1. Name of Property

Historic name: Kukak Cannery Archaeological Historic District

Other names/site number: Hemrich Packing Co, Seashore Packing Co, Pioneer Packing Co, Surf Canneries, and Mainland Fisheries, AHR Site No. XMK-00060

2. Location

Street & number: Katmai National Park and Preserve

Not for publication: N/A

City or town: Kukak Bay

State: Alaska Code: AK County: Lake and Peninsula Code: 164

Zip code: 99653
3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this □ nomination □ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property □ meets □ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally □ statewide □ locally. (□ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[Signature] ________________________________ Date 1/30/05

[Signature] ________________________________ Date Jan. 27, 2003

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

□ entered in the National Register
□ determined eligible for the National Register
□ determined not eligible for the National Register
□ removed from the National Register

□ other (explain):

[Signature] ________________________________ Date 4/7/03

[Signature] ________________________________ Date of Action
3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this ___ property be considered significant ___ nationally ___ statewide ___ locally. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[Signature and date]

National Park Service
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

[Signature and date]

State or Federal agency and bureau
5. Classification

Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)

_ private
_ public-local
_ public-State
X public-Federal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

_ building(s)
X district
_ site
_ structure
_ object

Number of Resources within Property

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Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A
6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)
   Cat: Industry Sub: Extractive facility and processing site

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)
   Cat: Vacant/ not in use Sub: ________________

7. Description

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)
   No style

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)
   foundation ____________
   roof ________________
   walls ________________
   other ________________

Narrative Description

Environmental Setting

The Kukak Bay Cannery historical archeological district is located on the east side of the Alaska Peninsula, tucked in a glacially carved fjord, characteristic of Katmai National Park and Preserve’s coastline. The original cannery faced west, toward the Alaska Peninsula, providing those working at the facility with a panoramic view of the Aleutian Range. On most days, however, the view was concealed by Pacific storms, which caused episodes of fog and rain that could last for days.¹ The deep harbor fronting Kukak cradled the cannery from the gale force winds and provided fishing vessels working the treacherous Shelikof Strait a safe port.

Today’s park rangers describe the surrounding environment as “almost tropical...comparable to the impenetrability of South American rain forests.”² Dense alders, willows, and devils club cover the site. Spruce stands are sparse on the Alaska Peninsula, and none would have provided suitable lumber to build a cannery. Besides being heavily vegetated, the landscape surrounding Kukak is rugged. Rolling hills on both sides of Kukak Bay limited possible building sites. Even though canners eventually chose the current location, the property is less than ideal. Three specific hills naturally form the boundaries of the Kukak district: the North Hill, South Hill and East Hill. The North Hill protected the cannery from violent winds blowing off the Shelikof Strait; the South Hill supported the cannery water tanks, radio house, and a few residences; and a natural spring atop the smaller East Hill supplied the cannery with fresh water. Although some of the district’s

structures, such as the radio house and winterman’s house, radiated beyond the main complex, most building were tucked snuggly within the folds of the undulating hills. The three hills merge to form a drainage, which feeds a boggy meadow and makes movement through the district difficult. The spring flows towards the western shoreline, which drops into the waters of Cannery Passage. Pressed between the hillside and the bay is a small crescent-shaped beach littered with numerous boulders. The only beach smooth enough to provide skiff or float plane access is located on the northeast end of the district’s boundary, on the direct opposite end of the property.

Historic Period of Use

In 1922, the Hemrich Packing Company of Aberdeen, Washington began building Kukak Cannery to can razor clams. Between 1923 and 1949, the Kukak Cannery operated under several different companies. After only the second year of operation, the Hemrich Packing Company leased Kukak to Seashore Packing Company, which processed clams in 1925, 1926, 1927, and 1929. In 1932 Hemrich Packing leased Kukak to the Pioneer Canneries, Inc. Then, in 1933 and 1934 Kukak remained idle. In 1935 Kukak reopened under Surf Canneries, but despite the promise of a successful season, bad luck struck the cannery, and in 1936 most of Kukak’s cannery structures burned to the ground.

Kukak briefly saw new life in 1947. Mainland Fisheries moved its operation from Swikshak Beach to Kukak Bay, where the new company replaced the old cannery with a 40’ x 100’ Quonset hut, rebuilt the loading dock, and rehabilitated the scorched mess hall, store, supply buildings and bunkhouses. Kukak ceased operation in 1949, and in 1951 Mainland Fisheries went into receivership.

In 1931, a presidential proclamation by President Hoover expanded the boundaries of Katmai National Monument and placed the cannery site under the jurisdiction of National Park Service. Between 1949, when the last operator abandoned the Kukak cannery, and 1980, when Alaska National Lands Interest Conservation Act (ANLICA) designated the surrounding coastal area wilderness, the Katmai coastline saw little activity. Thus, the environment encompassing the cannery site remains relatively unchanged today.

Historic Appearance of the Kukak Cannery Complex

1923-1936

Narrow walls of a small drainage constrained the main cannery buildings, forcing canners to construct the cannery complex in a linear design. From the wharf, the complex extended east, where ground was more stable. But even inland, most of the buildings were constructed atop piling, which elevated the structures above the boggy meadow.

The original Kukak plant consisted of two main cannery buildings, warehouses, mess house, cabins, bunkhouses, machine shop, repair shop, electric power plant, wireless station, deep-water docks, and two stores. The canning equipment, assembled in Aberdeen by the company’s “own designs,” consisted of scalding machines, belt conveyors, washing tanks, and sinks, hoppers, grinding machines, filling machines, crimping machines, exhaust boxes, sealing machines, and stacking machines. In addition to clams, Kukak also processed salmon. Although salmon was considered the major catch by neighboring fisheries such as Bristol Bay and
Kodiak, according to Elmer Hemrich, Kukak's manager, "the primary business of the Hemrich Packing Company is the packing and marketing of canned ocean clams." Kukak's industrial architecture was typical of most canneries erected in Alaska in the late nineteenth century. Carpenters constructed buildings with a tongue and groove rustic siding, which prevented structural damage from freezing water and fire. They also employed a structural feature called a corbel, which braced the timber posts. This "Y" shaped prop allowed the cannery to support considerable weight. Roofs were constructed with corrugated tin and built at a sharp angle to prevent snow from piling in the winter. Numerous small-pained windows lighted interiors. Most original buildings were constructed with spruce. A sawmill was shipped north from Aberdeen and was used to cut lumber logged presumably on Kodiak Island.

A boardwalk extended 165' to the store, and then angled to the bunkhouse area for an extended 119'. Another boardwalk connected the cannery boardwalk to the north beach, which cannery workers called "Back Bay." The boardwalk was another distinctive feature of cannery architecture. At Kukak, the sidewalk like passage was constructed with lumber planks and connected cannery buildings for the easy movement by people and small vehicles. During processing, the boardwalk became the center of life at the cannery complex. In 1925, activity buzzed along what employees named "Main Street Kukak Bay." Workers pushed handcarts, women hung laundry, the mess hall gang gathered for smokes and cups of coffee, the superintendent conferred with fishermen, kittens curled in the sun, kids ran back and forth, machinists, carpenters, and plumbers constantly maintained faulty stoves, broken planks, and busted pipes, and at the end of the day, cannery workers dragged themselves from wharf to their bunkhouses and to their awaiting beds.

