CHAPTER 1: SEA OTTERS AND SCIENTISTS

1. R. Fisher, Bering’s Voyages, 126–129; R. Fisher “Finding America,” 4–12; Goldenberg, Gvozdev, 26, 64–66. Gvozdev had command in place of the navigator Gens (ill and left in port) and assistant navigator Fedorov (onboard but lacking the authority or strength to command) (Goldenberg, 54–57).


5. Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 917.


8. Ibid. It is believed that in modern times the sea cow lived only in the Kommandorski (Commander) Islands, of which Bering Island is the largest, and that the spectacled cormorant nested only on Bering Island. The Kommandorski Islands remained part of Russia following the land transfer in 1867.

13. Steller, *Journal of a Voyage*, 143–144, 146. When first encountered, the otters spent much of their time on land, ranging more than half a mile from shore.
18. Ibid.
40. Gideon, Around the World Voyage, 79.
42. Fedorova, Russian Population, 155.
44. Lensink, “History and Status of Sea Otters,” 12–15; Golovin, End of Russian America, 78–79.
56. Tansill, Canadian-American Relations, 282, 359.
70. S. Evans, Historical View, 89.
73. Exxon Valdez Oil Spill Trustees, Exxon Valdez Oil Spill Restoration, Vol. 1, 20.
CHAPTER 2: FUR SEAL’S FRIEND: HENRY W. ELLIOTT


2. A. Roppel, *Management of Northern Fur Seals*, 1. Toward the end of the 20th Century, breeding colonies also existed at Bogoslov Island west of Unalaska and on Sea Lion Rock west of Dall Island in the Southeast.


5. Busch, *War Against the Seals*, 4, 6, 10–11, 17–18, 36.


17. Ibid., 27–29.


20. Murray, *Vagabond Fleet*, 19, 24, 28, 156.


35. Gruening, State of Alaska, 68–70. In the November 1877 Harper’s, p. 802, Elliott asserted that Alaska “bids fair . . . never to be a treasure trove for the miner or the agriculturalist.”
36. Gruening, State of Alaska, 90–92, 516n33; Busch, War Against the Seals, 123–124.
37. Murray, Vagabond Fleet, 57.
41. Ibid., 336–337, 340, 345–347; F. Martin, Sea Bears, 121–127.
44. Townsend, “Condition of Seal Life,” 471.
45. Ibid., 470–471. Spears, better described as harpoons, could be 20 feet long (Robert DeArmond, letter to author, April 12, 2002).
47. Austin, Japanese Fur Sealing, 16–18.
48. Ibid., 18.
51. Murray, Vagabond Fleet, 32, 201–204, 207.
57. Busch, War Against the Seals, 154–157; Jordan, Matka and Kotik.
58. Morris, “Keeper of the Seal,” 1, 52, 77, 88, 102, 106–107, 126.
CHAPTER 3: WAKE OF THE WHALERS

1. Kushner, Conflict on the Northwest Coast, 82; Ray, Eskimos of Bering Strait, 198. According to Bodfish, Chasing the Bowhead, 89, the Superior and Ocmulgee entered the Arctic Ocean in the fog about the same time, and no one knew which got there first.
2. S. Evans, Historical View, 129; H. Collins, Clark, and Walker, Aleutian Islands, 29.
7. Ibid.; Dayvidov, Two Voyages, 225.
11. Ibid., 69–72.
22. S. Evans, Historical View, 140–46; ibid., 2–6.
33. Hegarty, Returns of Whaling Vessels, 23–43.
42. Governor of Alaska, Report of Governor to Secretary of Interior, 1920, 56.
44. R. Webb, On the Northwest, 236, 240–241, 244, 250–255.
47. R. Webb, On the Northwest, 247.
49. Ibid., 123, 125, 658, 665–671.
50. Scarff, “Historic Distribution of the Right Whale,” 51; Shelden et al., “Historical and Current Habitat Use by North Pacific Right Whales,” 130, 133.
53. Ibid., 139–154.
57. Gibson, Imperial Russia, 36.
58. Perry, World of the Walrus, 124.
60. Perry, World of the Walrus, 123–124.
74. S. Jackson, Report on Introduction of Reindeer, 1893, 5–7, 11–12. Anthropologist Dorothy Jean Ray (The Eskimos of Bering Strait, 200) argues that for the Bering Strait villages most reliant on walruses, including King Island, an adequate population of the animals remained despite the commercial slaughter.
76. Bockstoce, Whales, Ice and Men, 141; 35 Stat. 102, May 11, 1908.
78. Ibid., 188, 197–201.
80. Madsen, Arctic Trader, 205–212.
CHAPTER 4: JOHN MUIR AND THE LAND

giving Muir a deeper understanding of his own fears, a greater tolerance for others, and a feeling of responsibility that made him reluctant to lead others into dangerous places in the wild seeking adventure rather than spiritual fulfillment.


