

ETHNOHISTORY AND THE IRA TRIBAL STATUS APPLICATION OF KING SALMON NATIVES, ALASKA

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Abstract: The bond between basic and applied research is rarely explained or illustrated in publications, even though it is assumed they are linked. One reason for this lacuna is that the goal of applied research is not to advance disciplinary theory or knowledge *per se*, but to add to the understanding of and/or solution to a social problem. The purpose of this paper is two-fold: (1) to demonstrate the link between applied and basic research; and (2) to present new information regarding history and culture contact in the Naknek Drainage. Specifically in the case at hand, King Salmon Traditional Native Council requested holistic anthropological research in 1998 to assist in their effort to obtain federal recognition as an unorganized tribe. A major obstacle to their claim is that, during World War II, a US air base was built on land near which they must demonstrate continued use and occupancy by native Alaskan ancestors up to and including May 1936 when the Indian Reorganization Act was applied to Alaska. The US government and local Caucasian eyewitnesses thought that native people came only after the war to find employment in the town that evolved around the air base. Five avenues of evidence will be discussed: (1) archaeological data, (2) journals of Russian explorers, (3) linguistic data, (4) Native mate selection practices, and (5) Caucasian eyewitness perceptions tested against other evidence.

Key words: Indian Reorganization Act, applied anthropology, Alaska Peninsula

INTRODUCTION

Basic (“abstract”) and applied anthropological research are not in opposition but mutually support each other. However, the bond between basic and applied research is rarely explained. The goal of applied research, even that requiring ethnohistorical research, is not *per se* to advance disciplinary knowledge but to confront a social problem, and perhaps resolve it. For this reason basic anthropological researchers rarely become aware of ethnographic or ethnohistorical information gathered by applied researchers that might add to basic knowledge. Quite often, the applied research ends up as a report on the shelf of an agency. The purpose of this paper is two-fold: (1) to demonstrate the link between applied ethnohistorical and basic anthropological research; and, (2) to present new information and interpretations resulting from applied research regarding history and culture contact in the Naknek Drainage (cf. Figure 1).

THE LEGAL ISSUE

In order to establish its tribal status as an Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) unorganized tribe as applied to Alaska, King Salmon Traditional Village Council on the Alaska

Peninsula needed to document its history and the genealogies of its members. The US Congress passed the IRA in 1934; this act was amended and applied to Alaska Natives as of May 1, 1936. The King Salmon Traditional Village Council was not seeking title to land, a question that was addressed by the 1971 Alaska Native Claims

Settlement Act, but to be recognized as an *unorganized* “tribe” and thus eligible for federal social, health, education and other funds set aside for tribal groups. They were required to demonstrate that ancestors of some (number unspecified) current King Salmon Traditional Village Council members lived in the immediate vicinity of current King Salmon before and up to May 1936. They were not required to demonstrate that their ancestors lived in an organized tribal fashion with a recognized headman (toyon or tuyuq – village headman — of a village). The Alaska Amendment reads, in part, “groups of Indians in Alaska ... having a common bond of occupation, or association, or residence within a well-defined neighborhood, community or rural district, may organize....” (25 USC 473(a)). The lawyers for the Council argued that:

The intent of the law, in Alaska, was to allow disorganized groups of Natives to organize so as to undertake tribal activity. Since there was never a requirement for a distinct political structure or even that the group be a distinct ethnological ‘tribe’ or ‘band,’ there is no requirement to prove continuous organized tribal activity, as such, back to 1936. If a group existed which could have organized in 1936, and that group (as defined by one of the common bonds mentioned in the Act) still exists, it can organize today” (Baltar 1994).

The Catch-22 in the King Salmon Natives’ situation is that the U.S. military asserted in 1941 that there were no people residing in the vicinity, thus allowing the construction of an air base in 1942 to confront the Japanese invasion of the Aleutian Islands. After WW II ended in 1945, a small town called King Salmon developed around



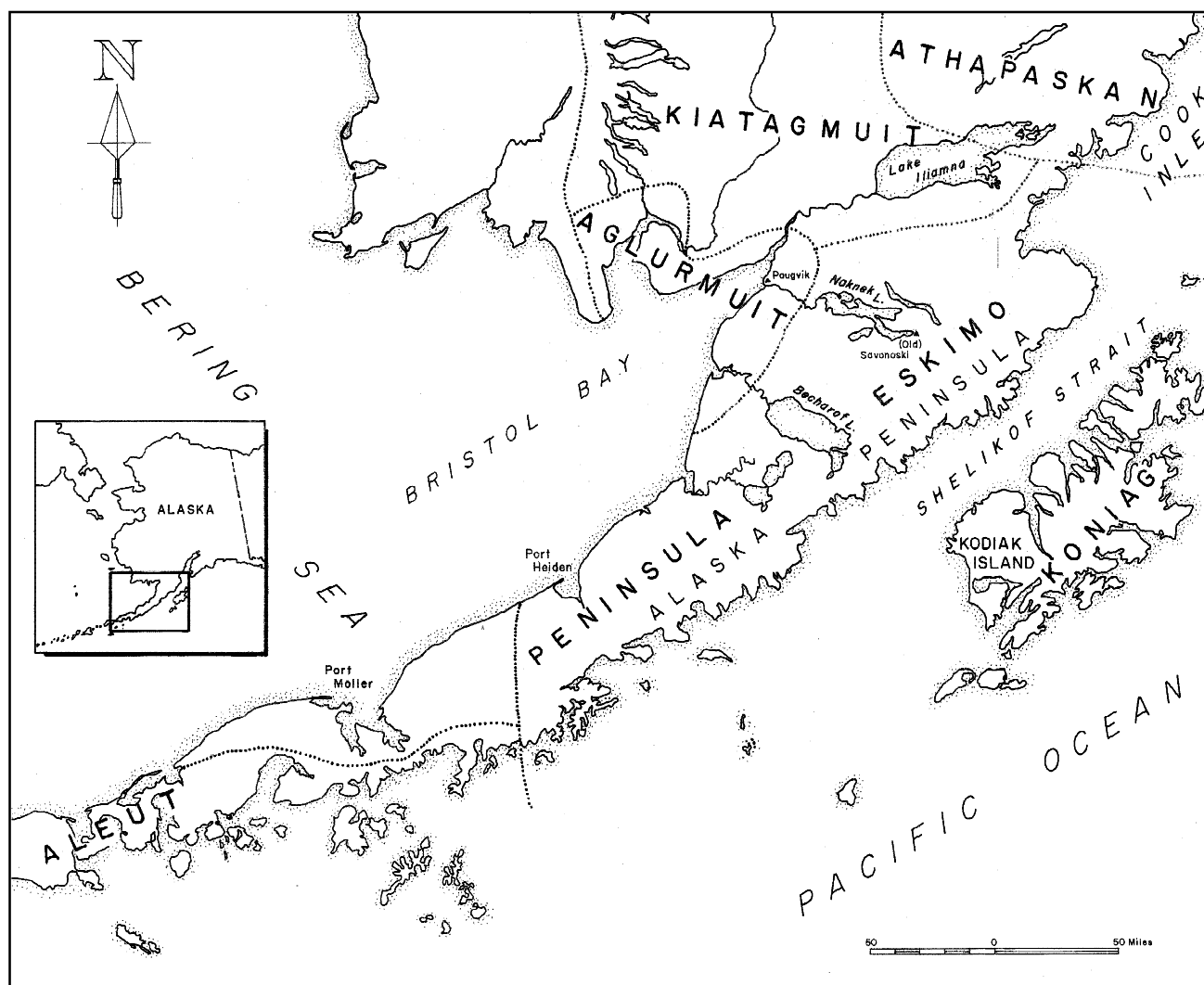


Figure 1: Location of Native groups in the 19th Century: northern Alaska Peninsula and vicinity [after Dumond (with permission)]

the base, attracting Whites as well as Natives for employment opportunities. King Salmon Creek exits into the Naknek River near the town, giving the town its name. Most residents of the area thought that it was the presence of the air base that attracted Natives to King Salmon, seeking employment.

In 1988 the King Salmon Traditional Village Council submitted an application for IRA status to the BIA in Washington, D.C. but were later told it was never received. I was contacted in February 1998 by the law firm representing King Salmon Traditional Village Council to perform the necessary research and provide a report (Feldman 1998). When the application with my report was handed to BIA officials in Washington, D.C., the Natives photographed the transfer from hand to hand. What intrigued me about the research was how to investigate a Native presence in 1936 in an area declared bereft of Native inhabitants by the U.S. government in 1941. In addition, there were three Caucasian eyewitnesses whom I

interviewed who said there weren't any, or only a very few, Natives in the vicinity of the newly constructed air base in 1942. If there weren't Natives living there in 1941/1942, by implication they weren't there in 1936.

