded quarters, a single outhouse, no bath house, a limited water system, lack of transportation and medical care, and an unvarying diet (Kohlhoff 1995:123). No doubt the arrival of 46 people transferred from the Ward Lake camp in late spring of 1944 made matters little better (Kohlhoff 1995:130). The Unalaskan Aleuts were not pleased with the accomodations and lodged complaints about the poor living conditions. Perhaps as a consequence of the isolation, Burnett Inlet turned out to have the lowest mortality of the relocation camps, though "at least four persons" died there (Kirtland and Coffin 1981:62).

The couple employed by the BIA at Unalaska – Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Long – became the federal on-site representatives at Burnett Inlet (Mayberry 1943:48-49). Mrs. Long was the schoolteacher and – with a new school building constructed at the camp – 36 Unalaska students were taught there rather than sent to the Wrangell Institute. Mr. Long became "general manager, construction foreman, storekeeper and 'complaint clerk'" (Mayberry 1943:49). A number of adult Aleuts left the camp to take jobs in Wrangell, Ketchikan, and elsewhere, as the evacuees were expected to pay for the food and other wares supplied to them at the camp. In 1943 when Mayberry visited the camp the community had direct access to only one boat – a "dory with an inboard motor" – controlled by Mr. Long (Mayberry 1943:49). The Unalaskans endured Burnett Inlet until mid-April of 1945, when the USAT

David W. Branch – freshly loaded with the Ward Lake evacuees – stopped to pick them up on the way to Killisnoo.

Post-War Development

Unlike the Funter Bay properties or Killisnoo, the land and water over which the Burnett Inlet cannery was built were never patented – a process by which federal property can be transferred to private hands – and eventually it reverted back to the U.S. Forest Service. The agency took note of the site in the 1970s (Plaskett 1977), and in 1999 USFS archaeologists began mapping it (Smith 2003). The circumstances of the property after World War II are one of neglect and decay, as the Burnett Inlet cannery gradually entered the archaeological record. In 1977 there were at least five buildings left standing (Plaskett 1977:14); 25 years later there were none (Smith 2003).

Current Condition

From the air the Burnett Inlet cannery is practically invisible – no building ruins are evident, and only a patch of second-growth alder hints at the former facility (Figures 173, 179). Except for that portion in the intertidal zone, the site is completely vegetated in mostly second-growth spruce, hemlock, and red cedar, and the aforementioned alder. Here and there stumps up to five feet in diameter sport notches for a springboard – the short plank wedged into the tree for the sawyer to stand on (Figure 180). One old-growth red cedar left standing has two small wood cleats nailed to its trunk to create a ladder (Figure 181), with a large ferrous staple affixed 20' above ground surface, suggesting the tree may once have had a radio antenna attached to it.

Figure 176.
By spring of 1943 new cabins (right) were built amid the burned cannery debris. View is south-southeast. Note boiler at center.
From Mayberry (1943)

Figure 177.
The displaced Unalaskans built a church at Burnett Inlet. Compare skyline angle at right with that in Figure 174.
From Mayberry (1943)

Figure 178.
The northernmost cannery buildings survived the 1940 fire. Note engine on concrete pedestal, looking north-northeast in 1943.
From Mayberry (1943)

The Aleut village [at Burnett Inlet] is built in a V-shape. The church and schoolhouse occupy the place of honor, for they have been built at the top of the walk that leads from the float where the boats are tied. They form the apex of the angle formed by the two wings of the village. Some of the houses are the red cannery buildings left standing when the great fire destroyed the cannery at Burnett Inlet a few years ago. Other houses are new structures of rough board and tar-paper roofs, erected for the shelter of the refugees. Every house is on "Front Street" and commands a view of the lovely little inlet....The houses, on the whole, are warm and comfortable. There are 21...[extended] families.

On the beach lies many tons of blackened and rusted scrap iron – the residue of the burned cannery....Supplies and mail are brought in from Wrangell and Ketchikan....A number have left the colony and accepted work in government defense projects. Some have moved to nearby towns and have fitted themselves into the industries there....

The colony at Burnett has no doctor or trained nurse. Mrs. Alice Hope, wife of the postmaster at Unalaska, is an excellent practical nurse and it is upon her that the colonists depend in case of sickness. In case of emergency, plane service is available from Ketchikan, although there is no means of communication save by boat...early in April [of 1943]...books, desks and other equipment arrived and Mrs. Long had begun with 36 pupils and all grades.

Mayberry (1943:48-49)

A map of the Burnett Inlet cannery site assembled by USFS archaeologist Jane Smith in 2003 guided the 2008 reconnaissance (Figure 182). The team, including Wrangell resident and historian Patricia Roppel, walked the beach from the protected cove counterclockwise to an indentation on the south side of Cannery Point (off the USFS map), and also walked inland across the narrow rocky ridge separating the cove from the Inlet. Standing buildings are no longer found at the Burnett Inlet cannery, and most of the evidence has entered the archaeological record. Observed were most of the intertidal piling clusters, building ruins, stationary features, and large artifact scatters described by Smith (2003), and her 28 feature numbers have been retained (Table 1). Other ruins and artifacts discovered outside Smith's (2003) mapping effort are also reported here. A shell deposit described by Smith (2003) but not confirmed as a cultural midden was not found in 2008. Graves have never been identified at the site, nor were they found mentioned in archival sources.

BUILDING RUINS

Eleven of the 28 features recorded by USFS are building ruins, one is a plank platform, and one is a doghouse. The plank platform (Feature 23) was described as of 2"x6" construction and measuring about 35'x20', located on the east side of Cannery Point where the cannery buildings stood before the 1940 fire. The 2008 reconnaissance found a considerably smaller plank platform there unlike Smith's (2003) photograph of Feature 23. The moss-covered plank platform observed just inside the treeline in 2008 was about 10'x12', or about the size of a wall tent (Figure 183), and had the appearance of a temporary sportsman's camp a few decades old at most. The doghouse (Feature 26) could be considered the only standing building at the Funter Bay cannery (Figure 184), and it may postdate the Aleut occupation.

Figure 179.
Cannery Point at the mouth of Burnett Inlet, here looking southeast, cradles a small sheltered cove (right). Note absence of visible ruins, and alder patch at left.

Of the 11 building ruins mapped in 2003, four were reconfirmed in 2008: Features 2, 11, 19, and 24. Feature 2 is a collapsed wood frame building straddling the treeline, with half of the ruin in the intertidal zone and half in the uplands (Figure 182). Within the pile of lumber are 1”x8”, 2”x8”, and 4”x12” planks, as well as logs ranging from 8” to 14” in diameter. The roof had a gable facing out into the cove, and the northwest half of the roof has fallen in place to cap the ruin (Figure 185). Bits of tarpaper still adhere to the roof boards. This building ruin and the associated pilings (Feature 1) may represent the bunkhouse depicted in a wartime photograph contributed by Gertrude Svarney (Figure 175). A building (one of two) appears at this location on the USGS topographic map for the locality, based on aerial photography decades old.

In 2008 a collection of round and square timbers and other boards (Feature 11) at the high tide mark was found near the north end of the point where a wartime cannery building once stood (Figure 178), but it didn’t clearly represent that building. Some of the material had drifted in, and no piling stubs were visible (Figure 186). Smith (2003) observed a belt-driven power train amid the debris, but this was not evident in 2008. Though pilings were observed by the USFS at this locale, they suggested that the building they recorded could have been on floats (Table 1).

Red paint could still be seen in 2003 on the frame members of Feature 19 – a building collapsed upon about 15 ferrous racks used to hold cans in the cannery’s retorts. The feature was evident in 2008 (Figure 187), though the paint was indiscernible. Other large metal items including several 55-gallon drums were nearby.

Figure 180.
Becky Saleeby stands next to a large stump with spring-board notches.

Figure 181.
A large old-growth red cedar spared by cannery development, 50' south of Feature 23, had wood cleats for climbing the trunk.

The fourth building ruin detected in 2008 was Feature 24 at the south end of the shore facing Burnett Inlet (Figure 182), described by Smith (2003) as about 22'x20'. USFS investigations documented tongue-and-groove siding and a window frame, and considered it to be the site's most intact building at that time (Table 1). Smith (2003) detected paint of an undetermined color on the siding. In 2008 Feature 24 barely protrudes above the forest floor more than any other building ruin (Figure 188).

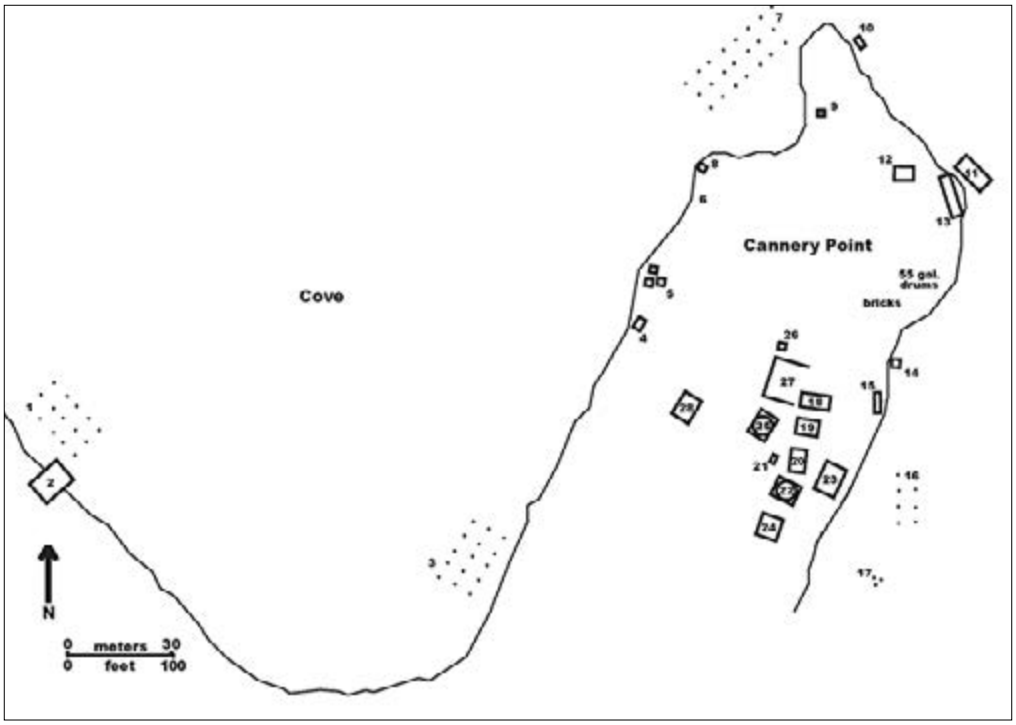


Figure 182.
A 2003 map of the Burnett Inlet cannery site (PET-136) assembled by USFS archaeologist Jane Smith was used to prepare this illustration. Feature numbers are described in Table 1.

Investigations in 2008 turned up a building ruin not plotted on the USFS map (Figure 182), just north of the doghouse (Feature 26), where moss-covered planks formed a rectangle measuring about 30'x20'.

INTERTIDAL PILINGS

The USFS gave feature numbers (Features 1, 3, 6, 7, 16, and 17) to six sets of pilings on the beach, ranging from one isolated example to a group of 29 (Table 1). The larger samples were plotted schematically on the USFS map (Figure 182). The pilings show up either as vertical remnants protruding from the intertidal zone, or as dark organic circles eroded flush with the tidal floor. Over time wave action and decay create fewer of the former and more of the latter, with shifts in erosion and sedimentation further altering their visible pattern from year to year. Storms and salvagers may remove pilings completely, further changing the patterns and their interpretation. Features 16 and 17, for example, totaling 14 pilings (Figure 182), were all that could be seen in 2003 where historic photography (Figure 174) shows industrial buildings supported by hundreds of pilings.

The 2008 reconnaissance relocated Smith's (2003) four largest piling groups. Because the shoreline setting of the Aleut bunkhouse in Figure 175 was comparable to that behind 15 pilings and a collapsed building (Features 1 and 2) on the southwest side of the cove (Figure 189), the pilings were mapped to determine if the pattern matched the archival photograph. A total of 54 pilings were found in contrast to the 15 tallied a decade earlier (Figure 190). Most of the pilings were on 10' centers, with two instances of double pilings and two occasions of a supplemental piling centered at diagonal intersections. Despite the mapping effort, the pilings

Figure 183.
A moss-covered rectangle of 2"x6" planks (possibly Smith's (2003) Feature 23) post-dates the 1940 cannery fire and appears to be a tent platform no more than a few decades old.

Figure 184.
The most intact building at the Burnett Inlet cannery is a doghouse.

didn't particularly match those of the wartime bunkhouse, so correlation of the feature with the building in Figure 175 is unconfirmed.