16. Ibid., 186.
17. Muir, Cruise of the Corwin, 162.
18. Muir, Story of My Boyhood, 69, 181; Mighetto, Muir Among the Animals, 192.
35. Walden, Dog-Puncher on the Yukon, 44–49.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Webb, Yukon Frontiers, 63.
39. Ibid., 75–76.
41. Ibid., 112–119, 132–137, 141.
42. Gruening, State of Alaska, 298.
43. Spence, Northern Gold Fleet, 2, 4, 92–93.
44. Baxter, Labaree, and Hildebrand, On and Off Alaskan Trails, 52–56.
45. Spence, Northern Gold Fleet, 9, 97–98.
50. Lutz, Aboriginal Man and White Man, 4, 6, 11, 26 (quotation), 41–42.
52. Lutz, Ecological Effects of Forest Fires, 13–14, 17–18.
53. Ibid., 14–16.
54. Oakes, Birch Creek, 3–4.
55. Davis, Energy/Alaska, 42–45.
57. Davis, Energy/Alaska, 44–45.
61. McNicholas, Alaska’s Agriculture and Forestry, 190–191.
62. Lutz, Ecological Effects of Forest Fires, 19, 80–82, 87, 91–95.
67. O. Miller, Frontier in Alaska and the Matanuska Colony, 192, 222.
68. Ibid., 207–210, 223–225.
71. Turner, Sierra Club, 44–45.
72. Cohen, History of Sierra Club, 1, 5–6; Fox, John Muir and His Legacy, 86–88; Bade, Life and Letters of John Muir, 394–395.
74. Wolfe, Son of the Wilderness, 270–275.
75. Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, 130, 134–136. Later in life (Breaking New Ground, 179), Pinchot acknowledged that “overgrazing does destroy the forest. . . . John Muir called [sheep] hoofed locusts, and he was right.”
78. Goetzmann and Sloan, Looking Far North: The Harriman Expedition, presents a fascinating account. See 207–212 for list of participants and 214–217 for list of publications.
79. Burroughs, George Bird Grinnell, xii–xvi.
80. Cohen, History of Sierra Club, 21–22; Cohen, Pathless Way, 324.
81. Turner, Sierra Club, 63.
82. Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 663.
CHAPTER 5: THE BOONE AND CROCKETT CLUB

1. Burroughs, George Bird Grinnell, xix–xxv.
5. R. Evans, George Bird Grinnell, 5–10.
8. Reiger, American Sportsmen, 118–121, 142–151. Thomas R. Dunlap (“Sport Hunting and Conservation, 1880–1920,” 54–58) interprets the Boone and Crockett name as symbolic of manly pioneer virtues. He sees sport hunting as a ritual, appealing at the turn of the century primarily to men of Anglo-Saxon origin, affirming ties to the pre-industrial and pre-urban past.
11. Trefethen, Crusade for Wildlife, 65–66; Trefethen, An American Crusade, 123; Grinnell, Brief History of Boone and Crockett, 8, 23–25; President Benjamin Harrison, Proclamation Nos. 343, 343A, December 24, 1892.
12. Cart, “Struggle for Wildlife Protection,” 111–112. The Pribilof Islands, declared a preserve by Congress in 1869, are sometimes said to be the first federal wildlife refuge.
15. Trefethen, Crusade for Wildlife, 327.
18. Ibid., 6–9, 16, 19–22.
19. Ibid., 22–24, 45–47.
23. Ibid., 523.
27. Spiro, “Patrician Racist,” vii–ix, 116–122. Spiro provides a full treatment of Grant’s work regarding race, as well as the most complete available coverage of his conservation work.
44. Townsend, “Pribilof Seal Herd,” 569.
CHAPTER 6: CHARLES SHELDON AND MT. MCKINLEY NATIONAL PARK