Processing took place on the wharf. Built on pilings, a pier protruded over the harbor and supported the cannery, warehouse, and the "China House." Kukak had a 50' x 80' back dock with 24' x 36' oil dock, both constructed with native spruce. The cannery was a 28' x 80' plain, technically simple 2-story building. Razor clams were delivered, processed and canned on the first floor. The second floor held the can loft where the tins were prepared for canning. Water tanks, or elevated water reservoirs, were built on the south hill to give water pressure in the cannery water mains. The warehouse was a 28' x 120' frame construction that stored boats, skiffs, nets, and machinery in the winter. During the summer, cooked cans were stacked and placed in the warehouse to air-cool. This was probably where cannery workers applied labels to the cans. "The China House" on the Hemrich Packing Co map, a 14' x 40' native spruce bunkhouse offered sleeping accommodation presumably to Chinese or Non-white labor. The building, which was traditionally typically bare and very overcrowded, may have included cooking and eating facilities.

Located behind the processing buildings were the maintenance buildings. This was where the skilled labor, such as the boiler man, carpenters, and blacksmiths worked to maintain Kukak's processing operation. At Kukak,

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5 It is unclear where the lumber for Kukak came from. According to Hemrich’s cannery plans, the buildings were constructed with ‘native spruce’. The environment surrounding Kukak maintain few areas where spruce grow. There is a small spot in Hallo Bay and one near Swikshak. Neither, however, could yield the lumber for a cannery. The best educated guess suggests that the timber was cut from Sitka Spruce forests on Afognak and shipped to Kukak where the trees were cut into lumber.
6 Retired cannery superintendents, Carl Asplund and Gary Johnson in questionnaires and interviews, described information concerning building functions.
steam engines drove the line shafts, which drove the canning machines. The boiler room was a 20' x 30' native spruce building where steam driven generators provided power to the cannery machines and electric lights to the cannery. Near the location of the original boiler room was a coal bunker. The original Kukak cannery used coal; it then transferred to oil in the 1930's to fuel the generators. Just behind the boiler room was the tank house, a 12' x 12' native spruce building that housed the petroleum products such as gasoline tanks, diesel tanks, heating oils, etc. Maintained normally by the boiler man, tanks were also used as a dispensing area for petroleum products. The carpenter shop was a 14' x 28' native spruce building, which housed wood working machinery. This was where all the wood was worked, skiffs repaired, and boats built. Before the electric weld, all welding was done by metal fusion. A blacksmith formed iron and steel in a forge. The blacksmith's shop or machine shop housed metal lathes, drills, press shapers, power hacksaws and grinding wheels. A tool house was also built at Kukak. This was a 12' x 12' native spruce building which presumably contained shovels, wheel barrows, peeves, Swede hooks, timer tongs and hooks, picaroons (a device to handle lumber), adzes, axes, single and double blades, crow bars, Jacks hydraulic and screw type, top mauls, sledge hammers and miscellaneous small tools.

The cannery and office crews ate communally in a mess hall or cookhouse. Kukak's cookhouse was a 20' x 40' building made of native spruce and fir. Most cannery cookhouses consisted of a dining area, kitchen, bakeshop, and scullery (dish washing area). Before refrigeration came to Kukak, the cannery cook hung meats in a 10' x 14' native spruce, fly-screened building called the meat house. This allowed free air to blow through, thus coating a crust on the outside of the meat quarters. This preserved the meat and reduced the souring of meats caused by moisture. A 12' x 12' native spruce smokehouse was also utilized, possibly for smoking fish or meat (ham). Because meals were prepared well into early morning, the cook slept adjacent to the cookhouse. At Kukak the cook's quarters was a 14' x 14' native spruce building connected to the cookhouse.

Because there is no record of a main office, Kukak's management personnel (superintendent, bookkeeper etc), probably worked in the building designated cannery store. This was a 20' x 40' native spruce structure that provided some provisions, clothing, shoes, candy, soda pop, toiletries, tobacco products, other personal needs and gear to cannery workers, fishermen and clam diggers. Located next to the store was the store warehouse, a 14' x 30' native spruce building that supplied extra storage space for goods sold in the cannery store. Another important building to the management of Kukak was the radio house. This 12' x 20' native spruce building housed the radioman and his equipment. At Kukak the radio house was built presumably on the South Hill, away from the cannery, because static from the machines interfered with transmissions. This, however, is only a guess because survey crews never located the foundation.

Kukak's domestic housing consisted of bunkhouses for non-Chinese labor and individual houses for the superintendent, manager, night watchman, and winterman. Located behind the main cannery building were three 14' x 50' native spruce bunkhouses. The bunkhouses were bare, but once crews moved in, they scrounged for packing boxes, scrap lumber and whatever material they could find to build individual cubicles around each bunk. Men and women were separated. A wood stove provided heat to each bunk. Some canneries offered sleeping quarters for fishermen. Asian workers were separated from the rest of the cannery crew.

Kukak's superintendent lived in a 12' x 30' native spruce house, usually referred to as the White House in most canneries. The color of the house was usually white; the only building in a cannery complex painted that color, and therefore easy to distinguish among the conglomeration of buildings and boardwalks. The White House
refers not only to the distinct color, but the reputation of the superintendent. Highly respected, the superintendent was responsible for the success or failure of the season’s work. He was chosen for his ability to handle men and machines, for his knowledge of fishing and his ability with figures. The superintendent’s house was the only structure located on the North Hill, and had an unobstructed view of Kukak’s cannery and harbor. This allowed the superintendent to keep an eye on canning activities and the arrival and departure of vessels.

Hemrich’s House or The Manager’s House was located at the back east end of the cannery complex. This 14’ x 30’ native spruce house provided the living quarters for the manager and offered a place for guests to stay. The Watchman’s House (12’ x 14’ native spruce) and the Winter Man’s House (10’ x 24’ native spruce) were both built on the south hill. At night the cannery employed a watchman to make rounds at night to patrol for vandals, drunks, industrial espionage and saboteurs. They also hired a watchman to remain through the winter to make repairs and protect the cannery from fire or weather damage.

Kukak Cannery also utilized a lighthouse, described as a “fixed white light” by the 1924 Coast Pilot. It was constructed on the southern point of the narrow entrance to Kukak Bay to mark the mid-channel courses for vessels so that they avoided the dangerous northern shore. A Kukak tenderman recollected this structure in an article from Alaska Sportsman, “We saw a tiny lighthouse perched on its [Kukak Bay’s] rocky shore. Instantly we knew we were entering Kukak Bay.”

1936-1949

Of the original buildings constructed by the Hemrich Packing Company, eleven burned to the ground in 1936: The main cannery, China House, warehouse, boiler room, carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, tool house, smoke house, tank house, and both the back and oil docks. In 1947, Mainland fisheries began to rebuild Kukak. They replaced the burned cannery with a Quonset hut and revitalized the original bunkhouses, cookhouse, and store, and extended the manager’s house into another full sized bunkhouse. The exact number of structures that survived the fire remains unclear, for information provided by the archives and photographs is scant during this time. Thus, only an archeological excavation can determine post-fire additions.