The holism of anthropology was needed to piece together the archaeological, linguistic and ethnohistorical clues of a complex puzzle buried beneath a hundred years and more of intensive western intrusion. Five avenues of evidence will be discussed in this paper: (1) archaeological data, (2) journals of Russian explorers, (3) linguistic data (particularly place names and ethnonyms), (4) indigenous mate selection practices and family genealogies (which proved to be the most critical information in the BIA view), and, (5) Caucasian eyewitness perceptions tested against other evidence.



REPORT SUMMARY

The King Salmon Traditional Village Council taped interviews (1992) of three elderly Native people: Victor Monsen (b. 1916, Naknek), Olga Malone (b. 1918, unknown place of birth but resided during her childhood on Smelt Creek and Eskimo Creek from ca. 1926-1930s) and Ted Melgenak (b. 1937, South Naknek, whose father, Mike McCarlo moved from near Old Savonoski to New Savonoski in 1912). They provided information regarding the names and cabin locations of Native men, women and children who lived, at least during the winter trapping season if not year-round, along the four creeks feeding into Naknek River as of 1936. Based on my transcription of these tapes (Victor Monsen's information was the most informative and thorough), and other interviews that I conducted in 1998, 29 Native men, women and children and their descendants, plus 13 Scandinavian men, some with Native wives, were identified who resided along those four creeks. Their names and cabin sites in and of themselves would not be adequate to satisfy the legal requirements for being awarded tribal status. Who were these people, what were they doing there, and who were their descendants?

The report submitted to the BIA included the genealogical linkage to their living descendants of 29 Native people identified as living in the area in 1936, emphasizing the role of marriage among bilateral hunting societies for gaining access to the use of others' territory. Photographs were included of some Native ancestors and of their Native descendants. Photographs were taken of some pre-1936 cabins owned and used by Native people. Federal archival data were included regarding a reindeer herding permit issued in 1932 to local Native inhabitants. An explanation was provided of journal entries by Russian explorers in 1818 and 1829 regarding the Native presence in Naknek Lake and the Naknek River drainage. A photograph was included of a wedding certificate of a Native woman (Olga Malone) whose Eskimo mother lived in the 1920s and 1930s at Smelt Creek and Eskimo Creek where it entered the Naknek River in the heart of current King Salmon. Copies were included of Bureau of Land Management records of Native Allotment files for Naknek and King Salmon Native people regarding pre-1936 land use and occupation. Copies were included of the Alaskan Russian Church records of baptisms, births, deaths and weddings of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Archaeological reports on the region were summarized.

HUMAN PRESENCE IN THE NAKNEK DRAINAGE

An application for IRA tribal status should, through ethnohistorical and archival research, locate the people in time and space because local continuity would be a factor in the BIA decision. In addition, archaeological data were crucial for my own understanding of why the King Salmon Village Council was not

willing to accept membership in the existing ANCSA-based Paugvik Village Council in Naknek¹ only fifteen miles away.

This was, initially, a mystery to me: why wouldn't Native people, both calling themselves "Aleut," in such close proximity, be content with membership in the same Village Council? How and why did they perceive themselves to be different?

Archaeological evidence documents the presence of human settlements and camps in the Naknek Drainage area from around 8,500 years ago. Continued archaeological excavation is occurring along the shores of (north) Naknek (1998), directed by Don Dumond of the University of Oregon. Dumond and his students have conducted archaeological research in the area for forty years, including the summer of 1998 (e.g., Dumond 1971, 1981, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1994; Dumond and Van Stone 1995).

Dumond has suggested different phases of human occupation of the Naknek Drainage area from AD 600, subsequent to the earlier Arctic Small Tool traditions. These phases include sites at Brooks Lake, Naknek Lake and Naknek River up to AD 1800. A continuous cultural group who controlled and utilized the entire Naknek Drainage from Old Savonoski Village at Naknek Lake to the present towns of Naknek and South Naknek probably made these cultural changes.

This cannot be said for the historic Paugvik phase on the Naknek River.² The Russian Governor, Wrangell (1980:64) described the Paugvik people (the Aglurmiut), as invading and settling at the mouth of the Nushagak River (no date provided). Archaeological research interprets their arrival at the mouth of the Naknek River around 1810 (cf. Figure 1). Paugvik survived from 1810 to about the 1880s. The Aglurmiut continued to live nearby at present-day Naknek but the Paugvik site was abandoned. The arrival of canneries in Naknek in 1893 dramatically altered the cultural landscape and context.

PACIFIC ALUTHIQ TIES TO NAKNEK LAKE NATIVES

A key feature that Dumond used to assess the cultural affiliation of prehistoric peoples in the area is house type. He recently altered his view regarding the house type of the Brooks River area in AD 1450 (Bluffs phase) (Dumond and Van Stone 1995:99). Dumond concluded that by this time semi-subterranean homes ("houses" in archaeological texts) which utilized wooden posts and frames

¹A Yup'ik term for Naknek is Nakniq, Nakniq, or Naknik meaning "precision point" (Abalama 1990, from Egigik). Naknirmiut would be the "village/residents of Nakniq" (Abalama idem.). Naknek village was also called Ken'aryak, referring to the "red salmon of Naknek" (Abalama idem.).

²The Paugvik site was abandoned by the 1880s, probably due to the development of salteries fishing enterprises a few miles upstream (Dumond 2000, personal communication).



covered with leaves, mud and sod (called *barabaras* by Russians) were multi-room houses like those on Kodiak Island at the same time period that evolved due to population increase, not one-room houses as he originally thought. Various shared cultural artifacts lead Dumond to conclude that there was substantial culture contact between the Pacific-side Alutiiq people and the people inland at Brooks River by AD 1450.

Aglurmiut invasion

An in-migration or invasion reportedly occurred along the Naknek River just prior to AD 1818: the arrival of northern people whom local Natives identified to the Russian explorers as “Aglegmiut” from the lower Kuskokwim Yup’ik Eskimo territory to the north. They are said to have moved to Nunivak Island and down the Peninsula coast as far as the Egegik River. Today they are called “Aglurmiut” (cf. Fienup-Riordan 1984), a designation used here. They were said by Russian accounts to have been driven south by other Eskimo groups: the Kuskokwagmiut and the Kiatagamiut. Russian explorers and trading fort administrators emphasized to Native peoples that if they wanted Russian trade goods they would have to abandon traditional warfare. Harritt, a student of Dumond’s, believes that the Aglurmiut newcomers took up residence at Paugvik on the Naknek River, displacing the former Natives south to Ugashik³ and east to Old Savonoski and other Naknek Lake villages (Harritt 1997; cf. Dumond and Van Stone 1995:99). This assertion is crucial for my argument. It is the descendants of the displaced Natives who have provided the nucleus of the King Salmon Traditional Village Council and organized the application for tribal status.

Dumond believes that the cultural remains of Paugvik and the upper drainage Naknek Lake sites are distinguishable. He goes so far as to say that the area between Paugvik and Old Savonoski became a “no man’s land” sometime after AD 1810 to avoid inter-group hostility⁴. Harritt summarizes this view:

... the intrusive lower drainage protohistoric Aglurmiut who arrived sometime around AD 1818 are seen as a discontinuity in the late prehistoric cultural continuum for the period AD 1450-1912. In contrast, the contemporaneous inhabitants of the upper drainage are seen as direct descendants from their late prehistoric progenitors of the Bluffs phase. This view is consistent with those previously stated (Dumond 1981), but it narrows the definition by a significant degree. And, using this approach, the Aglurmiut inhabitants of Paugvik are seen as a portion of an entity separate from the upper drainage ethnogenic continuum, but nevertheless sharing some of the tech-

nologies that were pervasive in Eskimo areas of south-western Alaska (Harritt 1997:50).

... it is also possible that Naknek and Ugashik groups each had their own distinctive subdialect of Peninsula Eskimo speech. It is also probable that Peninsula Eskimo speech was more closely related to Pacific Eskimo Sugpiaq than to the Yuk dialect spoken by the Aglurmiut immigrants. Russian distinctions between the Aglurmiut and “Aleut” or Peninsula Eskimos indicate that they perceived some degree of dialectical difference between these two groups (Harritt 1997:53).