1. C. Sheldon, Wilderness of Denali, 8–9.
2. Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 610.
3. Moore, Mt. McKinley: The Pioneer Climbs, 1, 4–5, 9. Other names for the mountain: Doleyka, Traleyka, and Bulshaia Gora (Russian for “Great Mountain”).
4. Ibid., 9–10, 14, 17.
6. Ibid., 19–23.
CHAPTER 7: ROBERT F. GRIGGS AND KATMAI NATIONAL MONUMENT

34. Ibid., 230–231.
38. Ibid., 51–52, 55–64, 72–73, 77, 80.
39. Ibid., 68.
CHAPTER 8: JOHN MUIR, WILLIAM S. COOPER, AND GLACIER BAY NATIONAL MONUMENT

19. Catton, *Land Reborn*, 51–54; President Calvin Coolidge, Executive Order No. 3983, April 1, 1924.
27. Ibid., 89; Rossman, “Geology and Ore Deposits,” 37.
Notes to pages 186–199

34. B. Black, “History of Glacier Bay,” 77–78, 77 (quotation); Bohn, *Glacier Bay*, 104.
40. Ibid., 164, 168–170.
42. Cooper, “Remarks at Dedication of Lodge.”
44. Lawrence, “Memorial to William S. Cooper.”

Chapter 9: Natives: The First Environmentalists?

10. Ibid., 220.
11. Ibid., 221–222.
17. Eskimoan peoples are culturally, linguistically, and genetically related groups who live in Arctic Canada, Greenland, Siberia, and Alaska and in parts of subarctic Alaska. Canadian and Greenland Eskimos refer to themselves as Inuit. The sub-group Inupiat are found in Alaska mostly north of the Bering Strait and include Nunamiut in the interior. Yupik, or Yup’ik, live in eastern Siberia and in Alaska generally south of Bering Strait to the Kuskokwim Delta, Kodiak Island (Koniag Alutiiq), and Prince William Sound (Chugach Alutiiq). Aleuts, living in the Aleutians and on the western Alaska Peninsula, are not considered Eskimoan. Subgroups of Athabaskan Indians live in the interior and Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian Indians in coastal Southeast Alaska. The term “Eskimo” is commonly, and incorrectly according to some philologists, believed to be an Athabaskan term meaning “eaters of raw meat.” On the assumption that the term is pejorative, attempts have been made to substitute “Inuit” for “Eskimo.” The proposed change is not in common use in Alaska. Alaskan Eskimos normally refer to themselves as members of their cultural or geographical subgroups; e.g., Inupiat, Yup’ik, Koniag, Chugach, or Alutiiq. Collectively, Native Americans in Alaska identify themselves as Alaska Natives. (See Borneman, Alaska, 19–26; http://www.Dictionary.LaborLawTalk.com.)

24. Lutz, Aboriginal Man and White Man, 4, 6 (quotation), 11, 26, 41–42.
27. Sherwood, Big Game in Alaska, 108.
34. Ibid., 9–10, 23, 28–29; Ross, Environmental Conflict, 85–87.
8. Ibid., 85.
9. Ibid., 87.
10. Ibid., 75, 116, 137.
23. Ibid., 145, 147, 151, 306.
CHAPTER 11: ALASKAN WILDLIFE MANAGERS

1. 43 Stat. 739, January 13, 1925.
8. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 9.
33. Ibid., 4, 6.
34. East, “Threat to Alaska Bears,” 17.
38. Ibid., 14, 51; James G. King, interview by author, February 14, 1988.
CHAPTER 12: GRIZZLY BEARS IN POLITICS

3. Golovin, End of Russian America, 80.
5. Rearden, “Brownie,” 35; Osgood, Biological Reconnaissance, 42.
6. Radclyffe, Big Game Shooting, 33.
7. Thomas, Trails and Tramps, 75.
8. O. Murie, Fauna of the Aleutian Islands, 269.
9. Cane, Summer and Fall, 72, 75, 137.
12. Ibid., 79–83; Sheldon, untitled interview by sporting writer.
18. A. Brooks, Blazing Alaska’s Trails, 74–75.
NOTES TO PAGES 266–276