Along the east shore of the cove is another set of intertidal pilings, designated Feature 3. Smith (2003) counted 22 pilings in three rows (Figure 182). The upper row consists of three tall pilings, while the two lower rows contain more pilings uniformly cut flat 20" above the

beach gravel (Figure 191). USFS measured the feature as a 72'x42' rectangle. The feature appears to be a grid for stranding boats at high tide so that hull work can be performed.

Table 1.

Features recorded by USFS archaeologists at the Burnett Inlet cannery site in 1999, 2002, and 2003, from Smith. (2003).

Feature	Description
01	Fifteen pilings on the SW end of the cove; 21x11.7 m.
02	Collapsed plank structure on beach, S end partially in woods; 10.6x7.7 m.
03	Twenty-two pilings on beach; 22.2x12.9 m.
04	Possible raft at tree line, dimensional beams bound by iron staves, disarticulated; 4x2.9 m.
05	Outhouse/trash pits, three pits total, one filled with trash; 8.9x6.6 m total area. Some dimensional lumber is present. Two pits are 1x1 m and other is 1.5x2 m.
06	One piling on beach.
07	Twenty-nine pilings on beach; 37x9.2 m.
08	Collapsed plank-lined pit, corrugated metal (roofing?); 1.4x2.5 m.
09	Plank structure with corrugated metal roof, partially intact but fallen over. Roof is 1.75x1.75 m.
10	Iron vat set in cemented rock foundation on rocky point that marks cove entrance. Space for fire below vat (rendering?), dimensional planks associated, platform/dock? Tar in area; vat and foundation 3.2 m L x 1.8 m W x 1.4 m H.
11	Beam and timber structure on pilings; 10.4x4.8 m. Located on rock outcrop beach. A lot of rotten net on top plus some hardware that rotates belts (hauling gear?), possible net shed. Could have been floating at one time.
12	Collapsed plank structure with a lot of tar paper inside tree line above bedrock beach, dimensions undetermined. Area dimensions 4.5 x 2.5 m.
13	Collapsed plank (2 by 4) and beam structure at the tree line above bedrock beach; 3x12 m.
14	Iron cannery hardware mounted on cement piling at tree line, belt drive system, possible water pump; 4 m H, 2.8x1.2 m across base.
15	Iron cannery "tin man" boiler inside tree line, steam driven; 5.7x1.2 m.
16	Eleven pilings on beach; 13.7x6 m.
17	Three pilings on beach; 13.4 m L.
18	Collapsed plank and 2 by 4 structure in woods; 7.5x3.9 m.
19	Collapsed plank rack shack in woods, planks painted red, about 15 can racks in structure;6.5x4.3 m.
20	Collapsed framed structure in woods; 7x5.8 m. Peak rafters visible, tar paper, bed frames.
21	Rectangular pit in woods, moss lined; .4 m deep, 2x1.3 m.
22	Mostly collapsed circular wood tank on pilings in woods, rectangular base; 7x5.7 m. Metal hoops on top, oil spill in area.
23	Plank and 2 by 6 platform just inside tree line; 10.3x6.2 m.
24	Painted tongue and groove sided structure in woods; 6.8x6.2 m. Distinguishable framed window, most intact structure.
25	Wood water tank supported by pilings on second bench above majority of features, wooden pipe remains lead downhill to other structures.
26	Intact plank dog house.
27	Collapsed plank dwelling on second bench; 10x8 m.
28	Collapsed plank structure on third bench just below top ridge of point (probably dwelling), 6.5x3 m.

Figure 185.
Feature 2 is a building ruin at the treeline on the shore of the protected cove (here looking northeast), counter-clockwise from Cannery Point.

Figure 186.
Feature 11 is a collection of round and square timbers on the beach where the central building in Figure 178 would have been, though at least some of the material has drifted in (note shackle around log left of center).

Feature 7 is a collection of 29 piling remnants in three rows just inside the cove from cannery point, spanning an area of about 120'x30' (Figure 192). Just south at the treeline USFS plotted a single piling as Feature 6 (Figure 182), but it was not located in 2008.

A collection of 11 intertidal pilings (USFS's schematic map shows seven) on the east side of Cannery Point is Feature 16 (Figure 193), and a small group of three pilings 50' further south is Feature 17. This area is part of the industrial complex that burned in 1940 (Figure 174), and

Figure 187.
Feature 19 is a wood frame building collapsed around metal artifacts including strap-steel trays used to hold cans for insertion into the retorts.

large rusty pieces of machinery litter the intertidal zone (see Figure 199). Most of the many pilings that must have supported the large buildings were not evident.

OTHER FEATURES

Besides the buildings and pilings, the USFS team recorded pits, tanks, and stationary equipment (Smith 2003). Three unlined pits (Feature 5), another lined with planks and associated with corrugated metal (Feature 8), and a single unlined rectangular pit (Feature 21) were all surmised to be outhouse features in 2003; none were seen in 2008.

The ruins of two wood-stave tanks remain at Cannery Point. Feature 22 is a pile of rotten wood including pilings and other members of an 18'x22' platform, with the collapsed staves of a tank that must have been about 18' in diameter. In 2008 the feature was barely discernible under a thick cover of moss and alder growth. Smith (2003) observed oil and said in her field notes that the place "reeks of oil," and the shore location (Figure 182) is typical of historic cannery fuel tank placement (see the Funter Bay cannery). Feature 25 is another wood-stave tank on a rotten wood platform, similar in appearance to the first but elevated on the rocky ridge forming Cannery Point. Smith (2003) noted wood-stave pipe leading from the tank to various building ruins and consequently judged it to be a water tank. The rotten staves, compression hoops, and other structural elements of Feature 25 (Figure 194) are more visible than those of Feature 22.

Three stationary pieces of equipment were recognized in 2003 and again in 2008: a boiler, an engine, and a vat. The boiler (Feature 15) is of the tubular type and is devoid of identifying markings (Figure 195). The remains of the firebox indicate an oil-fired system rather than wood- or coal-fired. The foundation is not visible and the apparatus has sunk unevenly

Figure 188.
Patricia Roppel and Becky Saleeby inspect the collapsed building designated as Feature 24.

into the forest floor. The boiler is in its original location judging from a wartime photograph (Figure 176).

The remains of at least three engines were observed at Cannery Point but only one – Feature 14 – is stationary. That feature is a pyramidal concrete pedestal surmounted by a large engine oriented so the drive belt would have run perpendicular to shore (Figure 196). The feature (a survivor of the 1940 cannery fire) shows in a 1943 photograph (Figure 178).

The third stationary feature (Feature 10) is a ferrous vat set in a stone masonry vault at the high tide mark on the very north end of Cannery Point (Figure 182). It measures about 10'x6' by 4½' high, and the masonry at the north end has a cavity containing charcoal and reddened rock (Figure 197). Globs of nearby tar suggest the vat was used to heat and liquefy tar so that fishing nets could be dipped into it, to preserve the cotton web. Boxes for dipping seine nets into heated tar were a typical feature at early canneries (Mobley 1999:62-63), though Richard Stokes – who worked at the Burnett Inlet cannery before the 1940 fire, insisted the seiners didn't tar their nets to preserve them but instead hosed them with "blue stone" (copper sulfite).

ARTIFACT SCATTERS

The 2003 map plotted without feature numbers three scatters of large artifacts inside the treeline: a dozen 55-gallon metal drums, another group of fewer drums, and – in between – a pile of bricks (Figure 182). The smaller collection of drums was noticed in 2008, just north of Feature 18, but the other two groups of artifacts were not.

Figure 189.
Along the southwest shore of the cove are intertidal piling stubs (Feature 1, center) and a building ruin (Feature 2, left of center). This is possibly the site of the building in Figure 175.

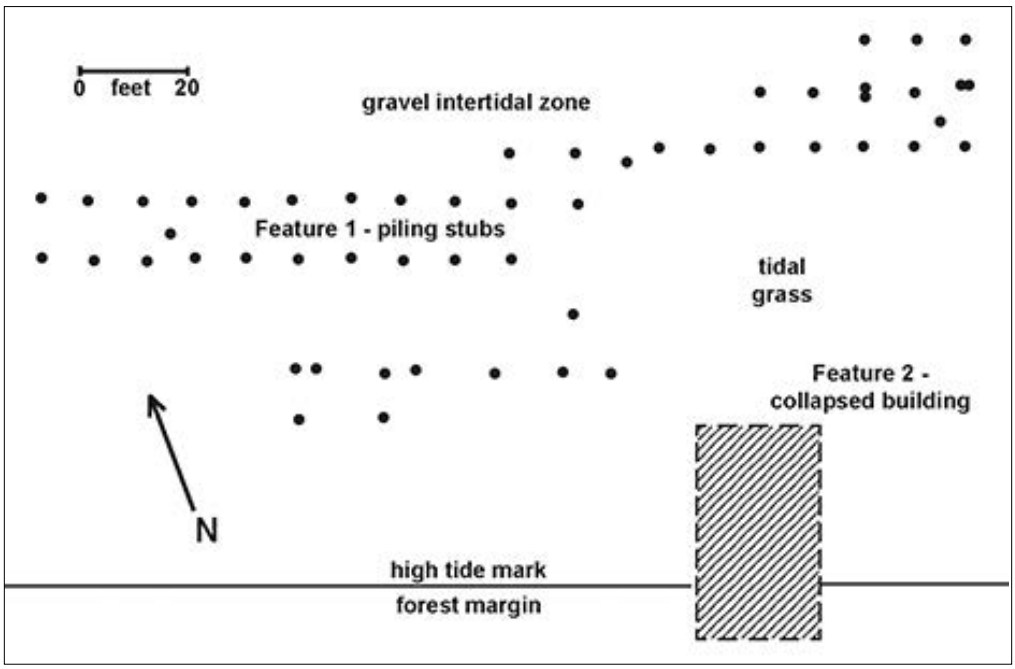


Figure 190.
Together, Features 1 and 2 in 2008 displayed 54 piling stubs, compared to the earlier count of 15 (Smith 2003).

Conspicuous during low tide in 2008 were large metal artifacts along the east shore of Cannery Point, where the industrial buildings were prior to the 1940 fire (Figures 174, 193). Between 20 and 30 specimens are strewn in the intertidal zone between Feature 14 and Feature 17, including parts of a lathe (Figure 198), engines (Figures 199-200), and other

machines (Figure 201). Seaweed and barnacles cover most specimens, making the burned, corroded, and wave-battered artifacts difficult to identify.

Summary

The Burnett Inlet cannery has had no standing buildings for a decade (doghouse excepted) and is now an archaeological site on Tongass National Forest land. Many of the features plot-

Figure 191.
Along the southeast side of the cove are three rows of pilings (Feature 3) with the two lower rows cut 20"above the gravel and three taller pilings forming the upper row – likely remains of a grid used to elevate boats at high tide so that hull work could be performed.

Figure 192.
Feature 7 is a collection of 29 piling remnants in three rows just inside the cove from Cannery Point, spanning a 120'x30' area.

ted in 2003 (Smith 2003) were observed in 2008, including building ruins, intertidal pilings, miscellaneous features and stationary equipment, and artifact scatters. Four of the 11 buildings mapped in 2003 were found, and all were fast descending into the forest floor. Four large piling groups in the intertidal zone were relocated, and one was mapped in an (inconclusive) attempt to match it with an Aleut-occupied wartime bunkhouse depicted in a photograph.

Other features include the remains of a wood-stave water tank on pilings in the forest, and another similar one closer to shore used for oil. Small depressions observed in 2003 that could have been outhouse holes were not seen in 2008. Stationary equipment consisted of a boiler, a large engine on a concrete pedestal, and a masonry-enclosed metal vat probably used to soak nets.

The intertidal zone facing the inlet is strewn with large pieces of machinery that probably fell through the decking of the cannery's industrial buildings during the 1940 fire. Some of it is basic machine shop equipment, some is from the cannery's power train, and some is fish-processing equipment. Inside the treeline is a small collection of 55-gallon metal drums, but another such group and a scatter of red bricks noted in 2003 were not seen in 2008. Few small artifacts such as glass or ceramic shards were noted, though bits of melted metal from the 1940 cannery fire were observed in the intertidal zone. A small indentation in the shore cliff on the south side of Cannery Point was found to have a separate suite of features including at least one cabin ruin and domestic debris.

Due to the lack of standing buildings the Burnett Inlet cannery has shifted from an architectural property into an archaeological site. The site's subtle plank and metal features sinking into the earth, and its intertidal zone strewn with rusty barnacle-clad junk and piling stubs, are

Figure 193.
The shore on the east side of Cannery Point – home to the cannery's extensive industrial complex until the 1940 fire – now displays only a few pilings along with rusty metal machinery (Feature 16 is at right).

both typical of cannery ruins in southeast Alaska. No evidence was found at the Burnett Inlet cannery site that particularly reflects the Aleut relocation experience during World War II.

Figure 194.
Feature 25 is the ruin of a wood-stave tank – probably a water tank – similar to the cannery's wood-stave fuel tank (Feature 22).