What is significant about these observations is as follows. The inhabitants of the Naknek Lake villages (or “Severnovskie”—various spellings of this Russian word that means “settlement(s) of people from (of?) the north”; “sever” = north in Russian) had a continuous relationship to the entire Naknek Drainage area. The Aglurmiut who came to Paugvik after 1800 did not. But in 1912 Old Savonoski Natives were forced to relocate to New Savonoski due to the Katmai (actually, Novarupta) volcanic eruption. Various King Salmon Natives today are descendants of the original Naknek Lake people, calling themselves “Katmai Descendants.” The effort to obtain IRA tribal status by the King Salmon Village Council is headed by these “Katmai Descendants” (53% of 1998 King Salmon Traditional Council enrollees).

Kodiak Island culture and the upper Naknek drainage

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In looking at the wider Pacific culture area, Erlandson et al. (1992) summarized prehistoric and post-contact survey and excavation data on 1,295 sites for the Alutiiq and the even earlier Native people of Kodiak Island and their surrounding territory—including Prince William Sound and the Kenai Peninsula. They argue that the human presence on Kodiak Island begins between 8,000 and 11,000(?) years ago, and continued to the present, but with the influx of “Alutiiq”-speaking Central Yup’ik people around AD 1000 (Erlandson et al. 1992:29). The largest prehistoric sites are found near the most abundant food resources in protected bays, usually near highly productive salmon streams, but inland Peninsula sites are also found along salmon-rich rivers/streams such as the Naknek River, Savonoski River and Brooks River in the Naknek Lake area.

A significant question for archaeologists has been determining how and when the inland Peninsula Eskimo settlements around Naknek Lake were involved with Pacific Eskimo culture, and when/how inland Peninsula Eskimo were influenced culturally by more northern Peninsula Eskimo. Contact by Naknek Drainage groups with both Pacific and other Peninsula groups probably occurred prehistorically. The nature and amount of influence on the Naknek Drainage people by northerly Yup’ik and by the Kodiak Island Koniag

³*Ugaassaq* or *Ugaassarmiut* is a Yup’ik term for Ugashik (Abalama 1990).

⁴Dumond’s excavation at Naknek in 1998 reaffirmed this interpretation (Dumond 2000, personal communication).



fluctuated, depending on subsistence needs, trading interests and other factors.

Harritt (1997) has hypothesized about ethnogenesis in the Naknek Drainage Area. Harritt and Dumond now think that two distinct, even polarized, Native groups lived at both ends of the drainage from about AD 1810 to 1912. On the west end was Paugvik Village on the north side of Naknek River, and Kougumik Village on the south side—the village name on a map made based on a Russian explorer's (Vasilev) 1829 exploration. On the east end of the drainage in Naknek Lake was (Old) Savonoski, plus other kin-related villages. The invasion of Aglurmiut from the north around AD 1810 that is believed to have resulted in the establishment of Paugvik and Kougumik villages occasioned the relocation of prior Yup'ik-speaking users of these lower river sites to Naknek Lake and south along the coast to Ugashik.

RUSSIAN EXPLORERS

Linguistically-related Central Yup'ik-speaking people, Kiatagamiut, lived south and west of Lake Iliamna (cf. Figure 1). The meeting point of the more northerly Central Yup'ik-speaking people (excluding the Aglurmiut) and the linguistically related people of Naknek Lake seems to Dumond (1998, personal communication) to occur around Old Savonoski. This evolving complexity was increased by the arrival of Russian explorers in 1818/19 (P. Korsakovskiy's expedition), then in 1829/30 (Ivan Vasilev's expedition) (Van Stone 1988). Both expeditions were seeking information about the people and resources of the Bristol Bay area after the Russians had depleted the fur stocks on the Pacific side of the peninsula

Korsakovskiy noted on June 2, 1818 the presence of an "Aglemiut" village (singular) that he called "Pavik" (referred to as Paugvik today) on the "left" (north) bank of the Naknek River as it exits into the Bay. Eleven years later, on the map depicting Vasilev's 1829 expedition, a second village is noted: "Kougumik," on the south bank of the Naknek River (Van Stone 1988). Paugvik and Kougumik are situated where today are found, roughly, Naknek and South Naknek, respectively. Korsakovskiy either didn't see Kougumik or it was, more likely, founded subsequently.

Etymologically Paugvik perhaps derives from the Yup'ik terms "Pauk" meaning "post, pole" and "Paug" meaning "to put a post in the ground" (cf. Jacobson 1984:283). "Aglurmiut" itself is thought to derive from the Yup'ik term "Aglug" meaning "ridgepole, center beam of a structure" among Bristol Bay speakers (Van Stone 1988:241). Nowhere in the anthropological literature is the question raised whether this is the self-designation of the Aglurmiut or one used by other Yup'ik people in reference to them. One of the reasons for the confusion regarding names of villages is that in Russian records there is not always clarification between what people called themselves/their village and what neighbors or enemies called them.

Korsakovskiy was instructed to make this distinction in the letter detailing his mission by his superior.

How were the inhabitants of Paugvik and Kougumik related? Were the Kougumik simply more "Pole" or "Ridgepole People" who lived close to the mouth of the river? Probably, but it should not be assumed. Or were they pre-Aglurmiut who returned there after the 1810 Aglurmiut invasion, in-between the explorations by the Russians? It should be noted that when the Naknek Lake people relocated downriver at New Savonoski in 1912, they took up residence on the south side of the Naknek River, about six miles away from where Kougumik was reported in 1829. According to Paul Chukan (b. 1901, Naknek), an Aglurmiut descendant in my opinion whom I interviewed in 1978 on an unrelated project, the New Savonoski inhabitants agreed to focus their subsistence activities south of the Naknek River. It seems that after the devastating flu epidemic of 1919 there was no need to divide up subsistence territory in this manner.

The attention that needs to be given to linguistic labels is seen in the change of label that Korsakovskiy provides in his June 5th journal entry while at Paugvik in his reference to the "*Takbut* notables: Chveniak and Alinak" (italics mine) receiving gifts from Kolmakov, another Russian who traveled with Korsakovskiy. These two "notables" might at first glance each seem to be a local "toyon" or village headman. They were probably not of toyon status because Korsakovskiy distinguishes the "wives of toyon" from the "wives of notable men" in the June 6th entry. "Toyon" is a Russian loan word. Each village, said Paul Chukan (cf. Branson 1998, Photograph #241.H-809) of Naknek, had one such leader; however, he used the term "*tuyuq*" instead of "*toyon*" (Feldman (1978). "Takhut" is not Korsakovskiy's version of the Yup'ik term, "tuyuq," because he always uses "toyon" to identify village leaders⁵. Van Stone states: "Takhut" is "Possibly the name by which the Russians identified a group of Naknek River Eskimos" (Van Stone 1988:68). But the term is never used again in the journals. However, a watercolor from the period 1827-28 by Pavel Mikhailov portrays three individuals described as "Takhuty, inhabitants of the Naknek River, Alaska" (Shur and Pierce 1978:362). Why would people at Paugvik label themselves or others as the "Takhut"? There was a "toyon" referred to by Korsakovskiy as an "*Indian*" from the Pacific Katmai Bay settlement accompanying the Russians as a guide "to the Aglemiut *Indian* (sic) Settlement" (May 19th Korsakovskiy journal entry, emphasis added). Was that toyon (possibly an Aglemiut middleman because both the Aglemiut and this toyon are called "Indian," unlike the Katmai Natives whom Korsakovskiy referred to as "Americans") providing the Russians, via the two interpreters that accompanied the exploration, with a term, *Takbut*, by which the Aglemiut referred to themselves? What is the meaning of

⁵ Mr. Chukan's term is a Lake Iliamna Yup'ik term for "chief," a loan word "probably from Russian toyon" (Jacobson *ibid.*:380). Tuyuq is also the Kodiak Alutiiq word for "chief" (Partnow 1995:157; Leer 1998 (orig. 1978):46). Why did Korsakovskiy refer to more than one toyon at Paugvik if there was only one for each village?