20. Ibid., 1916, 62.
23. A. Bailey, Notes on Game Conditions, 16.
27. Hornaday, Thirty Years War, 221–222.
28. Senate Special Committee on Wildlife Resources, Brown Bear, 46.
29. Report of Governor to Secretary of Interior, 1929, 60; Sherwood, Big Game in Alaska, 53–55.
30. Hornaday, Thirty Years War, 222.
34. Senate Special Committee on Wildlife Resources, Brown Bear, 1, 29; S.E. White, “An Emergency,” 5, 213.
39. Ibid., 74, 79–83; President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Proclamation No. 2330, April 18, 1939.
55. McKnight, History of Predator Control, 7.
CHAPTER 13: FRONTIER JUSTICE: PREDATOR CONTROL

1. 43 Stat. 739, January 13, 1925.
12. A. Bailey, Notes on Game Conditions, 7.
18. Ibid., 3–5.
29. Ibid., 11–12.
30. Ibid., 18, 22, 32–33, 37.
33. Ibid., 245, 249–251; Crisler, *Arctic Wild*.
42. Ibid., 133, 153–154 (quotation).
44. Green, “Predator Control Problems,” 7, 9–11.
63. Ibid., 1956–57, 29.
70. Ibid., 52, 54, 112.
75. Ibid., 13–15, 19.
77. Imler and Sarber, *Harbor Seals and Sea Lions in Alaska*, 1, 3–5.
78. Lensink, “Predator Control,” 91–94.
84. E. Bailey, *Introduction of Foxes*, 4–5, 8–12, 17, 22.
85. Ibid., 9–12.
Notes to pages 306–319

100. R. Jones and Byrd, “Interrelations Between Seabirds and Introduced Animals,” 221–224.
102. R. Jones and Byrd, “Interrelations Between Seabirds and Introduced Animals,” 222.
104. A. Bailey, *Notes on Game Conditions*, 5, 16, 27.
108. Ibid., 14–15.

Chapter 14: Game and Fur Mammals

6. O. Murie, *Alaska-Yukon Caribou*, 6. Murie’s method, visual observation from the ground, was primitive and his count probably high.
18. Ibid., 1894, 10–16.
19. Ibid., 16–18.
22. Ray, Ethnobiology in the Arctic, 126–129.
25. Stern et al., Eskimos, Reindeer and Land, 29–44.
29. Stern et al., Eskimos, Reindeer and Land, 47, 49–52.
31. Ibid., 34–35.
34. Lantis, “Reindeer Industry,” 35–38.
35. O. Miller, Frontier in Alaska and Matanuska Colony, 192.
43. Scotter, “Reindeer Industry,” 57–60. Accounts of the trek vary as to numbers of reindeer and other details.
47. Hone, *Present Status of Muskox*, 7; Hornaday, “Musk Ox in Alaska,” 754; J. Allen, “Probable Recent Occurrence of the Musk-Ox,” 720. There is some inconsistency among the reports. That attributed to Brower appears the most accurate except for identifying the site as southeast of Barrow rather than Wainwright.
49. J. Allen, “Musk-Oxen of Arctic America,” 84–86.
55. Burris and McKnight, *Game Transplants*, 6–29; Franzmann, *Review of Alaskan Translocations; Courtright, Alaska Big Game Harvest Data*.
63. Ibid., 6–10.
64. L. Black, *Russians in Alaska*, 266.
65. Ibid., 65, 69; Golovin, *End of Russian America*, 80.
Notes to pages 344–359

84. Ibid., 60–62, 70.
85. Ibid., 68.

CHAPTER 15: JOURNEY OF THE SALMON

9. Ibid., 309, 312, 314.
22. Ibid., 98–99.
24. Ibid., 43–44.
44. Ibid., 21–23, 265–275.
49. S.E. White, “Kidding Ourselves Along,” 17, 173.
55. S. Evans, *Historical View*, 307, 324.
59. Scudder, Alaska Salmon Trap, 1–6, 8–10, 16.
63. S. Evans, Historical View, 336–337.
66. Scudder, Alaska Salmon Trap, 23.
69. Committee for Protection of North Pacific Fisheries, Japan’s High Seas Salmon Fishery, 3.
71. Ibid., 43–46.
75. Committee for the Protection of North Pacific Fisheries, Japan’s High Seas Salmon Fishery, 4–8, 11–12, 15, 19–20.
76. U.S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, International North Pacific Fisheries Convention, 10–11.
83. Ibid., 6.
84. Crutchfield and Pontecorvo, Pacific Salmon Fisheries, 58.