Figure 195.
A large oil-fired boiler (Feature 15) remains in its wartime position just inside the treeline where the 1940 cannery fire dropped it through a burned floor (Figure 176).

Figure 196.

A concrete pedestal at the high tide line supports a large engine (Feature 14) – another survivor of the 1940 fire (Figure 178).

Figure 197.

At the north end of Cannery Point is a metal vat encased in rock masonry, probably to dip seine nets in hot tar to preserve them.

Figure 198.

One of many pieces of machinery in the intertidal zone on the east side of Cannery Point is a lathe.

Figure 199.

Large metal machine pieces lie in the intertidal zone where the cannery's industrial buildings burned in 1940.

Figure 200.
Part of an engine lies in the beach gravel just at treeline, on the east side of Cannery Point.

Figure 201.
Barnacles obscure many of the intertidal artifacts.

They blue-stoned [the nets]. It preserved the nets. They didn't tar it. They used bluestone. The gillnetters here used blue-stone, too. It looked like blue rocks. They just throw it in there and the water dissolves [it]. Each night when we'd come in from fishing we'd have to get a sack, and we'd take and put a hose in the sack and we'd walk all over the seine and the blue stone would go through it. It kept it from rotting. Because everything was cotton in them days.

Richard Stokes

Chapter 7: Ward Lake CCC Camp

The Ward Lake CCC camp – a federal work camp north of Ketchikan – became the wartime home for Aleuts from Akutan, Biorka, Kashega, Makushin, and Nikolski. Ketchikan is the

Figure 202.
The Ward Lake CCC camp is now the site of a USFS picnic area, here viewed to the southwest. Note moss-covered concrete pedestal (2) left of center. Pedestal 1 is directly behind it, past the gate and left of the automobile.

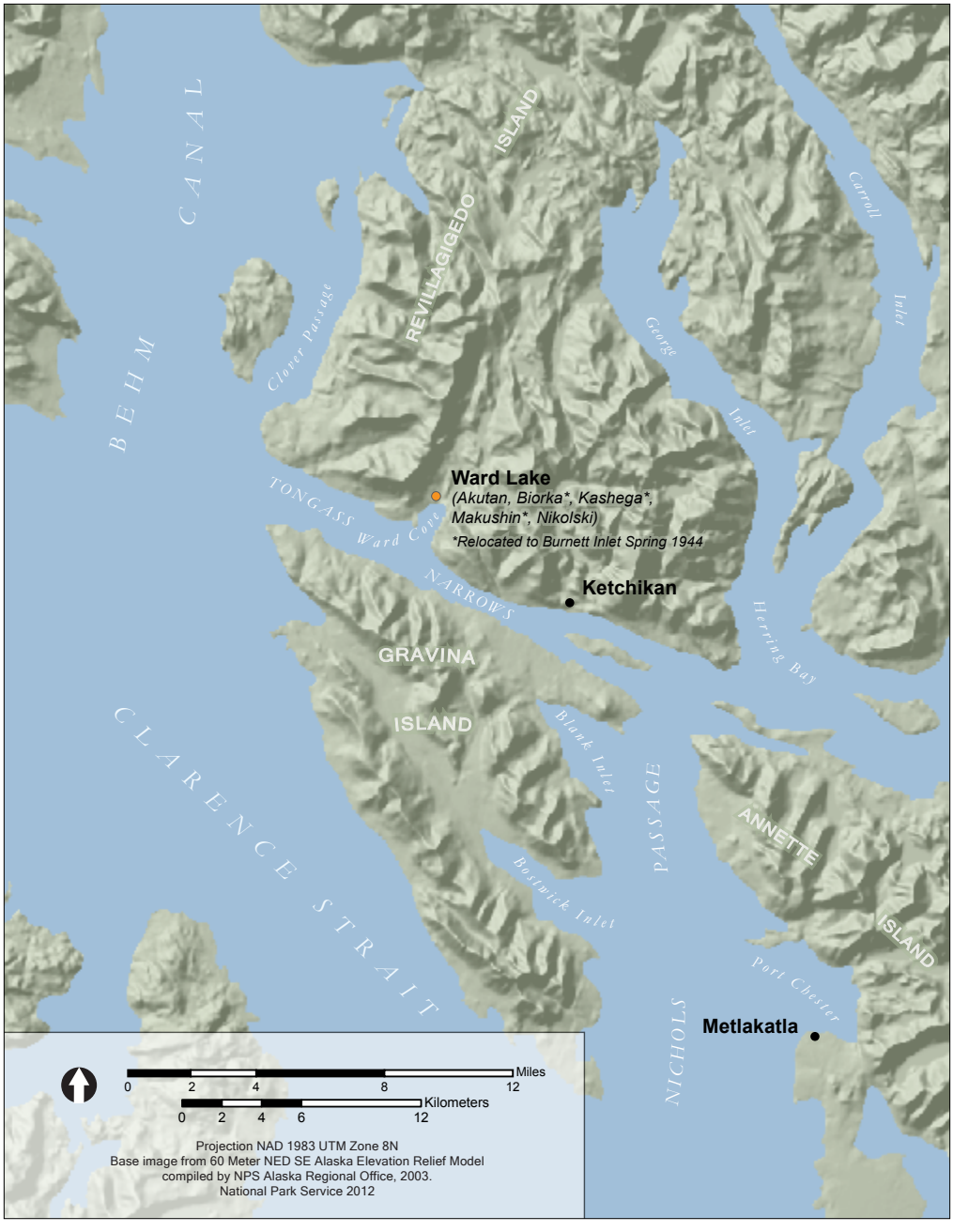
southernmost town in southeast Alaska, in the heart of Alaska's temperate rain forest. The average annual rainfall of 236 inches grows huge spruce, hemlock, and red and yellow cedar trees (U.S. Department of Commerce 1978:54), creating a deeply shaded understory (Figure 202). Ten miles northwest of Ketchikan along the shore of Revillagigedo Island is Ward Cove, fed by Ward Creek, which drains Ward Lake (Figure 203). Near the southeast shore of the lake, at the base of a mountain where the sun rarely shines, is the Ward Lake CCC camp (Figure 204).

Early Years

Ward Cove saw commercial activity as early as 1883-84 with the establishment of a saltery (Orth 1967:1028). Then, in 1912 – the same year the Burnett Inlet cannery was built, a cannery was built at Ward Cove (MacDonald 1949:33). In the late 1910s Eugene Wacker claimed a homestead between Ward Cove and Ward Lake, and his 160 acres became known as Wacker – later absorbed by the community of Ward Cove (Orth 1967:1028). In 1924 a coastal road known as the Tongass Highway was completed between Ketchikan and Ward Cove, and in that year Eugene Wacker began a commercial bus service between the two points (Ostlund 1980). This coincided with new federal policies supporting recreational use of public forests.

Figure 203.

Villagers from Akutan, Biorka, Kashega, Makushin, and Nikolski were interned at a CCC camp at Ward Lake, ten miles northwest of Ketchikan by road. Some men subsequently found employment at a military airfield under construction near the Tsimshian village of Metlakatla, on Annette Island.



Responding to the Ketchikan Women's Club's two new picnic areas built near the mouth of Ward Creek in 1925, and a Territorial Fisheries Department's trail cut that same year, USFS during the following two years extended the trail around the lake and stationed two rowboats for public use (Ketchikan Museum 2008).

A decade later, public recreational facilities (Figure 205), workshops (Figure 206), and a residential camp were built at Ward Lake by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) through the U.S. Forest Service (Rakestraw 1981:95-108). The CCC was created in 1933 under Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration "to furnish employment, vocational training and educational

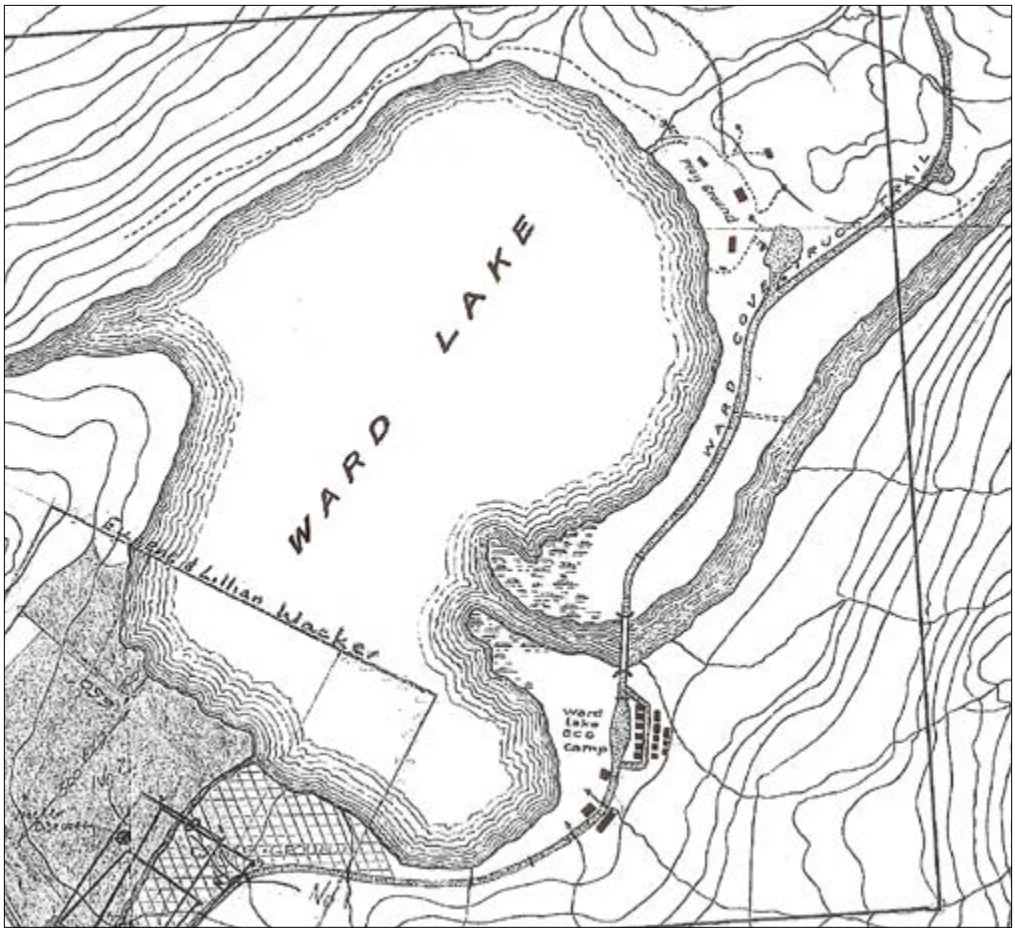


Figure 204.
A 1935 map of Ward Lake shows the road crossing the Wacker homestead, passing between the CCC shop and garage, then immediately entering the residential area of the camp. The road continued across the creek and on to a recreational beach (labeled Play Ground) near the upper center.
Ketchikan Museum

opportunities for unemployed youth, to enable young men enrolled in the CCC to provide aid for their dependent families, and to advance a nationwide conservation program on forest, park, and farm lands" (Federal Security Agency 1940:1). By 1937 the CCC had over 1,000 men working in southeast Alaska to address "practically every human need in the territory, including airstrips, housing, fire and flood control, demolition, communications, sanitation, wells, cabins, trails, roads, bridges, shooting ranges, fences, floats and docks, dams, hatcheries, totem pole restoration, and archaeology" (Mobley 1992:4).