It is interesting to note that Mainland chose a 40’ x 100’ Quonset hut to replace the burnt Kukak ruins, rather than reconstruct the typical cannery architecture. The Quonset was a half-circle, corrugated steel structure on arch ribs, with insulation between the steel exterior and a pressed wood interior wall. What was good for the U.S. Army seemed ideal for Mainland Fisheries. The Quonset hut design was uncomplicated, efficient, inexpensive, and easily transportable. These factors were significant to Mainland, a new company that had little experience in the clam canning business. After the war, the Army declared Quonset huts surplus. In Anchorage, where the post-war years saw a boom in population, the excess pre-fabricated structures served as temporary

8 United States Coast Pilot from Yakutat Bay to Arctic Ocean, 1924
9 Vincent, Leon S. The Mystic Makes a Water-Haul. Alaska Sportsman, August 1948. Pg. 10
10 The Quonset was placed on pilings, while the ends, or bulkheads, were wood with a door and two windows. The U.S. Naval Corps of Engineers at Quonset Point, Rhode Island invented the prefabricated structure in 1941 for military housing and service building during World War II. Following Pearl Harbor and the resulting military buildup, Army Corps of Engineers ordered 16,000 Quonsets to be sent to the Alaskan Territory. As the Pacific War inched closer to Alaska, the Quonset hut design proved ideal for the remote Aleutians.
housing. In 1947, the Alaska Railroad moved more than 120 huts for the Government Hill housing project. It is quite possible that Walter Fuhrer, president of Mainland Fisheries, found the Kukak Quonset hut at Government Hill and shipped the familiar corrugated structure to Kukak Bay in 1948.

Description of Kukak’s Clam Canning Operation

From the year Kukak was built (1923) to the year it burned (1936), Kukak was a self-contained, small industrial site where workers lived during an entire clam and salmon season, usually lasting from April until September. Razor clams, however, were not dug at the Kukak cannery site. Instead, clams were harvested from Swikshak Beach, a wide and sweeping beach located 20 miles north of the cannery. In 1924 the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries investigated razor clam resources in Alaska. Along with setting the minimum length limit for commercially dug clams at 4.5 inches, federal biologists declared that Swikshak was Alaska’s primary commercial clamming beach. Today, Alaska Department of Fish and Game biologists estimate that Alaska Peninsula commercial beaches like Swikshak may hold 6500 tons of razor clams.

Kukak Cannery managers transported workers, tin, cannery equipment, food, hardware and office supplies to Kukak Bay aboard steam ships contracted with the Alaska Steamship Company. The steamers were also used to transport the canned product to southern markets. According to the superintendent’s trip log, the steamers embarked in Seattle, maneuvered through the inside passage, stopped in Cordova, Kodiak, Kukak Bay, and returned to Seattle along the same route.

The clam season usually began in April before the first minus tide of May. Company tenders dropped off approximately 60-70 diggers at Swikshak where diggers expected to live and work until the razors spawned in July. The Swikshak Camp consisted of makeshift cabins or shacks, which sheltered diggers from Pacific storms. The company supplied food and cooking supplies while diggers supplied their personal work and sleeping gear. Diggers counted on 12-13 days of good tidal conditions, but for 9 days each month poor tides left diggers to their own devices. During this time men hiked, gambled, boxed, and at times drank. Although some diggers came from Kodiak, most were young adventure seekers from Grays Harbor and the Quinault Indian Reservation. Quite often Swikshak diggers competed with the Alaskan coastal brown bear for razor clams, but even more exasperating were foxes, which stole freshly dug clams directly from the boxes awaiting pick up.

When the tide ebbed, diggers sprawled for miles across the Swikshak Lagoon, collecting their catch in wooden Blazo Boxes (brand name for Chevron white gas). Digging tools consisted of a Westport shovel, hip boots, and warm clothes. Digging for clams was extremely laborious, as it was prolonged, fast paced, manual labor. Swikshak’s black volcanic sand made fingers cold and sore, and clammers were constantly vulnerable to brutal spring storms. Digging for hours strained the clammers’ backs, yet they avoided the transfer of weight onto knees because the position reduced speed. It was said that if a clam digger did not have a clam in the air at all

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17 Peilsch, Ralf Interviewed February 26, 2001. Astoria, OR.
times he was too slow. But diggers also had to protect the fragile shell from breaking. Once broken, the clam died and could not be consumed. Despite the difficulties, a first-rate commercial clammer could dig 450 pounds of razors on one tide.\(^{18}\)

Kukak commercial diggers were paid in tokens, and then reimbursed by the cannery. In 1924 Hemrich paid diggers $1.25 per box (50 pounds) and by 1963, after tokens were discontinued, diggers received payments worth $5.00 per box. During the territorial days merchants commonly used tokens because legal tender was scarce. Also, clam diggers used tokens to purchase goods and gear in the cannery store. This forced diggers into a financial disadvantage in that usually by the end of the season inflated store prices indebted diggers to the company. In 1968, a geologist found 13 tokens from the Kukak Cannery ranging in dates from 1924 to 1932.\(^{19}\) A Kodiak private collector now owns these valuable tokens.\(^{20}\)

Trucks were used to drop off the empty Blazo Boxes and gather the loaded boxes filled with 50 pounds of raw razors. After retrieving the clams, trucks zipped down several miles of coastline to deliver clams to the tenders entering Swikshak Lagoon on the flood tide. This relatively new technological innovation, the automobile, made harvesting clams viable by allowing clam diggers more time in the race against the tide. Once clams were delivered, cannery workers hauled clams from Swikshak aboard tenders in which the clams were constantly kept wet and alive in seawater.

After the five-hour trip down the Shelikof Strait to Kukak, the clams were immediately offloaded and dumped into a large tank of hot water called a shaker/scalder machine. Submerged within the tank were vibrating baskets so that when the clams were dumped into the hot water their shells loosened and shook off. Cannery workers then lifted the clam filled baskets out of the water and placed them into a cold water bath. Shells dislodged from the clams and were then discarded. Clams were then placed on a conveyor belt where employees, usually women, snipped away the dark tip of the neck and cut away the visceral. Next, workers placed clams onto a splitting table, which moved the clams horizontally on two belts towards a high-speed rotary knife that split the clam in two. To remove any remaining shell, sand, or viscera, clams were placed into a shaker washer. After their bath, the remaining white portion of the clams was lined onto a belt and officially inspected for any foreign matter. Passing examination, the clean clams were then dumped into a hopper and fed into a grinder, which minced the clams. A filler machine packed 4oz of minced clam meat and brine water into 6.5-ounce cans. Cannery workers topped the cans with lids. The cans were then vacuum-sealed and pressured cooked in retorts at the approved temperature and time. Finally, cannery workers labeled, packed, and prepared cans for shipment south.\(^{21}\)

Current Description of the Kukak Cannery Historic District and Contributing Resources

In July 2001 an archeologist, GIS surveyor, historian, and two Katmai park rangers surveyed the Kukak Historical Archeological district. During five days in the field, the team relocated most of the original 1949 building foundations, inventoried surface artifacts, and completed a site map of features and topography. Today,

\(^{21}\) Information concerning clam-canning machinery contributed by Del Valentine during June 11, 2001 interview.
most the Kukak Cannery structures are collapsed, exposing retorts, boilers, and other cannery machinery. The current dilapidated state of the site makes it vulnerable to looter and vandals, while rusty nails and further structural deterioration makes it dangerous to curious visitors.