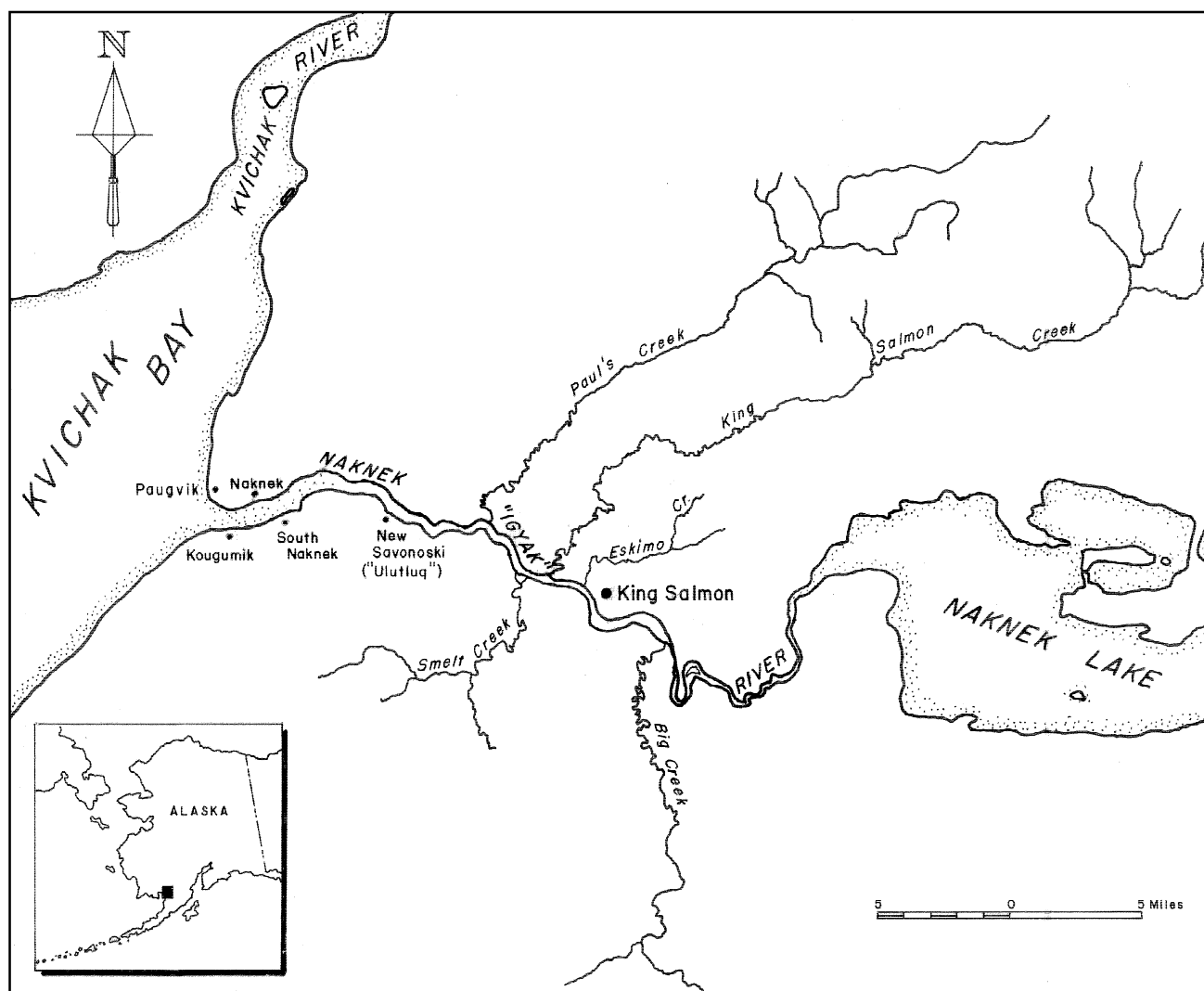


Figure 2: Naknek River Drainage: Alaska Peninsula

Takbut? I suggest the term derives from “Tag’ag,” a Yup’ik term for “surf; tide which brings things ashore” (cf. Jacobson 1984: 748). The Aleut language is similar: “taguoha - for surf to come in over shallow part of beach” (cf. Bergsland 1994:380). The area inhabited by these “Takhut notables,” if my interpretation is correct, had floodtide problems. The label, “*Takbut*,” would likely come from the local inhabitants - a self-designation, not from Outsiders who knew less about high tide effects locally. That is, “Aglurmiut” is perhaps a non-Aglurmiut term for people with a different kind of house construction, but *Takbut* might be what the Aglurmiut there called themselves. Dumond (2000, personal communication) notes that about half of old Pougvik house sites were washed away due to tidal erosion. However, there is more that seems related to the Takhut reference.

**“ULUTLUQ” OR “ULUTELLEQ”
= “NEW SAVONOSKI”**

Vera (Kie) Angasan, now of King Salmon, stated that New Savonoski had a Native name, *Ulutluq*, which has never appeared in published accounts (cf. Figure 2). This name appears as *Ulutelleq* in BIA-ANCSA in transcribed tapes of interviews with Nick Abalama (1990) and as *Ulutylkb* in Alaska Russian Church Records (Katherine Arndt, unpublished genealogical research re: Trefon Angasan (b. 1910)). Vera was born in 1924 in Ugashik, one place to which the original Native users of the west end of the Naknek River are said to have been displaced. Vera Angasan was adopted by the leader of New Savonoski, One Arm Nick (Figure 3) and his wife, Pelageia Melgenak (sometimes recorded as Melonak). Vera lived in New Savonoski after 1932, following the death of her Native mother when Vera was eight years old. Her Japanese father died earlier. New Savonoski, founded by Old Savonoski residents after





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Figure 3: One Arm Nick Melgenak and family members, mid-1930s at “Kittywick,” the local name for what is now known as Brooks Camp. His wife, Pelegeia, is seated, wearing a white cap. Mr. Melgenak and Pelegeia adopted many orphaned children (Branson 1998, photograph # H-1119).

the 1912 Katmai explosion, located about six miles east of today’s South Naknek, was called “*Ulutluq*,” according to Vera Angasan (or perhaps more correctly, “*Ulutelleq*” – ‘one that flooded’ (Abalama 1990)). This term meant “overflowing tide - a big one” (Vera Angasan 1998, personal communication). The Yup’ik word, “*ulute-*,” means “to flood, to inundate” (Jacobson 1984:389). “*Ule-*” means “to rise (of liquid); (coast and along tidal rivers) to be high tide; (inland) to flood” (Jacobson 1984:388).

Is it merely a coincidence, due to a similar tidal phenomenon, that an Aglurmiut group in 1818 would have the same “tide-overflows-the-beach” designation as a 1912 group, nearly one hundred years later, by their former enemies, but located some six miles upriver? Or was New Savonoski in some way an extension of, or perceived as the extension of, the 1818 *Takbut* —the Tide-Overflows group? Did the 1912 relocation to New Savonoski involve some residents, perhaps relatives, from Kougumik (near South Naknek) moving to New Savonoski, also? I don’t have an opinion on that question.

Some mixture of different Native groups had been occurring earlier at Paugvik and Old Savonoski. Dumond (1986:5) used

Russian Orthodox Church Records in tabulating the percentage of different ethnic groups, *based on father’s ethnic affiliation only*, who are present in Paugvik from 1840-1895. 21% of the Paugvik residents were Kuskokwagmiut, 2% were Kiatagamiut, 3% were “Aleut” and 74% were Aglurmiut. Old Savonoski was a more homogeneous village during this entire time. Dumond discovered that only 5% of the individuals at Old Savonoski were listed in Russian Orthodox Church Records as Aglurmiut, 3% as Kiatagamiut, and 92% as “Aleut.” However, K. Arndt (2001, personal communication) notes a problem with the 1840 to 1895 time range of Church records. Up to 1867 the populations of all these villages were identified in church records as much more homogeneous. However, between 1868 and 1875 there is a lack of records because the church basically shut down in many areas due to the uncertainty regarding support after the purchase of Alaska by the US. Then from 1876 onward the populations become more heterogeneous as people move around due to the more varied economic opportunities. The challenge of providing ethnic frequencies for these populations is further complicated by the fact that the Russians enumerated ethnic identities based solely on the father’s affiliation. Arndt does not know how the Native peoples themselves viewed



their ethnic identity if father and mother derived from different groups. In any event, there was precedent for some population admixture locally prior to 1912.

Katmai Descendants could also be called the descendants of the Ulutelleqmiut on the Naknek River.

VILLAGE NAMES AND “IGYAK”

On the map depicting the exploration of Vasilev in 1829 there is a name for, or a designator of, the river on the banks of which Paugvik and Kougumik were located: “*Igyak*.” “Igyak” is related to the Yup’ik root, “Ige-,” meaning “to swallow,” and “Igyaraq,” meaning the “area of (a) river at (the) outlet of (a) lake” (cf. Jacobson 1984:158). Vasilev may have obtained the name “Igyak” from the Upper Drainage people in 1829 whom he encountered before he went down the Igyak/Naknek River, which was at the mouth of Naknek Lake where the “Iqkagmiut” resided. Igyak might be, in my opinion, a word used by inland riverine dwellers as opposed to coastal-dwelling Aglurmiut at the mouth of what is called today the Naknek River.