Six small bunkhouses were completed at Ward Lake in 1935, soon followed by more buildings, creating a self-contained camp with the capacity for 65 men (Ketchikan Museum 2008). The bunkhouses were narrow cabins measuring 10'x20', set on low piling foundations, with shallow rounded roofs. The standardized design was also used for other functions: a foreman's cabin, cook's storeroom, washroom, and laundry (Figure 207). The modular design allowed construction of a generator shed half the size of the cabins (Figure 208). One of the buildings was used as a kitchen, with two more appended at a right angle as mess halls. The identical buildings were aligned 20' apart in two rows with their gable ends facing each other across a 20'-wide street. Other buildings on the plan include a large recreation hall, a large bunkhouse (18'x52'), coal shed, bake shop, meat house, cook's room, and toilet. These were frame build-

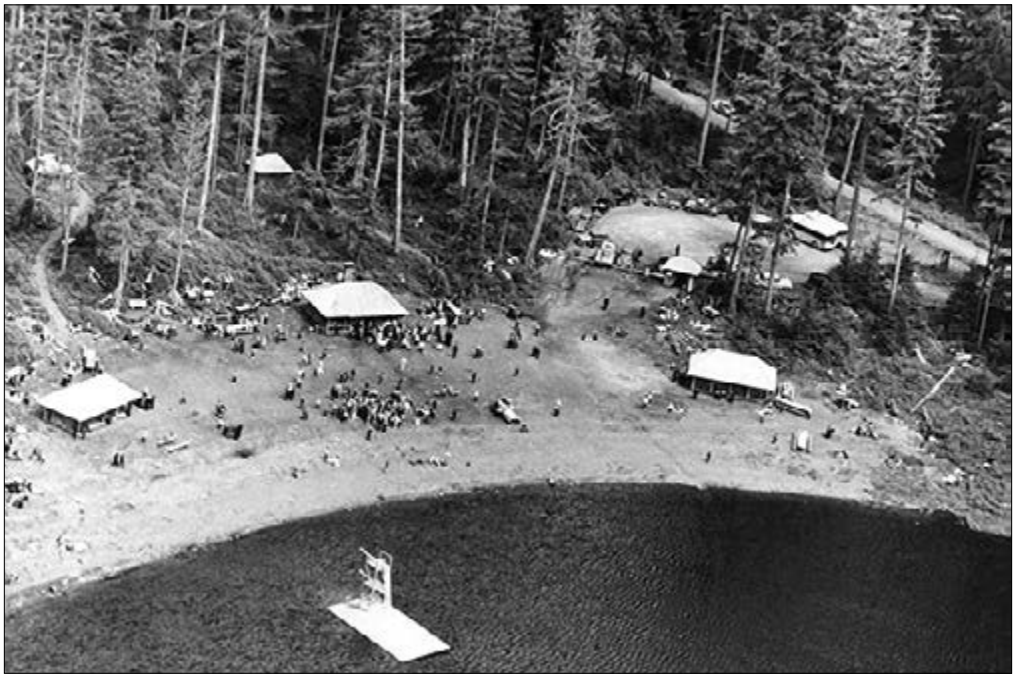


Figure 205.
The Ward Lake picnic area was a popular destination in the late 1930s.
Ketchikan Museum 99.2.1.4

Figure 206.
Just before reaching the CCC camp the Ward Lake Road traveled between the CCC shop (left) and garage (right), here looking northeast in 1936.
Ketchikan Museum

ings with gable roofs; archival photographs show some sheathed with board-and-batten siding (Figure 209).

Over the winter of 1940-41 and into the summer of 1941 the Ward Lake camp "served as one of the staging areas for the CCC and engineer troops, their one hundred trucks, five thousand tons of cargo, and one hundred prefabricated houses bound for Annette Island," where a large airfield was being built as part of a chain of military aviation bases along the Pacific Coast (Sorensen 1995:239). For a short time during the winter of 1941-42 the CCC camp was

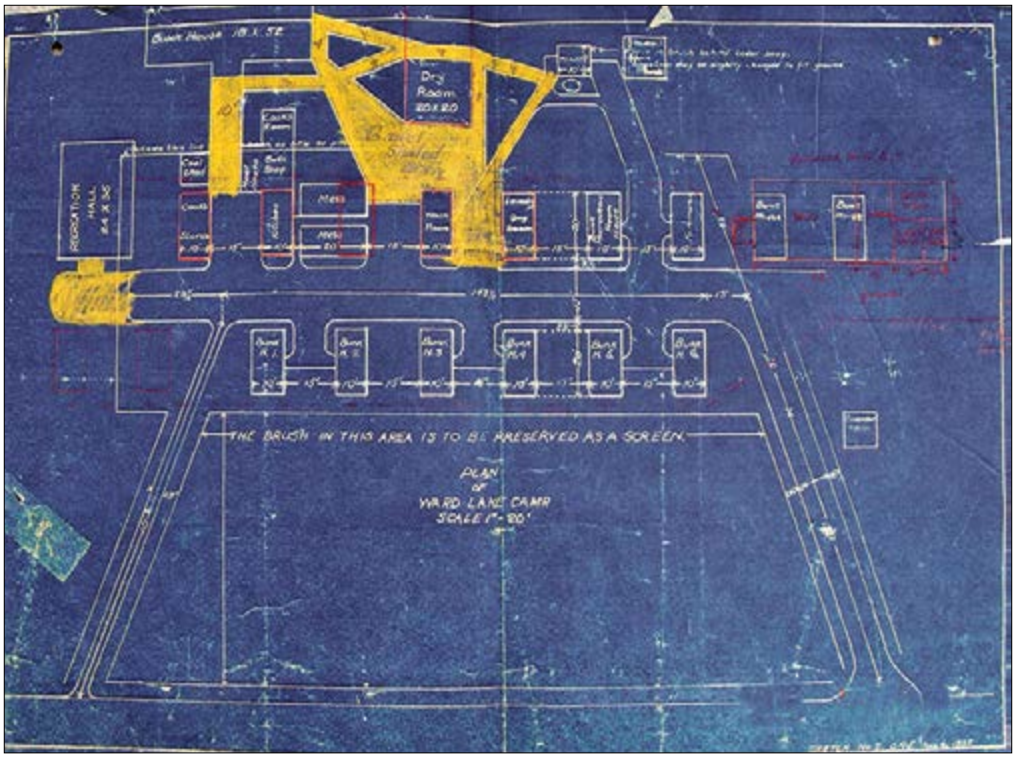


Figure 207.

A 1935 blueprint of the CCC camp, filed with USFS in Ketchikan, conforms to the layout in archival photographs. The red overdrawing shows proposed building orientations that were not built; the meaning of the yellow overlay is unknown.

Ketchikan Museum U.S. Forest Service collection

unoccupied, then in late spring it was rehabilitated for housing and training the first class of "crash-boat" crews (Figure 210), the units deployed along Alaska's coasts to rescue downed airmen (Bartholomew 1995:131). By Congression-al decree the CCC ceased to exist in the autumn of 1942, and the U.S. Forest Service turned over all their equipment and supplies to the U.S. Army (Gruening 1942:5). The Army unit then vacated the Ward Lake CCC camp.

World War II and the Camp Experience

Bartholomew (1995:131) says his arriving military unit cleaned up the CCC camp buildings, which had been vacant less than a year, and lived in them until ordered to vacate so Aleut evacuees could move in. At that time the original 15-building CCC camp was intact, and in a photograph labeled June of 1942 all visible buildings are in their original locations (Figure 210). Villagers testifying in 1981 mentioned nine small cabins and three large buildings, approximating the original camp configuration. A timeline prepared by the Ketchikan Museum (2008) states that the CCC camp was closed in April of 1942, conflicting with the June date attributed to Figure 210, but either way the archival record suggests that the facility was intact and functional when it was turned over to the evacuees.

But when the 163 Aleut evacuees arrived at Ward Lake they found a compound designed for a group less than half their number. Kohlhoff (1995:103-104) says the "abandoned…camp consisted of a mess hall, a 'toilet-lavatory and urinal building,…two bunk houses and two cabins,'" in which "Aleuts had 'to sleep…on the floor in their bedrolls and blankets'" or "had to stay in tents brought from Wrangell." Construction began immediately on 16 new cabins

Figure 208.
The CCC camp had its own electrical system powered by a diesel generator housed in a cabin modified with vents and an exhaust stack.
Ketchikan Museum

Figure 209.
The CCC cabins at Ward Lake consisted of more than a dozen simple arched-roof buildings in two parallel rows, among several larger gable-roofed buildings. At left is the recreation hall; behind it is the gable roof of the large bunkhouse, and right of center is the dry room (with smoke from chimney). At far back left of center is the gable roof of a building plotted on neither the 1935 map (Figure 204) or 1935 plan (Figure 207).
Ketchikan Museum U.S. Forest Service collection

using lumber shipped from Wrangell to Ketchikan on the same barge with the evacuees (Figure 211). Some of the new buildings were aligned to create a row parallel to the original cabins (Figure 212). These were probably located just west of the original cabins where, in 1935, planners had directed that "the brush in this area is to be preserved as a screen" (Figure 207). None of the cabins had running water, and one large privy served the entire community (Kohlhoff 1995:105, 109).

The experience of the Ward Lake evacuees differed from that of the others because their camp was in easy reach of a major coastal town. With a long history as Alaska's southernmost port of entry and a major Coast Guard base automatically under Navy jurisdiction during wartime (Mobley 1995), Ketchikan was a bustling maritime community during World War II. Kohlhoff (1995:105) asserts that "no regular transportation into the city was available to the Aleuts," but Eugene Wacker had long provided commercial bus service from Ward Cove to Ketchikan

Figure 210.
Soldiers with the U.S. Army Air Corps Marine Rescue Squadron clown behind their officer's back upon completion of semaphore training at the Ward Lake CCC camp in June, 1942. The gable-roofed recreation hall can be seen at the end of the right row in this view north.

Ketchikan Museum 99.2.15.18

In December 1940, Major Everett S. Davis, Commanding Officer, Elmendorf Air Base, saw the success the Royal Air Force was having in the English Channel with fast heavy-duty small boats as they recovered downed air crews and returned them to fly again. Lieutenant Gordon R. Donley...was dispatched to Ketchikan, Alaska, in December 1941, where the Coast Guard had agreed to assist in training small-boat crews....The official name of our organization became the "Air Corps Marine Rescue Service," later changed to the "924th QM Boat Sqdn (Avn)," and then to the "Tenth Emergency Rescue Boat Squadron."...Donley was able to rent the Filipino bunkhouse (vacant because it was wintertime) from the New England Fish Company salmon cannery for use as a barracks. Many of his first recruits came from the local Civilian Conservation Corps organization that had been disbanded when the war started. I was number six to enlist....We then moved to the abandoned CCC Camp at Ward Lake...which, with just a little cleanup, was both usable and somewhat isolated from the community. That became the "boot camp" for our army training as well as our classroom for the navigation, signaling, and small-boat handling classes....As our CCC Camp looked like a good place to deposit some of those [Aleut] families, we again had to move, this time to the new Annette Island Army Air Field.

Ralph M. Bartholomew (1995:131)

(Figure 213), and thus the new arrivals had access to employment, merchandise, and entertainment to be found in the larger town. Day jobs could be had – something almost impossible to get at other relocation camps, and some men got construction work on the new military airbase being built at Metlakatla (Figure 203). Nonetheless, medical services were difficult to access, sanitation was poor, and disease was prevalent (Kohlhoff 1995:105). The Ketchikan community was disappointed that their favorite swimming lake was being polluted, and some citizens were vocal in their unfavorable opinions about the displaced Aleut communities camped at the end of the road. Meanwhile the unhealthy circumstances and poor medical care contributed to a high mortality rate for the camp's residents. To help alleviate the overcrowding approximately 46 residents from Biorka, Kashega, and Makushin were moved to the Unalaska camp at Burnett Inlet in the late spring of 1944 (Kohlhoff 1995:130).

Figure 211.
Unlike the prefabricated CCC buildings with their arched roofs, cabins built by the villagers had shallow-pitched roofs and unstandardized door, window, and porch arrangements. Mike and George Bezezekoff (left and center) and other boys pose with a wheelbarrow of canned food.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA 306-1047

By war's end both the Aleuts at Ward Cove and their host community welcomed the villagers' departure as a sign of returning normalcy. When the Ketchikan Alaska Chronicle for April 17, 1945, reported on page 6 that "Aleuts Return to Aleutians," the USAT *David W. Branch* had already boarded the Ward Lake villagers and left port for Burnett Inlet and Killisnoo to pick up the communities of Unalaska and Atka. The newspaper went on to announce that the camp's removal was to begin the following day.

Post-War Development

Even before the Aleuts left Ward Lake USFS was arranging for Tlingit villagers from Saxman, just south of Ketchikan, to haul the materials away for their use. "Many of the structures will be removed intact," said the newspaper account. A USFS agent immediately took responsibility for the camp, and it went back into USFS management after the war. Shortly thereafter the CCC camp was "leveled" and covered with crushed rock, and the last remaining buildings were sold in 1953 (Ketchikan Museum 2008). In the 1950s the USFS redeveloped the site and renamed it Three Cs Campground (Stanford 2006:23). Plans have been filed to again redesign the Three Cs Campground (Stanford 2007), but as of 2011 no redevelopment had begun.

Current Condition

The Ward Lake CCC camp was investigated May 4, 2011 – almost three years later than the other five camp sites. The team of Charles Mobley and Rachel Mason spent several rainy

We were transported from Nikolski to Chernofski by an Army tugboat and a smaller boat called YP – yard patrol – boats….There we boarded the Alaska Steamship Columbia – our mail boat. The people from Nikolski, Makushin, and Kashega began the voyage the same day. We made a stop at Sand Point, it was said, overnight.

We arrived at Wrangell and lived on the school grounds in Army tents for about two weeks. During that time we built a barge as we were told. We loaded our belongings and lumber for our cabins, then we were towed by the Institute-owned tugboat to Ketchikan…

My first impression of the old CCC Camp located eight miles from Ketchikan was that of being put in prison.