XMK-00146 Oil Dock, China House, and Back Dock Ruins (contributing site 1)

At low tide, team members inventoried artifacts and remaining features currently residing along Kukak’s west shoreline. All that remained of the Oil Dock is scorched pilings and a crude cement retaining wall anchored by an iron cable. Extending from a cement retaining wall is a 4” pipe, which elbowed up towards the South Hill and paralleled the bank towards the cannery. Brick was also found near what was left of the dock.

As team members moved closer to the cannery site, surface artifacts increased. Near where the China House once stood, a “foot” to a stove was found as well as an ornate wooded figure, possibly a bedpost feature. Also found were melted glass scatterings and more scorched pilings, evidence of intense heat from the fire. Near the South Hillside was a small field of broken pottery. Although original cannery maps indicate that a “China House” was build, no documentary evidence (archives or photographs) exists that concludes Asian people did indeed work at Kukak. Therefore, only archeological evaluation of the site can determine this information.

On approach to the back dock, again, more pilings were discovered. Discarded along shoreline was a significant amount of belt driven, iron machinery, which fell into Cannery Passage when the wharf disintegrated. The local barnacle population has coated the machinery, making those machines semi-submerged in Kukak Bay difficult to identify. Near where the back dock was located, team members found a meat grinder, which was probably used to mince the razor clams. Also found was remains of what might have been a wooden plank conveyor or the elevator chain. An elevator, equipped with bucket, would be used to convey both clams and salmon from tenders up to the cannery dock. A pile of razor clam shell pieces was also discovered in what would have been beneath the back dock. The shell pile indicates that canners simply discarded shells over the side and into Kukak Bay. Most shells were probably washed away with the flood tide.

XMK-00147 Cannery (contributing site 2)

Sometime after the 1964 Good Friday earthquake, a third of the Quonset hut, and all that remained inside, collapsed, broke off, and sank into the deep water of Cannery Channel. When the cannery dock and Quonset hut collapsed, the main floor of the processing area buckled, then, tumbled to the beach below, where it insecurely rests today. Many planks and support beams are flaking white paint, indicating that the cannery interior was painted white. Today, most cannery interiors are painted white so light is reflected and brightens the work environment as well as allows clean-up crews to see the fish product, and thus improves the sanitation of the processing area.

Most machines that the Kukak facility once housed were found on the shoreline directly in front of the cannery site. Many machines along the shoreline could only be seen at the lowest point of the ebbing tide. However, some machines were identified: two closing machines, or what have also been called seamers; a clincher; and a cutter, or otherwise known as a filler machine. The cutter/filler machine had the can separator still attached.
Found beneath the dock area were flat belt pulleys and line shafts still connected to planks that were once part of the cannery's ceiling. Large belts would have run down from the shaft to drive the cannery equipment. Also found in the underside of the cannery were Kukak's boilers and retorts. A small boiler still had coal remains inside. One retort door was marked:

PF Dundow
Eccentric Lock Door
Payenu 1890
July 10 1900
Made by

Other artifacts found beneath the cannery were a Kohier electric generator, an 8-cylinder engine, and what was left of a model-T, flat bed truck.

Some of the main cannery buildings still remain delicately perched atop its supporting pilings, while rotting boards, rusting sheets of corrugated tin, and precariously hanging I-beams made the structure very unstable and walking in this area treacherous. Here, team member located the steam turbine. A concrete 9'x4'x8' cement foundation supported the massive piece of machinery. This was the Power House, which supplied power to the cannery, and also was the source of the 1936 fire. Near the turbine the team located a steam engine with a flat belt pulley, which drove the belts connected to the cannery machines. Also found was the remains of what might have been a sawmill.

At the area where cannery warehouse once stood, team member located Kukak's retort, or cooking oven. A Roller Conveyor was located in an area; most likely it was used in the cooling warehouse. Also found was the unscrambling table from the cooling warehouse. On the unscrambling table, inverted cooler trays would have been pushed along the table to the rollers and then, at the end of the table, a disk would single file the trays so the can track could fill them with processed canned clams.

XMK-00148 Superintendent's House (contributing site 3)

On the North Hill, the only evidence that remained of the Superintendent's house was scattered lumber, brick, and semi-buried I-beams. The high grass made it difficult to locate the house foundation.

XMB-00149 Blacksmith Shop and Tool Shed (contributing site 4)

Nothing remains standing beyond the wreckage left in the wake of the collapsed Quonset. Historic photographs clearly show the buildings. Because the tool shed was built on the elevated dock, no foundation survives of the structure. More extensive archeological investigation is needed to locate the blacksmith shop from the rest of the wreckage.

XMB-00150 Boardwalk (contributing site 5)

Extending from the wharf (the west end of the cannery) to the back beach area (east end) is evidence of a 6' wide boardwalk. Near the bunkhouses, the boardwalk rests on the ground, but as the boardwalk nears the drainage, it elevates as much as 4 feet above ground level.
XMK-00151  Mess Hall (contributing site 6)

Foundations for the mess hall were located. Pilings and seeping water indicate that the structure was elevated several feet above ground as well. Debris and other surface rubble are scattered across the area. Several cooler trays had been placed along the ground to make walking in the mud easier. Found within the site was the cook’s cast iron stove. Behind the mess hall and adjacent to the cook’s quarters, the team discovered a root cellar, which had been dug into the south hillside.

XMK-00152  Cannery Store (contributing site 7)

Foundations for the store were also located. Pilings and debris scatters were also noted. A foot wide ditch near the store had been dug to control flooding and water seepage.

XMK-00153  Cork House (contributing site 8)

On the northeast side of the store was a pile of cork shavings. This was probably a cold storage structure used to keep ice, meat, and other items cool before refrigeration was introduced. Just beyond the cork house, descending the drainage created by the East and South Hills was a series of manmade water catchments, or cisterns. These cisterns had been lined with corrugated tin and connected by semi-buried pipes. Gravity drained fresh water from a natural spring located at the top of East Hill to a catchment located just east of the mess hall and store.

XMK-00154, XMK-00155, and XMK-00156  Winterman’s House, Watchman’s house, and tank house (contributing sites 9, 10 and 11)

From a small trail leading from the root cellar, team members made their way through dense alders to the structures located on the South Hill. Foundations and the collapsed frames of the winterman’s house and watchmen’s house were found. All that remained of the tank house was foundation cut into the hillside.

XMK-00157  Water Tanks (contributing site 12)

Due to the density of the vegetation, neither the water tanks nor the radio house were found. However, an aerial sighting identified the water tank platform on the South Hill.

XMK-00158  Electrical Pole (contributing object 1)

Also discovered on the South Hill was a fallen electric pole, evidence that the cannery supplied electricity throughout the entire Kukak complex.
XMK-00159 Hemrich’s House (contributing site 13)

Hemrich’s House, or the manager’s house was located on top of the East Hill. Of all the structures located at the Kukak site, Hemrich’s house remains the most intact. The exterior of the semi-collapsed building was painted white. Evidence of a porch and stairs leading up to the house was also discovered. Inside, walls were enclosed with a thick white paper, which over the years, had been covered with graffiti. Scattered within the house was tarpaper, stove parts, glass, instillation, broken toilet pieces, and pieces of chain. Also inside the structure an iron pine barrel stove, plastic blue tarp, firebrick, and curtain hangers were found.