Russian Orthodox Church Records refer to Old Savonoski inhabitants as “Iqkhagmiut.” The Lake Iliamna village of Igiugik (from the same root as Igyak) likewise is located where the lake flows into Kvichak River. “Ikak” or “Igyak” (also listed in Russian Church Records) were perhaps not indigenous terms for any ethnic group. My view differs from that of Harritt (1997:49) who suggests that the Old Savonoski inhabitants be called the “Ikkhagamut or Ikkhagamute” because in his view it is the “actual Yup’ik name for the protohistoric village in their territory”. Harritt might not be aware of the etymology of *igyak* or its possible relation to the names of Lake Naknek villages. “Igyak” (similar in sound to “Ikak” or “Iqkhag”) may have simply been the indigenous response to the question by Russians of “where do you live?” The indigenous answer would have been descriptive - “We live at the mouth” — as were other villages in Naknek Lake “at the mouth” of some river⁶. However, if “Igyak” meant “at the mouth of,” which group provided Vasilev with the term: the Aglurmiut or Lake Naknek Natives? I think it was likely the Naknek Lake Natives whom he encountered first. Akalena (Olympic) Holstrom (b. 1922 at Naknek Lake, about four miles from where Naknek River exits the Lake, now residing in Naknek) said that “Igyak” meant “at the mouth of” a river as it exits a lake. Akalena descends from Lake Iliamna area Kiatagamiut. She lived many years in Igiagik (her emphatic pronunciation of the village today called Igiugik. Russians also recorded the name of the village as *Ig’iagik*, according to K. Arndt, 2001, personal communication). She is the daughter of the Kiatagamiut, Evon Olympic, and his wife, Agrappina (whom Akalena called Agraphina). Children of Trefon Angasan (b. 1910, Old Savonoski:

Mary Jane b. 1945 and Ralph, Jr., b. 1948) also informed me that “Igyak” means “at the mouth of” a river as it exits a lake.

PROBLEMS WITH RUSSIAN PLACE NAMES: “KANIG” AND “NUNAMIUT”

In the first decade of the 20th century the Russian Orthodox Church Records from Nushagak parish, which had responsibility for Old Savonoski (comprised of two villages: Ikak and Alinak) after 1844 and Paugvik after 1842, lists “*Nunamiut*” as a Naknek Lake village and a few years later lists “*Kanigmiut*” as a village there also. An anthropological report by Lydia Black to the U.S. Department of the Interior noted that “Iqkhagmiut” (Old Savonoski) may have fissioned into these two villages (cf. Black letter to Tanner, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1984). “*Nunamiut*” simply means “People of the Land” (Nuna = “land, place soil, earth, village, country,” Jacobson *ibid*:269). A “*Nunalgun*” is “anyone from one’s home village.” Any inland Yup’ik person could be a “*Nunamiut*.” Perhaps the priests asked people from the coast who did not live at these inland lake villages who the people there were. To coastal Yup’ik speakers, those inland would be “Land People” (Inland People or *Nunamiut*). “*Kanigmiut*” is a Yup’ik term that might relate to “*kangiq*” (cf. Jacobson *ibid*:1870), meaning “headwaters of a river,” similar in meaning to “*Igyak*” but not specifying that the river is exiting a Lake. The Russian phrase “Severnovskie selenia” — Severnovskie settlements (plural) — is used in 1909, so there presumably were now two separate settlements, but I question whether the correct indigenous names of these villages are provided in the Russian Church records (cf. Pratt 1984:41-43 for a discussion of similar place name problems).

Black explains the problems in the Church records noted above when she notes that a “dedicated native son, Yup’ik speaker,” Father Shishkin, compiled and transliterated Nushagak Parish records from 1870-1880. But thereafter two new priests (Father Modestov and later Father Kashevarov) had to rely on interpreters and in this case “the competence of the interpreter becomes crucial” (Black letter, *ibid*.). The Church and its records from 1917 - 1950s, she notes, “suffered greatly” due to the inferior educational level of the assigned priests after the Russian Revolution. One cannot rely exclusively on early Russian Orthodox Church records, in fact, at any time, to settle definitely any questions about Alaskan Native individuals regarding names/date of birth/place of birth/parents/death/marriage. Russians did not always record place names accurately or consistently when transliterating Native words. It is possible that Russian priests, explorers or administrators asked a member of Native Group A who Native Group B was or what the name of their village was, thus recording outsiders’ names but giving the impression that locals called themselves by such names.

⁶ However, Clemens and Norris (1999:41) note that “In 1880, Petroff reported ‘Ikkhagmute’ as the name used by its inhabitants for the settlement at the end of Iliuk Arm.”





Figure 4: Native children of Naknek who were orphaned by the 1919 influenza epidemic, no names provided (Branson 1998, photograph # H-427).

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PRE-CONTACT VILLAGE AT KING SALMON CREEK: *ANAQCHIAK*

Attention is drawn here to the problems associated with discovering the “real name” for places in the Naknek Drainage, even of King Salmon, because the “real name” depends on whom one asks for the information. “King Salmon” — at least where King Salmon Creek exits into the Naknek River today — had a Native name among the Ugashik and Old Savonoski people. Where King Salmon Creek flows into the Naknek River was called “*Anaqchiak*.” There was a barabara village there, directly across the Naknek River during pre-contact times, and a barabara was still at the mouth of King Salmon Creek, prior to 1936, inhabited by a Native man. An English translation of *Anaqchiak* is “A Place of Excrement” (“*Anaq*” – excrement, similar to the Iñupiaq place name, Anaqtuvuk Pass, through which caribou migrate). Vera Angasan’s son (Ralph Angasan, Sr.) said it was not a metaphorical name (e.g., “a shitty place,” meaning not very desirable). There had to be a real basis for such a designation. The Caucasian owner of the lodge at the confluence of King Salmon Creek and the Naknek River said that each spring there are thousands of seagulls and scores of eagles flying in a circle with about a five-mile radius for several weeks over his lodge. The birds are feeding on salmon smolt and smelt fish exiting from beneath the melting ice. He must hose down his lodge each spring, therefore, prior to the arrival of sports hunters and fishermen. Each year the site is inundated with

guano. No prior research encountered this name, perhaps because no one asked local Natives if there was one. Because it was important for the IRA tribal status application to discover evidence of Native use and occupancy of the area, questions about indigenous place names arose. This indigenous site name can now be added to the basic anthropological data on the area.

MARRIAGE TIES AMONG NATIVES AND LAND USE

The following analysis is based on mate selection information among three Native families: the Olympic, Angasan and Chukan families, representing respectively Kiatagamiut, Naknek Lake and Aglurmiut-Alutiiq descendants. Marital bonds indicate openness of groups toward each other and permit use of kinsmen’s land/resources. Dumond (1994:110) notes that marriage exchanges could have cemented inter-ethnic closeness in the Naknek region during pre- or post contact times. This paper agrees with that view, and offers data that show how mate selection functioned in relation to subsistence activities as recently as the 1930s.

An Aglurmiut and Alutiiq marriage

Yuraq dancing feasts between villages in the region were forbidden by Russian Orthodox priests as of 1933 (Feldman 1978).



Jacobson (1984) lists “*Yuraaq*” as the Yup’ik term for dance “Eskimo style.” (An Alutiiq term for dance is “*Agnguarluni*” which refers to western dance; “dance native style” is called “*liilerluni*,” which is unrelated to “*Yuraaq*.”) Traditional dances were not simply festive, recreational activities. It was at these dances that parents looked for mates for their sons and daughters, according to Mr. Chukan. Ralph Angasan, Sr. (1998, personal communication) said there was an effort by villages to avoid in-breeding. Parents were on the lookout for suitable mates for their children from other villages. Dancing feasts were one occasion at which possible spouses for children were sought. The Russian priest did not approve of all the things that were given away between villagers at the dance feasts, or with which an individual was rewarded for exceptional dancing. Paul Chukan (Feldman 1978) said that villagers from Branch River, Koggiung, South Naknek and Savonoski (New or Old? he did not say) were invited to the Naknek dancing feasts, but not (Kiatagamiut) people from Iliamna because it was too far away for dogsled travel. Whatever hostility may have existed between lower and upper Naknek drainage people in the 19th century had dissolved by the time Mr. Chukan was attending these dancing feasts.

In 1923, Paul Chukan (an Aglurmiut descendant in my view, b. 1901, Naknek) married Anna Andrews (b. 1907) (Figure 5) who lived at the time in South Naknek (Feldman 1978). Anna Andrews was originally from Cape Douglas, Kodiak Island (an Alutiiq region) (Kathryn Brown, her granddaughter, 2001 personal communication). Anna’s family had moved from Kodiak Island to Levelock which is within the coastal region that Dumond and Van Stone (1995) assign to the Aglurmiut following the latter’s post-1810 arrival in the area. Paul’s aunt chose Anna as a spouse for him while Anna was residing in South Naknek following the death of her parents in 1919. His parents were also deceased.