Dorofey Chercasen, Nikolski, in 1981 testimony

At Ward Lake there were three large buildings. One was the school, the other a church, and the third one the laundry. The laundry was equipped with a large tin tray like a basin, and had four cold water faucets….We heated the water at home and took it there for washing. There were two shower stalls at one end. This was the only building that had running water….Taking a shower was a shock to most of us. We had never taken one. At Nikolski we had bathed ourselves from a small tub but mostly we took steam baths in our banyas…

The other cabins at Ward Lake and those our men built did not have running water nor indoor toilet, nor bathroom….There was a large outhouse – a village toilet.

At Ward Lake when we arrived, there were nine small cabins. Each had a very small bedroom with two bunks and a small kitchen.

Lavera Dushkin, Nikolski, in 1981 testimony

hours at the site, walking and photographing features with the aid of maps from two USFS cultural resource reports (Stanford 2006, 2007). A few historic features are discernible among the gravel-fill driveways and parking areas, picnic tables, pavillions, and well (Figure 202). These include two concrete pedestals, a large cobble and boulder pad bordering the small nearby creek, and remnants of a wood plank bridge, boardwalk, and stairs leading up the creek. Bark-stripped trees indicating traditional Native forest exploitation were also noted. A quick visit to the nearby site of the old CCC garage and shop (Figure 206) indicated that it contained more archaeological features than the camp location.

The field investigation at Ward Lake documented the absence of CCC buildings, leaving a landscape vaguely correlated with the camp's building arrangement. Stanford (2007) superimposed the existing campground improvements over an undated archival plan of the CCC camp (Figure 214). It provides a useful visualization, although the creek doesn't bend around the south side of the camp as drawn (see Figure 204 for correct placement), and the building arrangements don't exactly match the archival photographs (the 1935 plan – Figure 207 – is more accurate). The drive that ran between the two rows of CCC cabins and connected at either end with the road has been kept as the primary access for the campground (Figure 215).

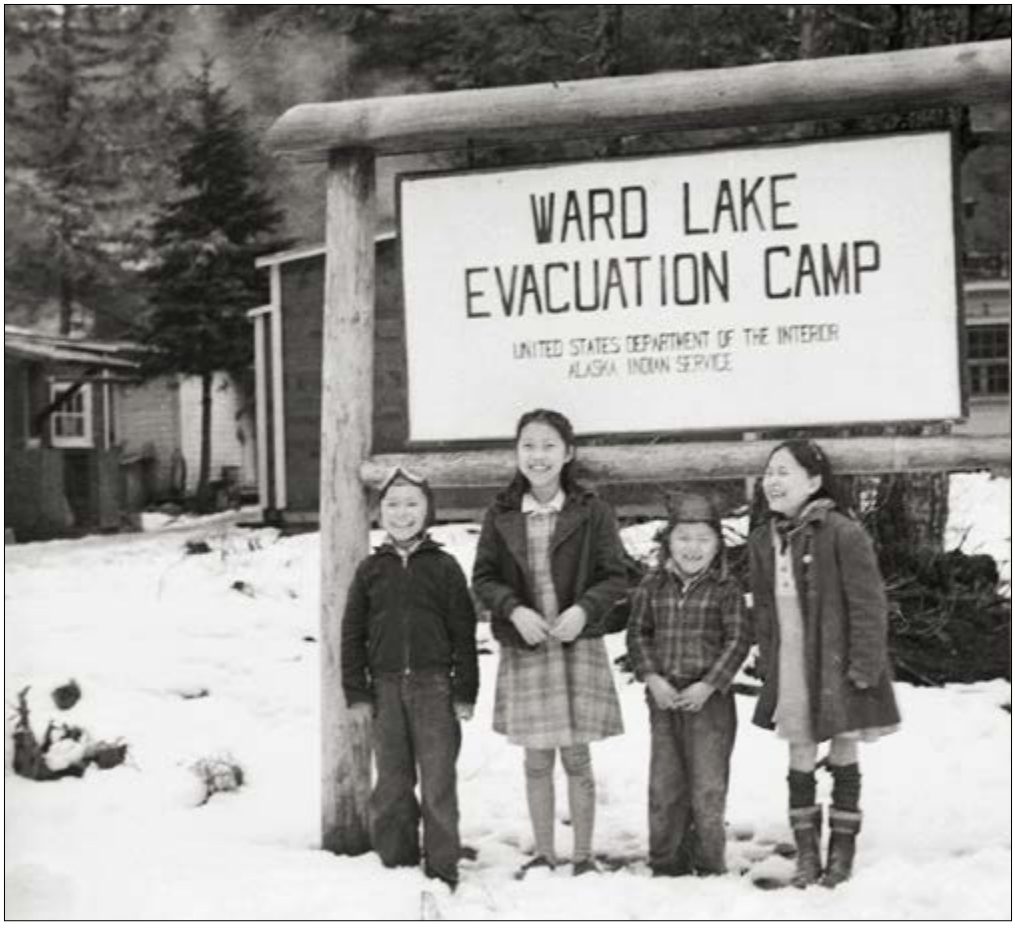


Figure 212.
Children (left to right: Mike Bezezekoff, Olga Tcheripanoff, George Bezezekoff, and Angela Chercasen) pose with a sign announcing the Aleut camp at Ward Lake. Tcheripanoff was from Akutan; the others were from Nikolski. Note new white-trimmed cabins with old white CCC cabins behind.

Alaska State Library Butler/Dale collection PCA 306-1044

I had to build my own cabin with material furnished by the BIA. They were about 12x16 foot. Just plain tar paper roof and no sidings.

William Ermeloff, Nikolski, in 1981 testimony

I have been in practically every barabara and in every native house from Unalaska to Attu and from Unalaska north to Barrow....I was a party, in a certain way, to this evacuation, in that I handled the ship and assisted in finding a suitable location for them. This site was picked after a number were considered....These people did not want to come here. They were brought here as refugees as a war measure....They should be kept here until they can be returned to their homes. In the meantime, you can help them.

U.S. Coast Guard Captain Frederich A. Zeusler, in a May 21, 1943, statement to the Ketchikan City Council and Mayor (Alaska Fishing News, May 24, 1943)

The south entrance to the contemporary campground matches that of the original CCC camp, and a concrete pedestal just south of the gate overlies perfectly the Generator House plotted in 1935 (Figure 207). The pedestal measures 4’x8’x4’ high; no bolts or bolt holes were noticed

Figure 213.
Eugene Wacker had a commercial bus service that took villagers to Ketchikan and back. Left to right, according to photographer Faye Schlais, are her father Hugh McGlashan, sister Annie McGlashan (Svenson), mother Matrona (Mattie), sister Agnes, sister Vera, child Axel Jr., Eugene Wacker, child Mattie, niece Helen McGlashan (Barber), infant Freddie, and brother Steve McGlashan.

Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association Faye Schlais collection

I'm not in that picture – I took it! Those are my brothers and sisters! I bought the camera here [Ketchikan]. I was 18 years old when I came. My Dad was postmaster at Akutan. Our house was by the creek [at Ward Lake]. It was a regular house that was already there – not a CCC cabin. Seven people lived in it.

I was babysitting at first, for the teacher. The teacher came with the evacuees – her and her husband were both teachers. Then my sister and I cooked at Ward Lake, for everybody, because the cabins didn't have kitchens. We just cooked the main meal. The government furnished the food. They gave us dog salmon. We didn't cook deer. There was a dairy [that served Ketchikan]. Everybody pitched in to do the dishes. There were about 200 people, I think.

They had church services, but no church. A deacon led the service. Wacker was nice to people. His wife was German.

Faye Schlais

and vegetation obscured much of the feature's surface (Figure 216). A second concrete pedestal is located near the campground's water pump, about 150' from the first (Figure 202). This is where the original camp privy was once located (Figure 207). The second pedestal measures approximately 4' square and is about 20" above the present ground surface. Stanford (2006:25) reported the first pedestal as measuring 6'x3'x3' and correlated it with the CCC camp's generator shack; he reported the second pedestal as about two and one-half feet square (Stanford 2007:8).

Bounding the camp on the northeast is a small stream just losing its gradient to shortly enter Ward Creek (Figure 204). A broken wood plank bridge (Figure 217) crosses the small creek and connects with a dilapidated boardwalk (Figure 218) and steps leading upstream. The bridge is 14' long and made of 2"x12"-4' planks nailed to two 3"x12" stringers. Stanford (2007:8) cites Autrey (1990) and says "according to Forest Service Recreation employees this foot bridge is part of the old trail head for the Perseverance Trail which was relocated about 100 meters to the south back in 1990." That doesn't address the features' age or whether they

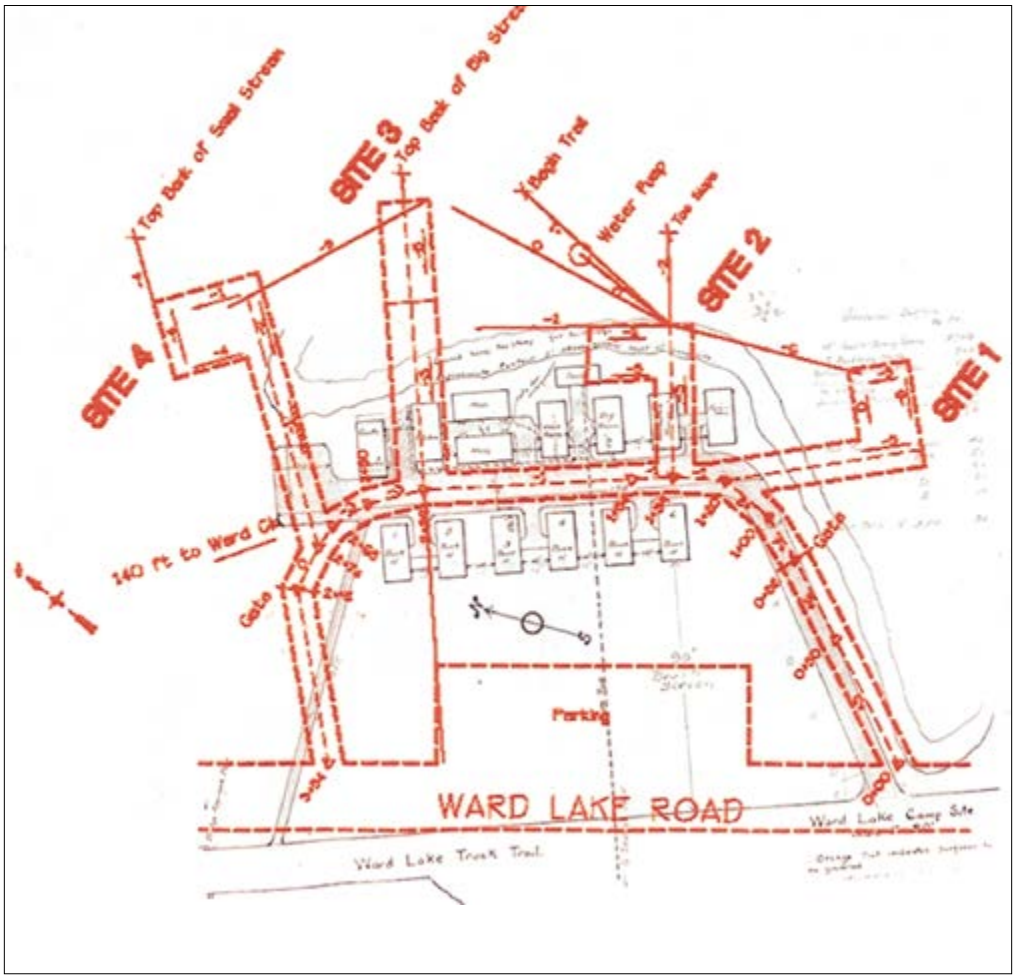


Figure 214. *Proposed improvements to the Three Cs Campground by the U.S. Forest Service prompted Stanford (2007:5) to superimpose a schematic of the existing public facilities over the old CCC camp building locations. This version of the CCC camp plan has incorrect stream placement and a slightly different building arrangement than that shown in archival photographs.*

> *Wednesday, removal of the Ward lake camp will get under way with trucks picking up workers at Saxman at 8:15 a.m. and others in Ketchikan at 8:30. All materials at the camp are for natives. Many of the structures will be removed intact. The U.S. forest service is to lend a truck for hauling materials.*
>
> *Ketchikan Alaska Chronicle, April 17, 1945*

date to the CCC camp, but the trail up the creek likely leads to a concrete dam which USFS archaeologists have recorded as part of the CCC camp (the first-described concrete pedestal is included with the garage, shop, and dam as KET-072, while the second pedestal and the remainder of the CCC camp and the recreational beach area to the north are part of KET-087 (Stanford 2006:25-26, 2007:14).

The dam wasn't part of the 2011 field investigation, and it's purpose isn't clear. Stanford (2006:25) doesn't report a flume or pipe but states a burned building at the dam site may have been a pumphouse. Was the dam built to provide the camp with domestic water or hydroelectric power, or both? If so, where was the powerhouse? The limited archival and field research did not address that question, but it did turn up a building that could have been a powerhouse.