Just to the south of the Hemrich house, team members found a buried waterline. Also found near the water pipe was a historic glass bottle. Historic photographs reveal that sometime after the original structures were built, the Hemrich house was extended and rehabilitated into a fourth bunkhouse. What was identified as a back “shed” is quite possible the back end of the bunkhouse.

Furthermore, historic photographs taken in 1923 show several tent-frame like structures positioned just to the southeast of the Hemrich House. Because this information was not known at the time of the investigation, evidence of these structures does not appear on the site map. To locate these structures and interpret their purpose, an archeological excavation is necessary.

XMK-00160 and XMK-00161 Bunkhouse 1, 2 and 3 (contributing site 14 and 15)

The reconnaissance survey revealed surface evidence of three bunkhouses, although photographs reveal that the northwest and southwest bunkhouses were reconstructed into one intact structure. All structures have collapsed; the fallen layers determined the roofs were made of corrugated tin, and the intact walls indicate that dividers separated individual space in the bunkhouses. A few bedsprings, scattered nails, and porcelain pieces were also found in the area where the bunkhouses once stood. Both water and fire hose piping were located in all three of the bunkhouse remains.

XMK-00162 The Backbeach site (contributing site 16)

Scattered throughout north end of the Kukak Site are remains of cannery equipment and other machines probably discarded by canners when those machines broke or were replaced by newer models. An electric box, stacked rotting lumber, 2 engine manifolds, an iron box, and a retort door were found in the Junkyard. Placed near the north end of the area was a wooden box made of heavy lumber, which had been painted red. Heaped together in a pile were three machines, which appear to have been part of the original canning line. Most machines were rusted and difficult to identify. One appeared to be a wash tank. While another unidentified machine was labeled:

Manufactured By Grays Harbor Machine & Electric Co.
Fifth Street, Fishbase
Hoquiam WASH USA
XMK-00163  Tender (contributing site 17)

On a boat patrol of the waters surrounding the site, the survey team came across the remains of a tender located across from cannery, in a small inlet, on the west side of Kukak Bay. All that remains of the tender is the diesel engine located in the stern, an anchor winch located in the bow, and 20 divots, which indicate ribs of the hull, were located on both the starboard and port sides. Although nothing is left of the tender, the divots nicely outline the original hull. Remains of the tender can only be viewed at low tide; at high tide remains are entirely submerged. Because the tender was most likely used by the cannery to transport razor clams from Swikshak Bay, it should be considered a contributing resource to the significance of the cannery and, therefore, be incorporated into the boundaries of the Historical Archeological Kukak Cannery site.

Current and Past Impacts

Clearly, the biggest impact on the Kukak’s site was the 1936 fire that destroyed most of Kukak’s original buildings. Since the cannery was abandoned in 1948, weather and vandals have also contributed to Kukak’s current lack of structural integrity. Evidence of graffiti was found in Hemrich’s House; messages and names, most certainly scribed by commercial fishermen, were scrawled on a thick white paper in the house interior. There was also evidence that curious guests most likely staying at the Alaska Wilderness Lodge recently visited the site.

Previous Investigations of Kukak Bay

According to the Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, in 1814 an explorer known as von Langsdorff referred to an Eskimo village as “Toujajak.” He also called this village “Kugak” and “Kugat.” Russian explorers also gave the body of water its name, “Kukak Bay.” Russian explorer Sarichev first published the name “Guba Kukak” in 1926. The bay has also been called “Baie Koukach,” “Koukak Bay,” “Kukat Bay,” and “Zaliv Kukak.” In 1931, Ens. Vasiliev made reference to a former Eskimo village in the region know as “Selenie Kukak” in the Russian Hydrog Department Cart 1378. In the 1880 US Census, Ivan Petroff recorded that the Kukak Village had 37 people. This site was also called “Koukak,” “Kugak,” “Old Kukak,” and “Selenie Kukak.”

In 1899 the famed Harriman Expedition reached the Alaska Peninsula and Kukak Bay, which John Boroughs called “an unknown and worrisome landscape.” When a group of scientist disembarked the Elder and rowed towards Kukak’s shore in a small boat, Boroughs wrote:

It looked like a perilous piece of business, the debarkation of these men in the darkness, in an open boat on an unknown coast many miles for shore. Might they not miss the bay? Might they not find the surf running too high to land, or might not some other mishap befall them?

In the early 1920s, aboard the sailing vessel Nimrod, Robert Griggs explored the coast in search of a deep harbor “nestled in among the mountains, secure from all manner of tempests, and had no chance for the dreaded williwaws” to reach it.” In his book, The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, the botanist discussed the possibilities of routing a road between Kukak Bay and the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes.
In 1926, the Department of Commerce first surveyed Kukak Bay for the *U.S. Coast and Geodetic Surveys from Yakutat Bay to the Arctic Ocean*. Surveyors described Kukak as having “great depth” and “numerous pinnacle rocks near the steep shores.” They also noted that anchorage in the area was limited.

In the summer, 1951 Lowell Sumner and Alolph Murie, the brother of famous biologist, Olaf Murie conducted a comprehensive aerial survey of Katmai National Park. During June of that year, Sumner and Murie documented the Swikshak and Kukak razor clam operations. Historic photographs reveal clam diggers on the beach at Koguyak and Swikshak, the now dissembled shacks at Swikshak, distinct geological features. An aerial photograph taken by A. Murie shows the burned remains of the original cannery, the revitalized dock and intact Quonset hut, the tool shed, mess hall and cannery store, one large bunkhouse to the west, and a smaller, probably the original bunkhouse to the east. The photo also shows that the Hemrich house was clearly remodeled into a full sized bunkhouse and the backbeach area was also developed, as one structure is clearly visible. The water tanks are visible, along with the winterman’s house, the waterman’s house and a small unidentifiably structure, probably the tankhouse. All that is evident of the superintendent’s house is a platform. Several boats and what appears to be a floating cannery are tied to the dock, but lack of people in the photo suggest that the cannery was not in use at this time.

A 1994 NFS Survey indicated that between four and five of the original twenty-two structures were still standing. Rangers stored 5-gallon cans of fuel in the boilers and camped in the main cannery building. During a fishing opening, rangers observed several boats anchored in front of the cannery. They reported that fishermen would inquire about the legality of taking the weathered wood back to Kodiak.

In 1987 an Alaska Heritage Resource Survey (AHRS) of the Kukak site noted a few partially standing buildings and numerous historic artifacts scattered over the grounds and into the waters of Cannery passage.

A 1989 AHRS survey noted remains of several collapsed and partially standing buildings including the cannery facility (with plank flooring, ceiling and roof beams, and corrugated tin roofing), a possible bunkhouse (a long, narrow building with a row of rooms from end to end), and numerous historical artifacts such as steamers and gear mechanisms.  