Many (80) of the adults in Naknek died of the influenza after the first case was reported May 26, 1919, only a few days after the flu-carrying boat, the *Kvichak*, arrived off Naknek on May 22. Paul would have been about 18 years old. Sixteen orphaned children from “upper Ugashik village” (Figure 4) and 12 from the “lower village were transferred with the sixteen Naknek orphans to the government hospital at Dillingham” (Branson 1998). Aglurmiut traditions and culture probably all but disappeared after the amalgamation of diverse children at the Dillingham orphanage. Paul’s aunt selected a spouse for him (Anna) whose (probably Alutiiq) family had resided in Levelock, the post-1810 Aglurmiut region.

A traditional Old Savonoski and Ugashik marriage

In 1947 Trefon Angasan (b. 1910, Old Savonoski; cf. Branson 1998:85) (Figure 5) married Vera Kie (b.1924, orig. from Ugashik, his second wife). Vera Kie moved from Ugashik to New Savonoski

on the Naknek River around 1932 when her Native mother died. She was adopted by One Arm Nick Melgenak and Pelageia Alingnak (or Ityg’yuk; cf. Clemens and Norris 1999, inside cover). Trefon Angasan, the son of the toyon of Old Savonoski, also lived with One Arm Nick Melgenak and his wife at New Savonoski during his boyhood. Their household survived because Pelageia locked their doors when the influenza epidemic began and didn’t allow anyone in or out for some time. Vera’s move into the household of former Old Savonoski residents reflect what archaeologists, Russian explorers and administrators thought had happened: the Natives displaced by the Aglurmiut at Paugvik went to Ugashik and Old Savonoski because they were related. Over one hundred years later these cultural links between Ugashik and Old Savonoski are evident in the 1947 marriage between Trefon Angasan and Vera Kie.

Culture change? - An Old Savonoski and Aglurmiut marriage

Prior to 1912, Trefon’s father, Trefon Angasan, Sr. (b. 1884 or 1880, Old Savonoski), married Katherine Alingnak (perhaps the name of her village or of her *toyon* father), niece of Pelageia Alingnak, at Ikkhagmiut in 1905. After Katherine Alingnak died, Trefon, Sr. married the aunt of Paul Chukan, Katherine Chukan, who I think was an *Aglurmiut*⁷. This marriage occurred as best I could determine after the 1912 Katmai eruption and establishment of New Savonoski. This marriage might continue pre-existing intermarriage patterns or indicate the closer ties that became possible or were politically expedient between Upper Drainage Natives and Lower Drainage Aglurmiut when they began to reside only six miles apart at New Savonoski after 1912. It was the kinship basis for the adult hunting partnership between Trefon Angasan (b. 1910, Old Savonoski) and Paul Chukan (b. 1901, Naknek; cf. Branson 1998:85 for photograph of Anna Chukan and Trefon Angasan).

A Kiatagamiut and Naknek Lake marriage

Evon Olympic (Figure 6) was born “Ioann Kuliliuk” of Kiatagamiut descent in 1880 at or near Kashkinak in the Lake Iliamna area (K. L. Arndt 1999, personal communication, based on Alaskan Russian Church Records). He was recorded as a Church member at “Alagnak” from 1894 through 1899, and at “Kakhonak” from 1903 through 1910 (cf. Branson 1998, photograph #267.H-1144). In 1904 Evon married a sixteen-year-old Native girl, Agrippina (b. 1888) following their common-law marriage which

⁷ In 1978, Paul Chukan told me that his great-grandfather said he had “come from the north.” In working back through four generations (a conservative 25 years per generation), this would have meant sometime prior to at least 1840. Don Dumond and I both became involved as expert witnesses in a Paugvik Village water rights case vs. the State of Alaska. Dumond was pleased to learn that via the genealogical method, Mr. Chukan’s ancestors’ arrival was dated at approximately the same time as indicated by archaeological research and the journals of Russian explorers.





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Figure 5: A group of Native people in Naknek, 1931-32. From left to right are Trefon Angasan (1910-1988), Anisha Chukan (1927-1993) in front of Trefon, Okalina Angasan (first wife of Trefon Angasan), Anna Chukan (1907-1996) who was married to Paul Chukan, Okalina Holmstrom holding Nadia, and Nick Holstrom, Sr. (?- 1972) (Branson 1998, photograph # H-1125).

may have been a few years earlier. Around 1930, Evon and Agrappina Olympic's daughter, Evdokia (b. 1912, d. 1994), married Andrew Ansaknok (the name was also spelled "Angasan"), nephew of Trefon Angasan (b. 1880 or 1884, Old Savonoski), establishing kinship ties between the Olympic and the Angasan families.

The above three marriages established kinship ties among families from the Lower Naknek Aglurmiut descendants to the Katmai Descendants to the Lake Iliamna Kiatagamiut. The intermediate family was the Angasan family.

POST-CONTACT DISEASES

The small number of Katmai Descendants still residing in King Salmon and upon whom a claim to tribal status was made requires an explanation. The explanation for the limited number of

descendants there (others reside elsewhere in Alaska) is primarily due to diseases occasioned by contact. Diseases began to decimate villages in the area soon after contact with Russians. Only 10% of the 67 pre-contact settlements on Kodiak Island survived as of 1839 according to the Russian census (Erlandson et al. 1992:53). Smallpox decimated the coastal and Peninsula populations between 1836-39. Of the Russian estimate of 8,000 inhabitants on Kodiak Island prior to Russian contact (probably a low figure) (Steve Langdon 1999, personal communication), less than 20% or about 1,500 people were enumerated in the 1839 census. After the purchase of Alaska from Russia by the United States in 1867, other diseases continued this population decimation – most notably, those that struck in 1899 and 1918/19. I want to emphasize that population decimation does not simply result in a reduction of people but can necessitate changes in their way of life – in their culture (cf. Pratt 1998:21). One must therefore examine closely



the efforts at cultural links to the past by this tenacious group of Old Savonoski survivors, who today call themselves "Aleut."⁸

EYEWITNESS CAUCASIAN VIEWS

Three local Caucasian men (whose anonymity I prefer to maintain) were interviewed regarding the presence of Native people in the King Salmon area prior to the construction of the (Naknek Army) Air Base. Caucasian eyewitness #1 came as part of a Medic Corps to the Air Base at current King Salmon in 1946. He had briefly been at the same Air Base, on his way to Dutch Harbor in 1942 during World War II. He was stationed in Dutch Harbor from 1942 until 1946 when, after the War, he moved to "Bristol Bay." He eventually married a local Naknek woman (born 1926) who had a Native mother and Scandinavian father. He told me, "There were not many mud huts" (traditional Native barabaras) around King Salmon when he came through in 1942 and later when he returned. In his view, "Around 1923 the canneries started providing (wood) homes to Native people." However, he noted there was "an old log cabin from the early 1900s, lived in by a Native man at Paul's Creek." It was there "long before the Air Base. Maybe built in the 1890s." The Native man who lived there, he said, was his Native wife's godfather who had lived in Naknek. (When I investigated, I learned that it was actually Trefon Angasan (b.1910), a Katmai Descendant, who owned the cabin, which he shared with a hunting partner from Naknek – Paul Chukan). "There were very few people here," he said, when the Air Base was constructed. "There were a few trappers - white men with Native girls and their children."

⁸ Because the Russian explorers and traders first met people along the Aleutian chain prior to contacting other Native people further east, they and the subsequent Russian Orthodox Church missionaries referred to the Kodiak Island and Alaska Peninsula Native peoples as Aleut. This nomenclature was used even though the Peninsula and Kodiak peoples spoke languages related to Yup'ik Eskimo. That is, they were not self-designated "Aleuts" in pre-contact times. As a result, however, the self-designation today of Native people in the Naknek area is "Aleut." There is a problem, now, in that self-designated "Aleuts" speak a Yup'ik dialect. To accommodate this anomaly, linguists use the term: "Alutiiq." Trefon Angasan (b. 1910) told his son, Ralph Angasan, Sr., that he spoke "Sugpiaq." The latter term is reportedly gaining some currency again.



Figure 6: Evon Olympic (Russian Orthodox Church Records list his name as Ioann Kuliliuk, born 1880 and died 1975 (Branson 1998, photograph # H-1144).