CHAPTER 16: GOLD AND OIL ON THE KENAI

2. Bennett, Report on Reconnaissance, 43–45.
7. M. Barry, *History of Mining*, 6, 47–50, 103, 107; Bennett, *Report on Reconnaissance*, 44. The date of the first Russian gold discovery is commonly cited (e.g., Fedorova) as 1850 or 1851.
9. Penick, *Progressive Politics*, 78–83. Kennecott Copper Company and the Kennecott mines derived their names from Western Union expedition leader Robert Kennicott; the company changed the spelling for taxation reasons. The town and glacier retained the original spelling. (Sally Gilbert, secy., Friends of Kennicott, letter to author, August 1, 1991.)
11. Ibid., 79–86.
12. Ibid., 20–21, 24, 26.
28. Stone quoted in J. Allen, “Description of a New Caribou,” 148; Lutz, *History of Early Occurrence of Moose*, 2. Lutz refuted the popular theories that moose had only recently arrived on the Kenai and that fire as opposed to hunting was the prime cause of the caribou removal.
29. Cane, *Summer and Fall*, 171.
36. Ibid., 1915, 4–5; Bennett, *Report on Reconnaissance*, 118–121.
42. Moffitt, “Petroleum on West Shore,” 135–137.
46. Ibid., 9–10.
47. Roderick, *Crude Dreams*, 73–77. Coincidence of the Wester negotiations and leasing by Jacobs, and the deals between Richfield and the Anchorage group, suggested collusion, which would violate federal law. Postman (“City Leaders,” 10–11) concluded that Richfield needed the group’s political backing to get preferential access to oil leasing on the Kenai. According to Roderick (76–77), Jacobs denied any such collusion and pointed out that only one member of the business group had agreed to the January leases. In a 1990 interview, Robert Atwood acknowledged that his group of fourteen had acted as leaseholders for Arco but claimed they had no prior ties to the company and only wanted someone to drill a well to advance economic development in Alaska. Of the oil companies they approached, only Arco showed interest. Arco insisted on paying some of the group’s leasing expenses, amounting to about half. When Arco eventually struck oil on the group’s leased lands, it paid them royalties. Atwood denied ever having heard the name “Spit and Argue Club.” (See Neiswonger, “Robert Atwood,” 43–45.) Postman (10–11) quoted former Arco geologist Ray Arnett as saying that Arco sought out the leaseholders to supplement its leased lands, and “[w]e were asking them to go in there and lease that land. . . . We kind of gathered those people together.” Arnett stated that Jacobs had acted for Richfield: “We got Locke started. I wanted somebody who could follow the lease activity in Alaska. . . . We paid him a certain amount of money and Locke was capable of doing the job.”
52. Roderick, *Crude Dreams*, 78.
CHAPTER 17: BOB MARSHALL, OLAUS AND MARGARET MURIE, AND THE ARCTIC REFUGE


6. Ibid., 217.


17. Ibid., 49–50; O. Miller, *Frontier in Alaska*, 164–175.
22. Ibid., 133–138.
40. Breton, *Women Pioneers*, 260–263.
43. Collins and Sumner, “Northeast Arctic,” 20; Leffingwell, Canning River Region, 62–63.
49. D.S. Miller, Midnight Wilderness, 12.
58. M. Murie, “Return to the Sheenjek,” 5; Nelson, Northern Landscapes, 45; Naske, “Creation of Arctic National Wildlife Range,” 103, 105. Dr. Brina Kessel of the University of Alaska, as well as Bob Krear and George Schaller, accompanied the Muries.
64. House Subcom. on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation, Hearings, 139, 157, 164, 171–173, 177, 179.
68. Alaska Conservation Society News Bulletin, March 1960, 3; May 1960, 10; August 1960, 1–4; November 1960, 3–4. Rivers explained that he met so much opposition he let the bill pass the House, assuming it would be easier to stop in the Senate (Kaye, Last Great Wilderness, 255n6).