KATM coastal rangers patrol Kukak seasonally, and use the site as a base for extended patrols of the area. For several years rangers considered the Kukak Site a primary location for a ranger station, but after a series of stays, in 2000 they determined the site to be impractical.

In July 2000 George Teague of the Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, AZ conducted a reconnaissance survey of the Kukak Cannery site. Using tape and compass readings, Teague and ranger Al Hoffs recorded several features located at the cannery site. Their findings initiated the investigation during the 2000 field season. In a report submitted to KATM Cultural Resource staff, Teague wrote:

> The property is fragile, is deteriorating, and is vulnerable to vandalism and artifact collection by visitors. It is my opinion the detailed site recording will preserve in perpetuity much of the information content on the property, thus mitigating the efforts of further damage that might occur to the site. This effort is expected to largely, or entirely, exhaust the archeological research potential of the site

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Integrity

Kukak maintains integrity of location, association and feeling and is significant as an archeological historic district. The special patterning of surface features, artifacts, and buried archaeological deposits represent uses and activities distinct to Alaskan canneries, yet yield unique information distinct to the significantly rarer razor clam canneries. With the combination of archaeological surveys, historic records, photographs and oral interviews, the site potentially offers information that may be used to interpret what activities took place at those features and when they occurred. The Kukak cannery and the men who were involved in its construction and operation contributed significantly to the development of the commercial clamming industry in Alaska. Moreover, the site evokes a sense of the forward-minded attitudes in which, despite a hostile and remote environment, a modern and complex facility was built.
8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.) N/A

- **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- **B** removed from its original location.
- **C** a birthplace or a grave.
- **D** a cemetery.
- **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- **F** a commemorative property.
- **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)

- Industry
- Maritime history
- Archaeology: historic-non-aboriginal

Period of Significance **1923-1949**

Significant Dates **1923**

- **1936**

Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above) N/A

Cultural Affiliation N/A

Architect/Builder **Hemrich Packing Co**
Summary of Significance

The Kukak Bay Cannery Historical Archeological District is significant for its association with the commercial razor clam industry in southwestern Alaska. The Alaskan commercial clamming industry existed primarily from 1916 to 1964, while Kukak's period of significance lasted from 1923 to 1949. Built in 1923 by the Hemrich Packing Company, Kukak was once described by industry insiders as "the best equipped and most efficiently arranged clam cannery on the Pacific Coast." Recent decades have worn down the Kukak Cannery to a dilapidated state, but the site's contributing resources, coupled with historical research and photographs, yield significant information pertaining to the Alaska Peninsula clam fishery and its meaning to Katmai National Park and Preserve. Since Kukak was also a major clam canning facility, the site also provides historians a better context in which to understand this obscure industry and the people who pioneered its development on the Pacific Coast.

Although the Pacific clam fishery included only 1% of the total U.S. catch, Pacific Northwest and Alaskan clam canners played a vital role in the early development of a U.S. clam industry by pioneering the canning technology used to market minced razor clams. Because clams are extremely perishable, this innovative canning method permitted the sale of clams to markets located beyond local regions. Thus, clam canners from the Pacific Northwest were able to extend operations northward to exploit the rich clam beds found in southwestern Alaska. Ironically, East Coast clam canners adopted this technology, which they used to flood U.S. markets and, eventually, drive the West Coast clam canners out of business. Nevertheless, the Pacific razor clam industry remains an important part of the heritage of many coastal communities from Oregon to Alaska.

Furthermore, Kukak was built and managed by two pioneers of the razor clam industry: Elmer Hemrich and Frank E. McConnaghy. Hemrich, who came from a family of Washington State beer brewers, built Kukak, but initially established the infrastructure from which the Alaska Peninsula commercial razor clam industry grew. His superintendent, Frank McConnaghy, managed Kukak most of its operational years. Both men came from Aberdeen, Washington, which at the time was the hub of progressive politics in the Pacific Northwest. Evidence that their actions reflected the ideology of their generation appears in McConnaghy's managerial style and Hemrich's "can do" attitude. In 1924 Hemrich supplied the first radio broadcasts in Alaska to his employees, while Frank McConnaghy hired women and treated his fishermen unusually fair. To Hemrich, Kukak represented an entrepreneur dream, which he fought to keep alive up until the 1936 fire ended his canning career. To McConnaghy, Kukak was his reality where budgets needed to be balanced, machines needed to be fixed, and striking fishermen needed to be paid. In 1916, McConnaghy built the first clam cannery in Alaska, and unlike Hemrich, Kukak's fire launched McConnaghy career. After the fire, McConnaghy moved to Kodiak where he became one of the most widely respected superintendents in Alaska, and today, one of the most widely known. Despite fire, vandalism, and neglect, the Kukak Cannery is a major remnant of the commercial clamming industry, and the site clearly maintains a significant association to this underrepresented part of American history. Therefore, the Kukak Cannery Historic Archeological Site qualifies for listing on the National Register under Criterion A.

25. Ibid.
Further archaeological excavations of the Kukak Cannery have the potential to yield information that can be compared with historic documents such as photographs that will contribute to our understanding of Alaskan canneries. The archaeological features of Kukak have already provided a better understanding of the physical layout before and after the 1936 fire. But because Kukak’s period of use was relatively short, industrial archeologists can gain important knowledge about the machines, the operators, and the workers that cannot be found in archives or photographs. The northern industrial experience, incredibly complex, touched deeply the values, art, and relation to the land of Alaska. A better understanding of past industrial experience can help us see the conditions necessary for the creation of wealth and the extent of its cost; it can help us understand the social consequences of replacing old industry with new ones; and allow us to make informed decisions about the use of abandoned industrial sites.

Any attempt to study the industrial experience in Alaska through the documentary record alone faces immediate difficulties. Participants in the canneries left few written records and only fragments of oral histories describing their work experience. Evidence from artifacts is particularly important for the study of the cannery workers at Kukak. One reason why the written accounts are so scant is because craftsmen and machinists were usually reluctant to reveal information about their skills. Also, cannery workers had neither the leisure nor incentive to write because literary accomplishments were not often a part of the culture of work and were rarely among the skills that led to advancement. One question in particular that cannot be answered from the archives and can only be determined through archeological investigation is the extent to which Kukak hired Chinese or other Asian workers. Another question as to how much the formal and informal relationships fostered between workers affected cannery productivity.

Furthermore, business records yield information about finance and product, but rarely how work was carried out. Non-participants, who were often advocates rather than objective reporters, wrote most descriptions of what went on in canneries. Witnesses may have selective memories, while machines and architecture, if correctly understood, are records of indisputable truth. Only through archeological investigation can experts determine how much light workers needed to do their job, was the work place dangerous, what new technologies were gradually introduced at Kukak? Thus, the best evidence of execution at Kukak lay in the rusted machines scattered throughout the district.

Some questions arise regarding the inclusion of Swikshak Beach into the Kukak District nomination. Clearly, the beach was a significant component to Kukak’s history. The park plans to survey the Swikshak site during the 2003 field season. CRM specialists expect to either nominate Swikshak independently or amend the Kukak nomination to include the clam digging site.