Figure 215.
The main drive through Three Cs Campground, here looking north, is the same alignment as that separating the two rows of original CCC cabins (compare with Figure 210).

Figure 216.
Just south of the south entrance to the Three Cs Campground is a concrete pedestal (right foreground) where the CCC camp's generator house once stood.

Bounding the small stream across from the camp site is a substantial boulder and cobble

platform (Figures 219-221). Stanford (2007:8) described the feature as "two series of stacked rock walls...probably built to help channel the creek perhaps to prevent erosion," and suggested they dated to the CCC camp due to the amount of plant growth. The portion of the feature along the creek is higher than the remainder, forming a rock wall (Figure 220). The feature's shape and size (35'x20' with a rectangular indentation on one side) indicates a building foundation, while its location immediately adjacent to a creek with a dam upstream brings to mind the possibility that it could have handled water from that dam. Conjecture, to be sure. Neither the 1935 map (Figure 204) nor the 1935 plan (Figure 207) show a building in that location, but the ridge of a gabled building in that vicinity does appear in an undated archival photograph (Figure 209). Another undated archival photograph apparently shows the

Figure 217.
Immediately east of the camp site is a small creek spanned by a broken plank bridge.

Figure 218.
The plank bridge leads to a rotten moss-covered boardwalk trending upstream (left). At back left is a picnic pavillion at the Three Cs Campground, looking northwest.

building that once stood in that location, with horizontal and vertical pipes at one corner (Figure 222). A conservative interpretation is that the rock platform represents the foundation of a utility building constructed at the CCC camp after 1935.

Several culturally modified trees (CMTs) were noted at the Ward Lake CCC camp. CMTs are trees containing scars from culturally removed wood or bark; if sufficient bark is left, the tree begins to heal itself, often eventually hiding the scar inside the trunk (Mobley and Eldridge

1992). Tlingit and other Northwest Coast cultures made extensive use of wood and bark harvested from live red and yellow cedar, spruce, and hemlock trees. The year the scar was made can be dated using the healing lobes' tree rings, and since some trees live to be over 400 years old they contain a potential record of traditional Native forest use many generations into the past (Mobley and Lewis 2009).

Of the four CMTs noted at the Ward Lake camp, one was a spruce with a large irregular scar at chest level that was not mapped. Two others were cedar trees with triangular scars up their trunks and substantial healing lobes (Figure 223). The trees are less than two feet in diameter, and the scars extend no more than 10' up the tree. The two CMTs likely predate the CCC camp construction, since traditional Native bark-stripping in the Ketchikan area drastically decreased after 1900 (Mobley and Lewis 2009:266). The fourth CMT recorded at the camp is a cedar with a very recent bark removal (Figure 224). Horizontal hack marks show at the bottom of the removal, and the bark tore raggedly and for only a short distance – suggesting the scar was made by a novice outside of the spring season when the bark strips off most easily.

Overall, evidence of the CCC era was scarce at the camp, due to the USFS's demolition and redevelopment of the site (which began immediately upon the evacuees' departure). This is in contrast to the CCC garage location (still part of site KET-072) about 300' to the south. The shop (Figure 206) footprint was likely destroyed by road widening over the last 60 years, but the garage and some of the equipment it contained was left to descend into the archaeological record. Stanford (2006:25) listed at the site "two 36" x 59" x 25" rusted metal ore cars (Figure 225), a badly deteriorated wagon bed, the chassis from a Ford Model A, a pile of yellow bricks, a spool of 1.5" diameter metal strand cable, another spool of 1" diameter metal strand cable, a 6.5' diameter penstock hoop, five 2" wide rails, two sections of 2" diameter galvanized pipe, and some angle iron." Most of these items were discernible in 2011.

Figure 219.
Immediately east of the camp, across a small stream, is a rock platform lining 35' of the stream bank (at left). View is upstream to the south.

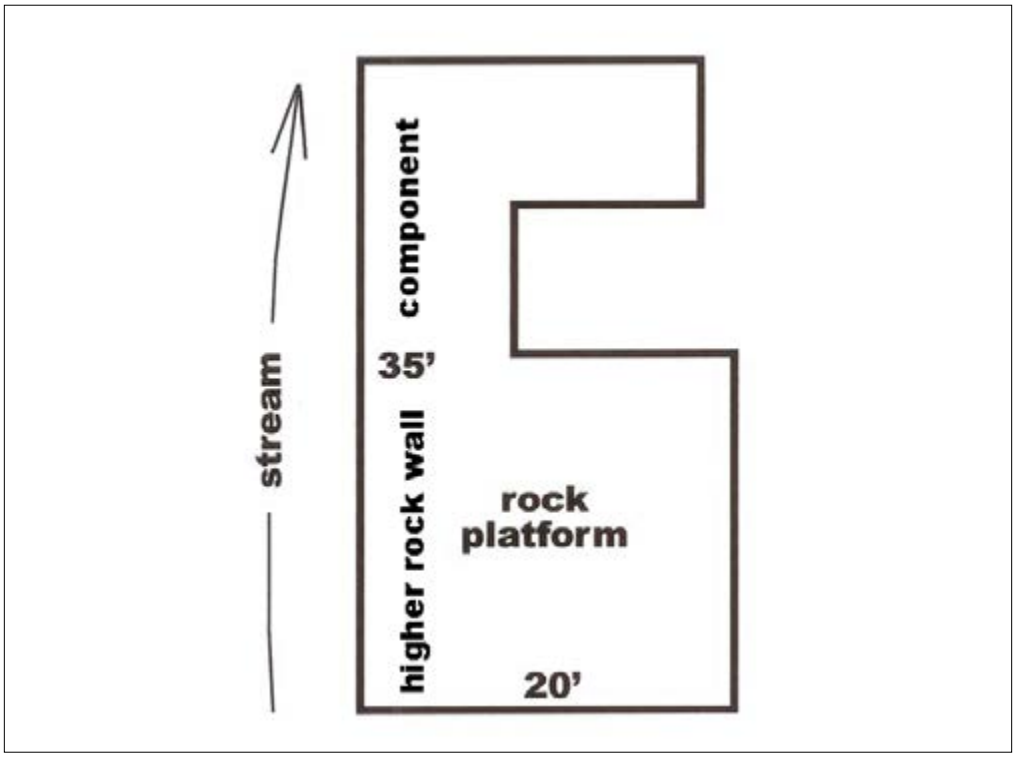


Figure 220.
The large rock feature consists of a wall near the stream and a lower platform comprising the remainder.

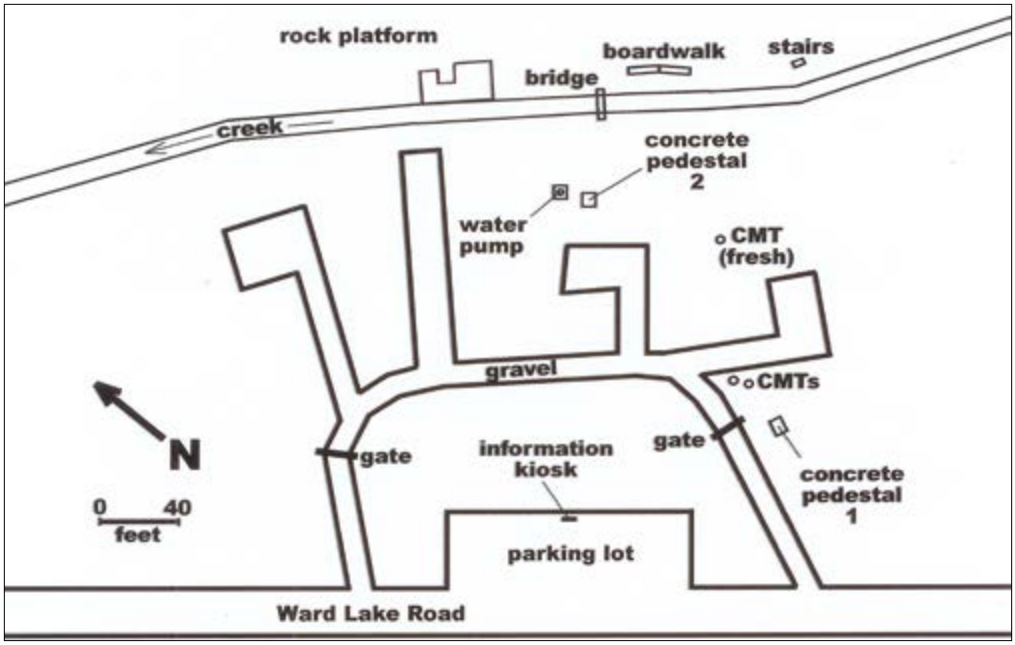


Figure 221.
Observed in 2011 at the Three Cs Campground were two concrete pedestals of which at least one (Pedestal 1) dates to the CCC era, plus several other features. The base map is from a schematic of the campground in Stanford (2007).

In 2009, "in partnership with the Tongass Historical Society" (Stanford 2007:6), USFS erected an information kiosk in the parking lot at Three Cs Campground (Figure 226). The interpretive sign had been advocated by the City of Ketchikan for almost 10 years, according to Mayor Dave Kiffer. Done through the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), the two poster-

Figure 222.

An undated archival photograph shows a building where now only a rock platform is to be found. Note pipes at the building's back left corner, and arced-roof cabins at right.

Ketchikan Museum 1680

size panels display a map, four archival photographs, and six paragraphs telling the story of the Aleut experience at Ward Lake within the greater context of World War II in Alaska. It is the only interpretive sign marking any of the six World War II Aleut relocation camps in southeast Alaska.

Summary

Very little of the Ward Lake CCC camp remains to be seen in 2011. Features of some age include two concrete pedestals, a rock and boulder pad, and two culturally modified trees of Tlingit origin. None evoke the Aleut occupation at Ward Lake. Though a number of the camp's occupants died during the war, they were buried in the Ketchikan city cemetery rather than in a separate plot near the camp, as was done at Funter Bay and Killisnoo. Buildings from the camp were moved to the Tlingit village of Saxman immediately after the war, but no investigation was done there to determine if any remain. The site of the CCC camp's garage contains a few interesting remnants reflecting that use, but it doesn't directly relate to the Aleut relocation experience. The Ward Lake CCC camp rivals the Wrangell Institute and Burnett Inlet cannery for having the least physical evidence from the Aleut internment period of any of the six sites.

Figure 223.
Two bark-stripped cedar trees (both left of center) reflect traditional Tlingit forest exploitation probably long before the CCC camp was constructed.

Figure 224.
A recently stripped cedar tree with a short ragged scar was probably not harvested during the optimal season when the bark is looser.

Figure 225.
South of the Three Cs Campground is the site of the old CCC garage, containing two rusting ore carts.

Figure 226.
An information kiosk erected in 2009 tells of the Aleut internment at the Ward Lake CCC camp.

Evacuation *– The U.S. Government decided that it would be best if the remaining 880 Aleuts were relocated. Initially the Office of Indian Affairs disagreed. After the attack on Attu, however, the office complied with the Government objective. The resulting relocation was plagued by poor planning and sheer neglect; many basic needs were not met. Aleuts were given only hours to pack before leaving their homes for an indefinite amount of time. Each person was allowed to bring one suitcase and a roll of blankets. Most were then loaded into the overcrowded cargo bays of military transports with no knowledge of where they were going.*

Life at Camp *– Approximately one hundred and sixty Aleuts were relocated to the old CCC camp at Ward Lake, the current site of the Three Cs Campground. The facility was original built for 65 men. Before long, sewage systems were overwhelmed and the lake had to be closed to the public. The immense trees and shade of the temperate rainforest contrasted sharply with the openness of the Aleutian Islands, adding to the Aleuts' sense of confinement.*

Return to the Aleutians *– Aleuts from the four [sic] evacuation camps in Southeast Alaska joined the armed forces. Three participated in the bloody retaking of Attu, all of whom were awarded the Bronze Star. A few of the evacuees decided to stay in Ketchikan; their families still live here today. For the rest, returning home was in many ways as difficult as the evacuation had been. Some villages had been burned to the ground to prevent them from being used by the Japanese. Livestock had been slaughtered. Structures still standing were vandalized and looted by American servicemen. In 1988 the Aleut people received financial restitution from the U.S. Government for lost property and hardship. Individuals received 12,000 dollars, and 11.8 million dollars were set aside for the loss of buildings and property. The resilience and strong cultural identity of the Aleut people is reflected in the re-establishment of their homes and communities on the Aleutian Islands.*

Last three paragraphs of a 2009 information kiosk at the Ward Lake CCC Campground

Chapter 8: National Historic Landmark Evaluation

The purpose of this investigation was to determine whether the six World War II Aleut relocation camps in southeast Alaska qualify as a National Historic Landmark, or NHL. The NHL program is administered by the National Park Service (NPS) to identify and preserve "the nation's most significant historic places...buildings, sites, districts, structures, and objects [that] possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1999:9). Unlike eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places, which can be based on local or state significance as well as national significance, a NHL must have significance at the national level. The Secretary of the Interior has recognized less than 2500 NHLs in the United States since the program was implemented in 1960 (Mackintosh 1985:39-42).