Native Allotment files raise some questions about the accuracy of his view. His own wife, a non-Katmai Descendant Native woman, filed for and eventually received two Native Allotments: one on Paul's Creek and the other at the confluence of King Salmon Creek and the Naknek River (at "*Anaqchiak*"). There was a decaying wood cabin built into the ridge above the creek where she filed. In 1969 the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, noted regarding her application:

The lands applied for by the State selection had been periodically and continuously used by the appellant's father and mother prior to 1939 in their customary and traditional way of life for fishing, hunting, and gathering berries to contribute to the subsistence of the family of twelve children. Appellant's father died in 1939; thereafter her mother continued to use the lands in the same manner. In 1942, a shelter cabin was built which has been used periodically and continuously over the past years. Appellant has used the land in the traditional and customary way of life in contributing to her family subsistence.



It should be noted that gravel rights to her Paul's Creek allotment were sold to a Fairbanks gravel company upon her application being approved in the 1980s. This gravel was sold to the State of Alaska for local road construction. Records indicate that her Caucasian husband had continuously queried the Department of the Interior regarding his wife's Native Allotment application. The sale of the gravel to the Fairbanks gravel company in part explains his continuous queries regarding the status of his wife's application. Although he thought there were very few Native people in the King Salmon area prior to the construction of the Air Base, his own wife's family was among them.

Caucasian eyewitness #2 was interviewed long-distance by phone because he resides out-of-state. He lived in Alaska from 1916 to recently — “all my life,” he said. He attended the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, receiving his degree in 1933. In 1934 he moved to Naknek where he taught school until World War II in 1942. He recalls when the military arrived, looking for a place to build an Air Base. At first they looked behind Naknek, concluding that a suitable location was available about a half mile north of Naknek. A few local men — himself and two or three others — showed the military a better “flat place,” two days after Pearl Harbor was bombed by the Japanese. The “flat place” was east of Naknek where the King Salmon runway exists today. The Base was completed in 1942. In that fall and winter, he was in charge of getting boats ready for the military and also gathered information for the military in Seattle. A General asked him to accept a commission, which he did, becoming a Lieutenant in 1943. He later lived a year in Japan, after the war. He returned after the war and taught school in Naknek.

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“There was nobody on the Base land,” he said. At Paul's Creek there was “nothing there,” except a man who lived on the beach — “an old friend of ours.” There was no one living where the army huts were built, in either summer or winter, he thought. The soldiers would go fishing in the summer and would travel (hunt) with sled dogs in the winter. Regarding whether there were cabins at Smelt Creek, he said, “I don't think so. There were a couple people living along the river, above the airbase and across from the airbase.” He recalled that Big Creek was called “Boat Creek.” He said there were “a few cabins” on the creeks, along Naknek river, and a couple of people “lived across” (the Naknek River) — maybe two or three. There were mostly “white folks” living in the cabins around King Salmon and most weren't married to anyone, as he recalled. The white men caught and sold fish for ten cents a fish.

Because he emphasized how few Natives were in the King Salmon area, an effort was made to obtain a more precise estimate of their number. He was asked if ten or twelve Native people possibly lived in the area before the Air Base was constructed. “Yes,” he said, maybe as many as that. Could there have possibly been twenty Native people in the King Salmon area during and before the Base was constructed? “Yes,” he thought, there could have been that many.

While investigating BIA census records for Native villages in Alaska, a letter was found that was written November 1, 1938 from this same man to Charles W. Hawkesworth, Assistant to the Director of the Office of Indian Affairs, in Juneau, Alaska. He was reporting to Hawkesworth the census he made of Native people living in Naknek that fall. Attention is drawn here to the Oct. 31, 1938 census that he made of Naknek Natives. He enumerated Paul Chukan and “Trefem (sic.) Angasan” (b.1894) plus his son “Trefem (sic.) Angasan” (b.1910). He enumerated only fourteen Native people, none with less than one-half “degree of Native blood.” One of the perceptions of Caucasian men seems to have been that people who were less than one-half Native in ancestry were not Native. This perception resulted, perhaps, in the undercounting of Native people based on present standards for establishing Alaska Native identity.⁹ The next interview with a Caucasian eyewitness strengthens this assertion.

Caucasian eyewitness #3 was born “Outside” in 1917. He joined the military when World War II broke out, went to Cadet school and became a navigator on B-24s during the War, serving in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. He moved to Fairbanks, Alaska, when he was 28 years old (around 1945). He came to work in King Salmon for Pacific Northern Air in 1945 at the Naknek Army Air Base, later called the King Salmon Air Base. His job was to meet planes, unload and load them. The planes would pick up fishermen, among other cargo, as the region became popular for sportsmen. He married an Athabascan woman and their children are enrolled today in a Regional Native Corporation.

He said that “a Native man” had a cabin on Paul's Creek, three miles up the creek, and it is still there. Unlike Caucasian eyewitness #1, he said there were cabins that he saw on Smelt Creek, built in the 1920s and 1930s, but he didn't say who lived in them. There were also old reindeer corrals near Smelt Creek, which are still there. He said there were reindeer being herded in the area until the 1940s, as best he could remember: “There were still a couple (Native) guys being paid to be herders when I came in 1945.”

He noted that “old-timers lived about every mile” along the Naknek River and other creeks when he arrived in 1945. They would commercially fish during the summer, work on their own set-nets along the shore, then come “up river” to King Salmon (from North and South Naknek) in the winter. Many made home-brew during the winter. In his memory, these were “all white guys.” A few white men trapped in the winter, but not as a “profession.” Primarily it was Native people who trapped.

During World War II, he said, there were about 10,000 soldiers living in King Salmon. He said that after the war there were six

⁹ It should also be noted that this eyewitness incorrectly gives the birthdate of Paul Chukan as 1904, at “Koggiung” in his census report (a Yup'ik term for Koggiung is *Qertungayagmiut* (Abalama 1990)). However, the Russian Orthodox Church records give a birthdate of June 5, 1901 for Paul Chukan, which was the year of birth he provided to me in 1978 when I interviewed him regarding another issue. Paul told me, also, that he was born in Naknek.



Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) houses there. There were also Quonset huts that housed 22 soldiers and a lieutenant. There was a mess hall for meals and an observation tower. Six Alaska Communication System employees lived on base, too.

He thought that beginning around 1900 Native people moved in to be near canneries at Naknek in the summer. Natives and non-Natives lived together, creating mixed-blood families. "It was hard to tell who was Native until Allotments began and the 1971 Settlement Act," he noted. Then "a lot of people 'became Native' after that. It was popular to be Native, then." There were Chinese fishermen on sail ships owned by the canneries as well as Italians and Filipinos, he noted. Everyone was "mixed together."

He said there were "no Native people at King Salmon" when he arrived. Native people lived, he thought, at Naknek, at the canneries "down there": at Alaska Packers, Columbia Ward Fisheries and Libby's cannery (at Naknek). "There was not much here (at King Salmon) during the winter." He did note, though, that Native people trapped in the King Salmon area in the winter.

Although he said the "old-timers" living along the creeks in 1945 were "all white guys," he failed to mention that many had married Native women, resulting in mixed-blood offspring. It seems to me that in his view if a father was a Caucasian so were his children even if their mother was a Native woman. He did not perceive "Natives" to be in the King Salmon area when he arrived in 1945. This is not a "fact" at all but is his perception that "everyone was mixed in with everyone else." Being "mixed in" meant, to him, that there "weren't any Natives here."

This statement overlooks his comment regarding the presence of Native reindeer herders in the area, around Smelt Creek south of King Salmon. An "Application For Grazing Permit Or Lease" was discovered in Federal Archives (Anchorage) for that area submitted in 1932 by several Native men. Some were Katmai Descendants and included Trefon Angasan (b.1910) as well as one of the Olympic brothers. The Angasan and Olympic families were not only intermarried, they had become business partners in the 1930s.

Contrary to these Caucasian eyewitness accounts, Native people said that Native women, their Caucasian husbands and offspring, lived in cabins or barabaras in the King Salmon area year-round and during the winter trapping season in the early 20th century. For example, the mixed-blood Native grandson (now living in Port Heiden) of one of the King Salmon area Scandinavian men — known locally as "Dirty Nick" — said that the construction of the Air Base in 1942 would have driven away Native people until after the war ended. "Dirty Nick" lived at Smelt Creek (sometimes in a barabara there) and at Eskimo Creek in a cabin with his Eskimo wife, Massa, the latter woman having a full-blood Native daughter from a previous marriage. "Dirty Nick" made moonshine liquor in the 1920s and 1930s during the winter at Smelt Creek, according to his grandson. He sold it during the summer from his cabin on Eskimo Creek as it

exits into the Naknek River in the heart of present-day King Salmon town (cf. Figure 2). "Eskimo Creek" perhaps received its name because his wife, Massa, was a (Yup'ik) Eskimo woman from further north. Massa's descendants still live in King Salmon and are enrolled in the King Salmon Village Council. Her full-blood (Eskimo) daughter, Olga, could skin beaver better than anyone according to Olga's (second) Caucasian husband, an ex-soldier who outlived her and resides in Naknek.