And finally, an industrial landscape such as Kukak can give us a unique sense of place and an awareness of scale. Historians can study maps and photographs but only by excavating the historic terrain and examining structures that survive can we offer the public interpretations that assess the achievements and the failures of the Kukak property. As an isolated, archeological historic district, that lacks technological influences beyond 1949, the Kukak Cannery has the potential to yield information about industrial landscapes in Alaska during the Progressive Era and therefore is significant under criterion D.
Kukak Cannery and the Pacific Razor Clam Industry in Alaska

The almost fantastical beginning of the Pacific razor clam industry echoes a capitalistic fable worthy of Horatio Alger. Peter F. Halferty, known today as “the father of the clam industry on the Pacific Coast,” founded the industry in Warrenton, Oregon in 1894.26 Desperate to feed seven children, the impoverished Halferty cooked his first pack on a kitchen stove, sealed the clams in 1-pint jars and took the clams to nearby Astoria where he sold the entire pack.27 For nearly two years Halferty worked to perfect the cooking and canning process, and eventually, built the first razor clam cannery in the West. By the turn of the century, Halferty had transformed a domestic canning process into a successful regional venture and quickly rose from pauper to prosperous businessman. During this time, Peter Halferty taught his children the tools of the trade and, eventually, turned over his clamming company, Pioneer Packing Company to his son, Guy P. Halferty.

In 1914 G.P. Halferty moved Pioneer Packing to Grays Harbor to seek unexploited clam beaches. The generous Washington coast supported Halferty’s canneries in Aberdeen, Westport, Grayland, and Copalis. Halferty offered locals cannery work and hired Quinault Indians from Taholah to dig razors. By 1916 Halferty’s canneries numbered near fifty, and still, industry expansion continued to increase market demands for clams. That same year, Halferty sent his cannery foreman, Frank E. McConnaghy, to Alaska with orders to build a major clam cannery.

When McConnaghy arrived in Cordova he discovered a rival company from Warrenton renovating a waterfront warehouse into a clam cannery.28 The Lighthouse Canning and Packing Company was the first clam cannery to prepare an Alaskan pack, but once McConnaghy completed construction of a two-line cannery, Pioneer Packing Company overtook Lighthouse in the race for razor clams. Almost from the beginning, Pioneer Packing became the company associated with Cordova clamming and made the Halferty name synonymous with Alaska razor clams. The facility became the largest clam cannery in world, and established Frank McConnaghy as the youngest, and one of the most respected, superintendents in Alaska.

Pioneer’s success brought competition from other entrepreneurs seeking wealth from Alaskan beaches. In 1919 Surf Packing built a cannery on the west side of Cook Inlet, followed in 1923 by the Hemrich Packing Company at Kukak Bay, and the Alitak Packing Company at Alitak Bay on Kodiak Island.29 More companies followed but none could dethrone Halferty, who was known throughout the industry as “The King.”30 But the toughest competition came from the East Coast where hardshell clam packers used dredges to harvest clams. The labor-intensive Pacific clam fishery proved too expensive, and West Coast firms eventually started dropping out of the market.

Competition was not only fierce among clam canniers, but larger, more powerful, Alaskan fisheries geographically and economically overshadowed the clamming industry. Only a handful of clam canniers stayed in the business for long, and those that did had to diversify their interests. Even the seafood industry’s journal,
Pacific Fisherman, reported razor clams catches on its back pages; they followed more lucrative reports from the salmon, halibut and crab fisheries.

The Alaskan clam canners also faced other economic pressures, which contributed to the industry’s overall decline. Though Alaskan clam beds are the most prolific in the world, they are vulnerable to severe weather. This caused the industry to fluctuate greatly with Alaska’s variable razor clam populations. Besides poor clam seasons, Halferty, McConnaghy and other razor clam packers faced labor strikes, questionable health issues, even rumors that President Harding died after eating shellfish during a trip to Alaska in 1923. In the 1930s, commercial clam industries from both coasts were immersed in an international dispute over clam prices. The dispute occurred when Japanese clams were retailed at figures below the price quoted by American packers on the San Francisco market. Like all American clam packers, Halferty and McConnaghy lobbied hard for international protection. In 1930, the Hawley tariff bill was enacted which removed canned clams from the free list and subjected them to an import duty of 35 percent. Despite the tariff, competition in the clam market proved too fierce for Pacific clammers.

In the late 1940’s, the clam business surged upward along with the booming Dungeness crab fishery. Crab fishermen used razor clams as bait and paid diggers high prices for their catch. Clam packers struggled to compete with the fishermen’s prices, and by the 1950s, companies either consolidated or abandoned razor clamming completely. Even Pioneer merged with the Whiz Packing Company from Seattle, and in 1958, Halferty sold his clamming interests to the Alaska Packers Association.

By 1960 only the industrial fish giant was a contender in the international clam market and still, conditions worsened. In 1963 concerns about poisonous shellfish led the Alaska Department of Health and Welfare to prohibit commercial harvesting from Alaskan beaches until 1970. But the fatal blow to the industry occurred in 1964 when the Good Friday Earthquake destroyed Kodiak clam canneries and dropped clam beds in Cordova. As a result, the one-time optimistic razor clam industry ceased to exist in Alaska.

Industry Pioneers—Elmer Hemrich and Frank McConnaghy

Although Halfery gave rise to the commercial razor clam industry in Alaska, Kukak Cannery started with another prominent Aberdeen family—the Hemrichs. The Hemrich family’s fame came not from canning clams, but rather, from brewing beer. Both Hemrich’s father and uncle owned breweries from Seattle to Aberdeen; his uncle was, in fact, the president of Seattle Brewing and Malting Company, the company that made one of Seattle’s first nationally recognized products—Rainer Beer. In 1916, the Hemrichs’ brewing enterprises came to a halt when Washington State adopted Prohibition, four years before national voters passed the Volstead Act. Seeking financial alternatives, Hemrich looked to the flourishing razor clam industry in his hometown of Aberdeen. In 1915, Hemrich and his father incorporated the Surf Packing Company and in 1916 Elmer Hemrich traveled north to prospect Alaska’s razor clam beaches.

32 Grays Harbor Post. July 1, 1933.
Hemrich began his one-year journey in Chignik, Alaska, a small fishing village on the eastside of the Alaska Peninsula. While hugging the shoreline of Shelikof Strait, Hemrich “discovered” the prolific razor clam beaches known today as Swikshak and Polly Creek. On arrival in Anchorage, Hemrich convinced a trapper named George Palmer to invest in Surf Packing, and together they built a small clam cannery on Polly Creek.

Try as they might, Hemrich and Palmer lacked the financial backing to construct a cannery. When Palmer’s Knik trading post mysteriously burned, he invested $40,000 of insurance money in Surf Packing, making the trapper the major shareholder. In 1919 the Bank of Alaska funded the construction of a clam cannery, and together, Hemrich and Palmer built the first cannery in southwestern Alaska, just off what is today the coast of Lake Clark National Park, in a small inlet known as Snug Harbor.

Due to little success, Palmer sold his interests to Halferty’s near monopolistic Pioneer Packing Company. Still determined to realize the potential of Alaska’s razor clam beaches, in 1923 Hemrich incorporated a new company, Hemrich Packing. Alvin Hemrich retained his position as president (the position he held under Surf Packing), H. F. Korschner of New York became vice president, and Elmer Hemrich became secretary, treasurer and general manager. With capital from East Coast investors, Hemrich built a cannery twenty miles south of Swikshak Beach. This new location was Kukak Bay.