In Alaska there are 49 NHLs, including archaeological sites, buildings, and battlefields (Table 2). Since 1962, several historical themes have been identified as of sufficient national interest to warrant NHL designation for Alaskan properties. Archaeological sites thousands of years old – evidence of early human migrations across the Bering Strait that populated North, Central, and South America, as well as those reflecting later prehistoric developments, form 13 NHLs. The colonization of Alaska by the Russian-American Company, not incidentally leaving a legacy of Russian Orthodox churches, has been recognized in 13 NHLs including the Seal Island (Pribilof Islands) Historic District. Other European and American explorations as well as Territorial military activity form the subject matter of several related NHLs. Alaska's role in World War II is recognized with eight NHLs. Other themes are represented by fewer or only one NHL. NHLs are not distributed uniformly across Alaska; Sitka has eight, for example. All but five Alaska NHLs were designated between 50 and 20 years ago.

The list of NHLs (Table 2) illustrates the types of Alaskan properties judged eligible in decades past, and the question addressed in this chapter is whether the six World War II Aleut relocation camps warrant similar recognition. Except for the exclusion of local- and state-level significance as a factor, and the use of six rather than four significance criteria, the considerations are much the same as those for evaluating a property for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. Usually excluded from NHL designation are cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, religious properties, moved or reconstructed buildings, and properties whose significance pertains to the last 50 years or less (U.S. Department of the Interior 1999:11). But criteria for declaring exceptions to that exclusionary list are also identified in federal regulation, and so, for example, Alaska's major World War II sites achieved NHL status between 1985 and 1987 (when less than 50 years old) because they had extraordinary national significance.

Table 2.

Since 1961, 49 cultural properties have been designated as National Historic Landmarks in Alaska.

Cultural Property	Location	Designated
Ipiutak Site	North Slope	1961
Iyatayet Site	Nome	1961
American Flag Raising Site	Sitka	1962
Skagway Historic District and White Pass	Skagway	1962
Birnirk Site	North Slope	1962
Chaluka Site	Umnak Island, Aleutian Islands	1962
Palugvik Site	Prince William Sound	1962
Old Sitka	Sitka	1962
Wales Site	Wales	1962
Yukon Island Main Site	Kachemak Bay	1962
Russian-American Company Magazin	Kodiak	1962
Russian Bishop's House	Sitka	1962
St. Michael's Cathedral	Sitka	1962
Seal Island Historic District	Pribilof Islands	1962
Holy Assumption Orthodox Church	Kenai	1970
Church of the Holy Ascension	Unalaska	1970
Cape Krusenstern Archeological District	Northwest Arctic	1973
Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall	Sitka	1978
Anangula Site	Ananiuliak Island, Aleutian Islands	1978
Bering Expedition Landing Site	Kayak Island, Prince William Sound	1978
Cape Nome Mining District Discovery Sites	Nome	1978
Dry Creek Archeological Site	Healy	1978
Chilkoot Trail and Dyea Site	Skagway	1978
Eagle Historic District	Eagle	1978
Fort Durham Site	Juneau	197
Fort William H. Seward	Haines	1978
Gallagher Flint Station Archaeological Site	North Slope	1978
Leffingwell Camp Site	Flaxman Island, North Slope	1978
New Russia Site	Yakutat	1978
Three Saints Bay Site	Kodiak Island	1978
Sitka Spruce Plantation	Unalaska	1978
Onion Portage Archeological District	Kobuk River	1978
George C. Thomas Memorial Library	Fairbanks	1978
Dutch Harbor Naval Operating Base & Fort Mears, U.S. Army	Unalaska	1985
Attu Battlefield and U.S. Army & Navy Airfields	Attu Island, Aleutian Islands	1985

Cultural Property	Location	Designated
Japanese Occupation Site, Kiska Island	Kiska Island, Aleutian Islands	1985
Kodiak Naval Operating Base and Forts Greely and Abercrombie	Kodiak	1985
Ladd Field	Fairbanks	1985
Kennecott Mines	McCarthy	1986
Sitka Naval Operating Base & U.S. Army Coastal Defenses	Sitka	1986
Adak Army Base and Adak Naval Operating Base	Adak Island, Aleutian Islands	1987
Fort Glenn	Umnak Island	1987
Russian-American Building #29	Sitka	1987
River Steamboat Nenana	Fairbanks	1989
Brooks River Archaeological District	Katmai, Central Alaska	1993
Kijik Archeological District	Lake Clark	1994
Kake Cannery	Kake, Kupreanof Island	1997
Sheldon Jackson School	Sitka	2001

Once significance is established, a second factor comes into play – integrity. "Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historical associations or attributes," states the U.S. Department of the Interior (1999:36), though "the evaluation of integrity is somewhat of a subjective judgement." The integrity of potential NHLs is evaluated using the same seven qualities used for National Register evaluation: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Generally, NHL designation is reserved for cultural properties that are outstanding examples in some way.

Significance of the Six Properties

The association of the Funter Bay cannery and mine, Killisnoo, Wrangell Institute, Burnett Inlet cannery, and Ward Lake CCC Camp with the World War II Aleut relocation event was demonstrated in earlier chapters. Though the Wrangell Institute was only a temporary staging area for villagers destined for Burnett Inlet and Ward Lake, all the camps were supposed to be temporary, and the school site justifiably joins the five longer-term camps as a contributing property to a potential NHL because of its firm historical association.

The six sites investigated are here evaluated only for their World War II significance. Each of the sites may deserve further consideration at a later time for potential eligibility to the National Register at the local or state level, within different historical periods and themes.

The World War II Aleut relocation experience is nationally significant in two contexts: Aleut Culture Change, and U.S. Military History.

1. *Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.*

2. *Properties that are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.*

3. *Properties that represent some great idea or ideal of the American people.*

4. *Properties that embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style, or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction.*

5. *Properties that are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture.*

6. *Properties that have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States....*

NHL Significance categories from U.S. Department of the Interior (1999:21-30).

ALEUT CULTURE CHANGE

The Aleuts of Alaska are a distinct culture and have occupied the Aleutian Islands for at least 9,000 years. However, the Aleut communities of St. Paul and St. George in the Pribilof Islands of the Bering Sea are a consequence of the Russian-American Company's, and then the U.S. government's, commercial exploitation of the fur seal rookeries there. Aleut workers and families from villages in the Aleutian Islands were moved to the otherwise uninhabited islands in the late 1700s, and though they maintained social ties with relatives in places like Nikolski and Unalaska, their lives were strictly controlled for commercial purposes by the government then holding the Pribilof fur seal franchise. Collectively, the Aleuts of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands had a long cultural history with two major interruptions: the arrival in the late 1700s of Russian explorers and merchants exploiting fur seals and sea otters for their pelts, and World War II.

The circumstances of the Aleutian Island villagers before compared to after World War II were very different, whereas those of the Pribilof Island villagers were much the same. The government-built concrete houses of St. Paul and St. George were occupied by Army and Navy troops during the war, and many were damaged along with their household contents, but able-bodied male villagers shipped back through the war zone in 1943 and 1944 to continue the annual Pribilof seal harvest (the fur sales were needed by the federal treasury to help fund the war) – along with federal overseers – were able somewhat to monitor military use. After the war the USFWS resumed management of the islands and their human and animal populations as before. Though their memories would be forever marked by the relocation, St. Paul and St. George villagers were largely able to resume the life they'd had prior to the war.

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. Design is the combination of elements that create the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. Setting is the physical environment of an historic property. Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form an historic property. Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and an historic property.

Six NHL aspects of integrity from U.S. Department of the Interior (1999:36-37).

That was not the case for many of the Aleutian Island villagers. Prior to World War II they'd had limited exposure to federal or territorial government, and then it was mostly in the form of a territorial schoolteacher. Adjusting to the governmental restrictions of the relocation experience was more difficult, culminating with the government's refusal to return the people of Attu, Kashega, Biorka, and Makushin to their original settlements. Like the village of Chernofski on the west end of Unalaska Island, which by 1940 "had already died as an Aleut village" (Petterson et al. 1983:36), the populations of the latter three villages had been dwindling for years (Jones 1973:19). The forced amalgamation resulted in four Aleut communities – Atka, Akutan, Nikolski, and Unalaska – in all of the Aleutian Islands. The Unalaska to which many Aleuts returned was hardly recognizable, surrounded as it was with a large naval base, airstrip, and numerous other military installations. Atkans returned to a destroyed village adjacent to an Army airstrip and base, their burned and strafed houses framed by Japanese bomb craters on the hillside. Of all the Aleut villages, the people of Nikolski were best able to return to the traditional subsistence life they'd had before the war.

World War II caused a marked shift in settlement and subsistence for the Aleuts of the Aleutian Islands. Archaeological evidence for over 9,000 years of continuous settlement in the Aleutian Islands makes the Aleuts one of the nation's oldest and most permanent Native peoples. The relocation experience during WW II marked a major transition for the Aleuts, and the event is the defining element in the culture's recent past. In that regard the Aleut relocation experience is of national significance, and by association the six Aleut relocation camps are of national significance. The theme of Aleut Culture Change is embedded within the context of Social History, particularly Native American Social History.

WORLD WAR II IN ALASKA

The invasion of the Aleutian Islands and attack at Dutch Harbor was meant by the Japanese to be a diversion, and the Alaska campaign was not a major determinant in the outcome of World War II in the Pacific (Morison 1982:4). Allied commanders weren't initially certain of Japanese intentions, and responded in force as if the enemy were intending to leapfrog by land, sea, and air across the Aleutians to invade the North American mainland. The Japanese invasion of Alaska put the first foreign enemy troops on American soil since Pancho Villa

We had a hard time eating on the Delarof, but the cook liked me, so he used to give me an apple and an orange at times….I didn't know what an orange or apple or chocolate looked like. That's when I first found out about candy….We never seen a dog before.

Natalie Misikian, St. Paul, 1981 testimony

Before evacuation everybody was all alike, and after we went Outside, boy, when we came back everything was different. Just like me going to Juneau. The first time I start seeing street lights and blinkers in this town, boy, I thought some great thing was open for us. We never saw anything like that here [St. George Island]. But when we started going to school in Wrangell, we saw a lot of things.

Andronik Kashavarof, 1998

Olga Tcheripanoff, from the Ward Lake Aleut evacuation camp, is a new pupil in the sixth grade at Wacker school. The family is living in a small house near the salmon by-products plant, where Mr. Tcheripanoff is employed. They will not return to the Aleutian Islands when the rest of the evacuees leave soon.

Ketchikan Alaska Chronicle March 24, 1945

briefly crossed the Mexican border into New Mexico in 1916, and it remains the last such event, making it of national significance.

In the wartime context, the relocation was justified as for the civilian good, clearing the potential theater of war of noncombatants and keeping them out of harm's way; no one in authority wished the responsibility for risking a potential village capture like that of Attu. The removal of Aleut villagers from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands to camps in southeast Alaska was an integral part of the Alaska military campaign, and is thus of national significance. The theme of World War II in Alaska is part of U.S. military history.

Integrity

Six cultural properties have been described in six previous chapters, though some are comprised of more than one number in the Alaska Heritage Resource Survey (AHRS) system (Table 3). The Funter Bay and Killisnoo cemeteries each have an AHRS number separate from the nearby industrial site, for example, and require separate consideration, but the overall integrity evaluations are little affected. Both the Funter Bay properties were combined into the proposed Funter Bay Historic District (JUN-911) in 2002, but the evaluation was not finalized and the AHRS number has little utility. The integrity evaluations are presented according to the six primary cultural properties.

According to the National Register Bulletin, "integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historical associations or attributes" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1999:36). So, the question to be asked is: "How well does this particular site (and the aggregate group of sites) convey the World War II Aleut relocation experience?". A primary factor in selecting the

camp locations was not proximity to medical treatment, or available subsistence resources, or potable water, or firewood, but simply shelter. Consequently the ability of the sites to convey their significance revolves largely around the integrity of the buildings present during World War II.

The National Register Bulletin goes on to say that "the evaluation of integrity is somewhat of a subjective judgement, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its historical associations and attributes." The evaluation of integrity used for the six camps is a four-part ranking of high, good, fair, and low (Table 4). The illustrations in this volume are meant to provide the reader with their own appreciation of the six sites and their condition, allowing an independent assessment of the integrity classifications.

FUNTER BAY CANNERY

The remains of the Thlinket Packing Company (JUN-029) and the nearby Funter Bay Aleut Cemetery (JUN-975) are considered together here as the Funter Bay cannery property. Only two intact cannery buildings remain in their original location, and otherwise the property's appearance is largely formed by a broad bare waterfront where the industrial buildings once were, and two new houses. The cemetery has been maintained to keep close to its original appearance.