THE KATMAI DESCENDENTS

In order to provide other researchers with the data upon which my conclusions have been reached, Table 1 presents names of the 1998 enrollees in King Salmon Traditional Council. Table 2 identifies their ancestors.

CONCLUSIONS

Each piece of applied ethnohistorical information must be interrogated by other pieces in a holistic manner. In the present research, information was examined and interrogated from the archaeological record, linguistics, mate selection practices, explorer journals, interviews with non-Natives and Natives, archival records, genealogical charts and on-site inspection. Applied anthropological research on behalf of Native people can contribute to basic anthropological knowledge in understanding complex historical situations precisely because such research includes the views of the Natives affected by the research. This paper identifies an indigenous name for the confluence of King Salmon Creek and the Naknek River, makes public the indigenous name of New Savonoski that was present in Russian Orthodox Church records and unpublished ANCSA interviews, and alerts researchers of this area to be aware of whether a Native place name derives from the local inhabitants or from outsiders. The mate selection information suggests how subsistence practices of indigenous people with bilateral kinship make use of marriage as a means to use others' land. That is, a study of subsistence practices should not focus exclusively on technology, group size and the availability of resources as if "optimum foraging strategy" (or any other approach to these questions) is a mechanistic process unrelated to choices that individuals could and did make which enhance and territorially expand subsistence success. Also, current interest in "discourse analysis" should not render obsolete the necessity for training in how to conduct genealogical research. Interpreting discourse requires knowing the place of the speaker in the social fabric.

There was a Native presence in the King Salmon area prior to and up to 1936, and the subsequent war years. This presence was dramatically decreased after roads, jeeps, military planes and barracks flooded the land after 1942, forcing Natives to move until the war ended. Katmai Descendants from Old Savonoski, who provide leadership for the King Salmon Traditional Village Council,



Table 1: Descendants of King Salmon area pre-1936 Native inhabitants who were enrolled in King Salmon Village in 1998

	Member ID	Last Name	First Name	"Blood Quantum"
1.	?	Melgenak	Ted	4/4 Aleut
2.**	KS-93-002	Angasan	Clara	1/2 Aleut
(Married to Ralph Angasan, Sr., but is not herself a direct descendant)				
3.	KS-93-003	Angasan	Ralph, Sr.	3/4 Aleut
4.	KS-93-004	Angasan	Alexander L.	9/16 Aleut-Eskimo
5.	KS-93-009	Angasan	Ralph, Jr.	1/2 Aleut
6.	KS-93-010	Angasan	Brenda Elane	9/16 Aleut-Eskimo
7.	KS-93-011	Angasan	Ruth Ann	1/2 Aleut
8.	KS-93-014	Angasan	Peter Louis, Jr.	9/16 Aleut-Eskimo
9.	KS-93-015	Angasan	Peter Louis, Sr.	1/2 Aleut
10.	KS-93-024	Williams	Bertha Alzenia	1/2 Aleut
11.	KS-93-025	Williams	James	1/2 Aleut
12.	KS-93-026	Williams	R.A.	1/8 Aleut
13.	KS-93-028	Williams	Karl Andrew	1/8 Aleut
14.	KS-93-029	Williams	Allen Andrew	1/16 Aleut
15.	KS-93-031	Olsen-Angasan	Trygve M.	5/8 Aleut-Athabaskan
16.	KS-93-033	Angasan	Steve Kie	3/4 Aleut-Eskimo
17.	KS-93-034	Angasan	Ralph	5/8 Aleut-Athabaskan
18.	KS-93-035	Vaag-Angasan	Joni K.	1/2 Aleut
19.**	KS-93-037	Swain	Sean	1/16 Aleut
20.**	KS-93-038	Swain	Marlene	1/8 Aleut
21.**	KS-93-039	Swain	Michael	1/16 Aleut
22.	KS-93-049	Caruso	Christi Rose	1/4 Aleut-Eskimo
23.	KS-93-050	Caruso	Misti Jean	1/4 Aleut-Eskimo
24.	KS-93-051	Caruso	Peter John	1/4 Aleut-Eskimo
25.	KS-93-055	Jones	Sandra	1/2 Aleut
26.	KS-93-056	Jones	Thomas E.	1/4 Aleut
27.	KS-93-057	Jones	Davis E.	1/4 Aleut
28.	KS-93-058	Monsen	Roland	1/4 Aleut
29.	KS-93-059	Monsen	Roland Earl	1/4 Aleut
30.	KS-93-060	Monsen	Rnnita E.	1/4 Aleut
31.**	KS-93-061	Neilsen-Monsen	Ruth	1/4 Aleut
Not a direct descendant, but was married to paul Monsen (b. 1923) who had a cabin on Paul's Creek.				
32.	?	Angasan	Eddie	1/2 Aleut?
33.	?	Angasan	Alma (Willson)	?
34.	?	Willson	Floyd	?
35.	?	Willson	Miquela	?
** Indicates non-direct descendant, but married to a direct descendant OR someone whose relationship to pre-1936 King Salmon inhabitants was unclear.				
Note: Genealogical information was presented in kinship chart form in my report.				



Table 2: Ancestors of the King Salmon Traditional Council enrollees from among the pre-1936 inhabitants of the King Salmon area:

Enrollee:	Descended from:
(1) Ted Melgenak	Adopted son of Pelageia and One Arm Nick Melgenak. Ted had a barabara at mouth of King Salmon Creek.
(12) Individuals with Angasan Last Name	From Trefon Angasan
(1)(Clara (Neilsen) Angasan	Not a direct descendant but is married to Ralph Angasan, Sr.).
(5) Individuals with Williams Last Name	From Annie Gottschalk
(1) Sandra Jones	Sandra (Kihle) Jones is the daughter of Olga (Christiansen) Kihle (later became Olga Malone via marriage).
(2) Thomas E. Jones & Davis E. Jones	Sons of Sandra (Kihle) Jones.
(3) Individuals with Caruso Last Name	Cousins to Alma Willson who is a great granddaughter of Nick Olympic, a brother of Evon and Pete Olympic. All three Olympic brothers had residences in the King Salmon Area. Nick Olympic had a home at a small village called "Igyak" (or Igiagak) at the mouth of the Naknek River as it exits Naknek Lake. Alma Willson is married to Mark "Eddie" Angasan, son of Ralph Angasan, Sr. and grandson of Trefon Angasan.
(1) Alma (Willson) Angasan	Great granddaughter of Nick Olympic and wife of Mark "Eddie" Angasan, in King Salmon.
(1)Floyd Willson	Son of Alma (Willson) Angasan who is married to Mark "Eddie" Angasan of King Salmon.
(1) Miquela	Daughter of Floyd Willson, grand-daughter of Alma Willson.
(2) Hans Monsen & Rennita Monsen	Children of Roland Monsen, and grandson & granddaughter of Paul Monsen.
(1)Roland Earl Monsen	Son of Ruth Nielsen-Monsen and Paul Monsen.
(1) Ruth Nielsen-Monsen	Not a direct descendant but is related to one through marriage. She was married to Paul Monsen (b. 1923), a part-Aleut man who had a cabin on Paul's Creek, three miles up, and shared a cabin or barabara at Naknek Lake with his older (half)-brother, Johnny Monsen.
Total with clear King Salmon Area ancestor: 31; 2 through marriage	
THE SITUATION IS NOT AS CLEAR TO ME REGARDING:	
(2) Individuals with Swain Last Name	From Martha McGlashen, an Aleut woman married to Martin Monsen in early 1900s; Martha was the mother of Josie Monsen from whom the Swain group descend (Josie was married to Nick Wycoff, a Caucasian, who lived on American Creek which exits into Naknek Lake from the north, outside of what I call the King Salmon area).
Note: In my report, each ancestor was linked to a cabin or location in the area between Paul's Creek and Naknek Lake.	



attempted to obtain tribal status distinct from nearby Paugvik people because they descend from an ethnically distinct group, whose ancestors had a continuous use of the King Salmon area from time immemorial.¹⁰

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¹⁰ Notification of the "Federal recognition of the King Salmon Tribe" was received by King Salmon Village Council on December 29, 2000. Genealogical data were the most crucial information in the BIA decision.



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