Using the seven aspects of integrity as the standard for evaluation, the Funter Bay cannery is judged to be high in terms of its location and association (Table 4). The two standing buildings and the ruins of others, the boardwalks, and the large pieces of stationary machinery left are not enough to visualize the building complex during WW II, but they are sufficient to convey some of the layout, and – at least to pedestrian archaeologists – some of the feeling of the large facility. The site is rated as fair in the categories of setting and feeling. Though a few construction details were gleaned from the buildings and building ruins, the limited physical remains warrant a low evaluation in regard to design, materials, and workmanship.

The cemetery near the Funter Bay cannery is much as it was during the relocation period. Changes consist of: the addition of several stone grave markers, replacement of original wood 2"x4" Russian Orthodox cross markers painted white with white-painted examples of 2"x2" stock, placement of the older crosses horizontally on each grave mound, replacement of board-lined grave borders with stone borders, and a natural evolution in the tree cover from a relatively denuded wartime landscape to a second-growth thicket in 2008. These slight changes warrant a designation of good in regard to the site's integrity of materials and workmanship. Otherwise, the Funter Bay Aleut cemetery is high in regard to location, design, setting, feeling, and association (Table 4).

FUNTER BAY MINE

The Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine (JUN-974) at Funter Bay is still owned by the Pekovich family and their fellow stockholders, who owned it before and during the Aleut relocation.

One original building has been maintained, and – with an addition – serves as the residence of Sam Pekovich. A two-story bunkhouse and a small shop are also original buildings still in use. Otherwise the Funter Bay mine buildings are decaying in place and most can still be identified, making it when photographed the most evocative of the six WW II Aleut relocation camp sites.

Table 3. Alaska Heritage Resource Survey (AHRS) numbers for investigated properties.

Property	Cultural Site and AHRS #
Funter Bay Cannery	Thlinket Packing Company (JUN-029); Funter Bay Aleut Cemetery (JUN-975)
Funter Bay Mine	Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine (JUN-974)
Killisnoo	Killisnoo (SIT-014); Killisnoo Cemetery (SIT-749)
Wrangell Institute	Wrangell Institute (PET-039)
Burnett Inlet Cannery	Burnett Inlet Cannery (PET-136)
Ward Lake CCC Camp	KET-072; KET-087

Other than the addition to the Pekovich house, the only visible improvements in recent decades are the erection of two small wood-frame utility sheds, one small corrugated metal utility shed, and a larger prefabricated metal utility shed. The mine workings inland – though lacking standing buildings – have large features representing collapsed buildings and their contents. But they are less relevant to St. George villagers' wartime experience, which focused on the mining camp along the shoreline. A total of 11 main wartime buildings can be detected in their original location just above the high tide mark, though some are becoming archaeological features.

The buildings, building ruins, and other features of the Admiralty Alaska Gold Mine are mostly discernible and convey much of the site's wartime layout and atmosphere. The site ranks high in terms of location and association, and good in terms of setting and feeling. However, the overall poor condition of the buildings warrants a low evaluation in terms of design, materials, and workmanship (Table 4).

KILLISNOO

The site of historic Killisnoo (SIT-014) now has essentially two owners, one being the Whaler's Cove Lodge – which has developed the property as a summer fishing resort and maintains many new buildings, and the Aubertine Trust, which keeps a residence and several other buildings there. Little is left of the Killisnoo herring plant except for a large stationary machine, many boilers, a large intertidal artifact scatter, and extensive archaeological remains of the residential district that burned in 1928. There are no standing buildings that date to the operational period of the plant or the later WW II Aleut relocation experience. Of numerous artifacts recovered by the existing landowners, none were noticed to be particularly associated with World War II and the Aleut relocation experience. The exception is the Killisnoo cemetery (SIT-749), where five wooden Russian Orthodox crosses in a group at the cemetery's north edge are said to mark the graves of Atka villagers that perished during the war. No names are now distinguishable on the crosses, and all are in poor condition.

In terms of how it conveys the Aleut relocation experience, the historic Killisnoo site ranks high in location and association, and low in design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling (Table 4). The five deteriorating Russian Orthodox crosses in the cemetery rank: high in location and association; good in feeling; fair in design, setting, and materials; and low in workmanship.

Table 4. Integrity evaluations for the six relocation camps, with the Funter Bay Cemetery addressed separately. Evaluation categories are high, good, fair, or low. See sidebar for definitions of the seven integrity categories.

Site	Location	Design	Setting	Materials	Workmanship	Feeling	Association
Funter Bay Cannery	high	low	fair	low	low	fair	high
(Cemetery)	high	high	high	good	good	high	high
Funter Bay Mine	high	low	good	low	low	good	high
Killisnoo	high	low	low	low	low	low	high
(Cemetery)	high	fair	fair	fair	low	good	high
Wrangell Institute	high	low	low	low	low	low	high
Burnett Inlet Cannery	high	low	low	low	low	low	high
Ward Lake CCC Camp	low	low	low	low	low	high	

WRANGELL INSTITUTE

The buildings of the Wrangell Institute have been mostly demolished, and the land has been recontoured to accommodate the removal of huge volumes of contaminated soil. The brief reconnaissance noted two standing buildings on the waterfront side of the highway. A large boathouse built by the Institute in 1938 is still standing in fair repair, with limited exterior modifications, but it isn't being used. A small gable-roofed one-story shed with two open bays, north of the boathouse, may be an original Institute building but that hasn't been confirmed. Between the two buildings are a playground and tennis courts.

The integrity of the Wrangell Institute site ranks high in location and association, and low in all other factors: design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling (Table 4). Alone, the picturesque boathouse is not enough to convey much about the Aleut experience there during World War II.

BURNETT INLET CANNERY

Burnett Inlet has had almost no development since World War II except for a fish hatchery (Figure 227) built at the inlet's head in 1978 (Wrangell Sentinel 1978b), and otherwise its shores appear as they did during World War II. The Burnett Inlet cannery has no standing buildings and is now an archaeological site managed by the Tongass National Forest. Observed in 2008 were building ruins, intertidal pilings, miscellaneous features and stationary

equipment, and artifact scatters. The building ruins consisted of four scatters of rotten planks inside the treeline, and the intertidal pilings consisted of isolated examples and four groups ranging up to 54 pilings per group. Other features include remains of a wood-stave water tank, a wood-stave oil tank, a boiler, a large pump on a concrete pedestal, a masonry-enclosed metal vat probably used to soak nets, and large metal machinery dropped into the intertidal zone by the pre-war fire that destroyed the cannery and warehouse buildings. The Burnett Inlet cannery has left its architectural state and descended into the archaeological record. Remains reflecting the Aleut relocation experience at Burnett Inlet are lacking.

The Burnett Inlet cannery rates high in terms of its location and its association with the Aleut relocation experience. However, the disappearance of the buildings has greatly diminished the cannery's ability to convey aspects of design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling, each of which is judged to be low (Table 4).

WARD LAKE CCC CAMP

The flimsy buildings of the Ward Lake CCC Camp were removed or demolished soon after the war, and the area has been managed for recreational use. Other than two concrete pedestals, the street alignment, and the rock foundation, there are no surface features to suggest the former camp, let alone any particular association with the Aleut relocation event.

Ward Lake had already been developed as a rustic public recreation site before the Aleut relocation, and – though it wasn't used so much during the war because of water contamination, the park-like setting of that time has been retained. The site is judged high in terms of location and association (Table 4). But the lack of almost all surface remains resigns the site to a low evaluation in the categories of design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling.

SUMMARY OF INTEGRITY

The six sites comprising the World War II Aleut relocation camps have high integrity in terms of location and association. However, the poor physical condition of the sites warrants mostly low assessments in terms of integrity of design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling (Table 4). Having the most integrity – best conveying the Aleut relocation experience – is the Aleut grave cluster at Killisnoo and especially the Aleut cemetery near the Funter Bay cannery. Of all the camps, the Funter Bay mine still affords good integrity in terms of setting and feeling. But overall the six sites as a group have very few standing buildings that ever sheltered Aleut evacuees, and instead the physical record is entering the archaeological realm.

National Historic Landmark Eligibility

Qualification as a NHL requires a property to have a high degree of significance and a high degree of integrity. The cultural significance of the six properties as a group rests within the themes of Aleut culture change as part of Native American social history, and within World War II's Alaska campaign as part of U.S. military history. Thus the six properties are significant under Criterion 1, being "associated with events that have made a significant contribu-

tion to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1999:21). Four of the remaining five criteria (see sidebar) are judged not pertinent to the sites' significance, in that they are not associated with important persons, national ideals, distinctive architectural styles, or broad lifeways. Criterion 6, referring to a cultural property's significance in potentially yielding important archaeological information, was not addressed by the field reconnaissance.

The physical integrity of the six properties is collectively low, though the two cemeteries do convey some sense of the Aleut World War II relocation experience. Thus – despite high national significance for their association with important historical events – the six properties do not have sufficient integrity to warrant NHL status. The essential physical features needed to convey the properties' significance are buildings, but few buildings are left standing at any of the sites, and they along with the building ruins and features observed in 2008 are not enough to convey significance.

Comparison with other NHLs in Alaska and elsewhere in the U.S. is useful in judging the validity of the assessment presented here. The subject – World War II Aleut Relocation Camps – is compatible with the prior subjects selected for NHL status within the World War II in Alaska theme. The existing WW II NHLs are devoted to actual military facilities and battlefields (Table 2), and thus the Aleut relocation camps form a complimentary civilian element. Otherwise the camps – particularly the Funter Bay camps where St. Paul and St. George

Figure 227.
One development in the vicinity of the Burnett Inlet cannery is a fish hatchery near the head of the inlet.

villagers lived – have some relationship to the Seal Islands NHL encompassing most of the Pribilof Islands.

Within the national sphere, an historical example paralleling the Aleut relocation is that of the Japanese-American internment program during WW II, which has been judged of national significance (Burton et al. 2000). The physical remains of that event, consisting of buildings and other features at ten sites scattered across the western States, were found to vary widely in their integrity, but some were sufficiently intact to convey the Japanese internment experience. What was in wartime the Manzanar War Relocation Center in the Owens Valley of California is now managed by the NPS as a National Historic Site, as is Minidoko War Relocation Center near Twin Falls, Idaho. Recently Congress authorized a study evaluating a third property – the Heart Mountain War Relocation Center in northwest Wyoming – for its significance and integrity. Standing buildings that convey the Japanese internment experience are the common denominator of the three properties, though they are not designated NHLs but are instead National Historic Sites managed for their public educational and recreational value. Each of the three Japanese internment camps recognized for their historic value has more in the way of standing buildings and other features that convey their significance, compared to the Aleut relocation camps (Burton et al. 2000). Similarly, each of the NHLs already recognized for their association with World War II in Alaska have more standing buildings and intact features compared to the Aleut relocation camps. That is why, to conclude, the six World War II Aleut relocation camps in southeast Alaska are judged to be of national significance but do not have sufficient integrity to warrant designation as a National Historic Landmark.

Chapter 9: Afterword

The group of six World War II Aleut relocation camp sites in southeast Alaska do not qualify as a National Historic Landmark. They are historically significant, but they don't retain

Figure 228.
In 2001 villagers from St. George and St. Paul reconsecrated the cemetery at Funter Bay.
Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association

enough integrity to convey that significance. This reflects the inevitable decay of wood buildings in a temperate rainforest – not the degree of hardship experienced by Aleut villagers during World War II, or the historical importance of their sacrifice. Graves at Funter Bay, Killisnoo, and Ketchikan remain the most poignant reminders in southeast Alaska of the Aleut relocation (Figure 228).

The investigation was successful in acquiring the information needed to make a determination of National Historic Landmark eligibility. Physical evidence was a critical data set. Onsite observations and photography recorded each site's condition in 2008, or 2011 for the Ward Lake CCC camp. That data may be useful for future cultural resource management. Neither the archival research nor the oral history effort were exhaustive, and more sources remain untapped. However, the combination of onsite information, archival data, and oral history allowed balanced characterizations of each site's past land use. The camp-specific focus makes clear that the Aleut internment was but a three-year interval within each site's history. Each property had at least a decade or more of operation prior to World War II, and each property had a postwar history – albeit in most cases one of building salvage, outright

Figure 229.

While at Killisnoo Mary Snigoroff of Atka wove baskets in traditional Aleut style using local materials.

Photograph by Steve Henrikson, Alaska State Museum

demolition, or decay in place. Hardly touched upon in this volume were the prehistoric or early historic Native occupations of these localities.

Each of the six sites discussed here are worthy of additional onsite, archival, and oral history investigation. Artifacts from the relocation period are few (Figures 56, 229). Archaeological excavations may someday find physical evidence significantly expanding our contemporary understanding of the Aleut internment experience. In the meantime, this volume is intended to transcend the National Historic Landmark evaluation process and serve as a commemoration of place – collectively, the six World War II Aleut relocation camps in southeast Alaska.

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