Elmer Hemrich chose Kukak’s location for its deep harbor, protection from gale winds off Shelikof Strait, and abundance of marine life that fill the waters that front Kukak. Yet, the remote site Hemrich chose seems like an improbable setting for such an elaborate cannery. To build Kukak, Hemrich assembled the most innovative technology the industry had to offer. In 1923, the Kukak Cannery was secured to pack 20,000 48-pound cases of razor clams. Though Kukak never reached this number, it did consistently produce the highest percentage of cases in Alaska than any other clam cannery from 1923 to 1936. For example, in 1929 Kukak packed 8685 out of 16,969 cases, or nearly half of the razor clam pack in Alaska. In 1929 the number was cut in half to 4887, but surged to 15,000 cases by 1932. In 1935 Kukak produced one-third of Alaska’s razor clam pack and, during the season the cannery burned, Kukak managed to pack 7705 cases out of the 29,900 cases that Alaska shipped to lower-48 markets.

Still, a variety of economic troubles consistently plagued the Kukak Cannery. Kukak never realized the level of success that its idealistic builder hoped to achieve. Production was erratic, while labor and harvesting costs were expensive. Almost within a year of Kukak’s completion, financial pressures forced Hemrich to lease the clam cannery to rival, Frank E. McConnaghy. In 1925, 1926, 1927, and 1929 McConnaghy’s newly formed company, Seashore Packing, operated Kukak. But even McConnaghy’s clam canning expertise in Cordova and notable respect throughout the territory failed to keep Kukak running independently. In 1932 Hemrich leased Kukak to the “King of the Clam Canners,” Guy P. Halferty, who retained McConnaghy as plant superintendent.

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34 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Pacific Fisherman. *Hemrich Starts New Cannery.* 1923
In 1932, Frank McConnaghy employed forty-two people. Women made up the majority of cannery labor, and though some clam cleaners were hired in Kodiak and Homer, most came from Aberdeen, Washington. They also canned 6,350 salmon, but this number is relatively insignificant since larger canneries in Bristol Bay or Kodiak processed the same number daily. McConnaghy was a highly respected cannery boss. An *Alaska Sportsman* article listed his “good canning methods and his fair treatment of the men working for him” as reason why fishermen considered Kukak’s superintendent “the outstanding cannery operator in the entire district.” Del Valentine who in 1956 was hired by the Halferty Canneries in Kodiak, felt “fortunate” to have worked with McConnaghy. Likewise, Nick Petrikoff of Kodiak, who dug clams for Kukak in 1963, summed up his former boss:

> On a person-to-person type thing he [McConnaghy] was very quiet. He wasn’t an aggressive type person at all. But you could tell he was all business. Very purposeful in everything he did. When you first met him you’d think he was sort of a laid back guy, and that was just an outward appearance. Mentally, he was always...you could tell his mind was always going for it, you know for improvements, the best way to do something in order for the company to make the money it should be making.

Both Hemrich and McConnaghy were from Grays Harbor, where the populists enjoyed the greatest support of any other third party in Pacific Northwest history. Photographs taken at Kukak in 1923-1925 show images of families, pets, holiday celebrations, live music, and picnics. Kukak even served as one of the first radio broadcasting stations in Alaska. In 1923, Elmer’s brother, Walter Hemrich, became KNT’s licensee and transferred the station from Aberdeen to Kukak Bay. The station transmitted only 100 feet and supposedly played concert music for one hour per day. Though KNT only lasted one year it illustrates Hemrich’s attempt to improve, perhaps even enrich, the daily experience of his employees. Perhaps neither McConnaghy nor Hemrich consciously administer a progressive and populist managerial style, but the era of great social crusades resonated in the social and work experience at Kukak and certainly debunked the stereotype that canneries were sparse, oppressive, and harsh working environments.

In the 1930s, the Great Depression caused a disastrous economic decline in the Pacific Northwest and dealt the region’s extractive industries a severe blow. As a result, Kukak remained idle during the 1933 and 1934 seasons despite progressive management. However, American clam canning rose sharply in importance 1935 due to an increase of tariff protection afforded to domestic clams. Before Congress passed the Hawley tariff, canned clams were on the free list, while other domestic seafoods enjoyed protected benefits. McConnaghy, who was a member of the Pacific Coast Clam Packers Association, actively supported the movement for a tariff on canned clams. The Pacific Association allied themselves with the Maine and Massachusetts Clam Canners Association, and this united front brought new hope to the American clamming industry.

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43 Valentine, Del. Telephone interview on June 4, 2001 from Anchorage, AK to Tacoma, WA
44 Petrikoff, Nick, Interviewed May 16, 2001 Kodiak Island, Alaska
45 Pacific Fishermen. *Clam Tariff Sought.* 1929
The change in the political economy inspired the unrelenting Elmer Hemrich in 1935 to joined forces once again with Frank McConnaghy and re-open Kukak under a new company, Surf Canneries. That season they contributed a pack of 9214 cases to a 30,026 case Alaskan pack. Everyone believed Kukak was to finally achieve its high expectations. Even local media agreed that the Kukak cannery showed promise.46

Frustration, however, replaced optimism when the season of 1936 hit Kukak with poor weather, a wrecked tender, and a wage crisis. In spite of the problems, Kukak continued to can clams. At the end of what appeared to be a salvageable season, a fire started in the light plant, jumped to the second floor and ignited the belting. The cannery blazed throughout the night and by morning most of Kukak wharf was nothing more than a pile of ashes. After that horrific season, Hemrich knew his clamming days were done. He returned to Washington State while McConnaghy recovered what he could of Kukak’s canning equipment and relocated to Kodiak. There, he rekindled a fortuitous partnership with Halferty that was not to be severed for the next 20 years.47

Briefly after Hemrich left, the clam business surged upward along with the booming Dungeness crab fishery. Crab fishermen paid Swikshak diggers a high price for razor clams and controversially used the succulent shellfish for bait. This surge attracted Kodiak industry man, Walt Fuhrer, to the razor clam beaches of the Alaska Peninsula. In 1947 Mainland Fisheries, previously known as the Cape Douglas Canning Company, rebuilt Kukak, but instead of rising from the ashes, Kukak floundered for breath. That season Kukak produced a relatively small pack of 5309 cases.48 Mainland Fisheries replaced the scorched cannery with a Quonset hut. They also rebuilt a 40'x 110’ dock and rehabilitated the mess hall, store, supply building and bunkhouses that survived the 1936 fire. Mainland’s difficulties began in 1946 when they were issued a 5-year permit to dig clams at Swikshak from the National Park Service. Although they packed 3064 cases in 1947,49 the company neglected to renew the NPS permit when they expanded clamming operations to Kukak.

The root of this misunderstanding goes back to 1923 when Hemrich built the Kukak Cannery. That year the cannery and Swikshak’s clamming beds were located beyond the original 1918 boundaries of Katmai National Monument. When Katmai’s boundaries expanded in April 1931, both the canneries and the clamming beaches were absorbed into the monument. In June 1936, a presidential proclamation was issued that recognized the rights of all user groups prior to the boundary expansion. Hemrich intended to follow up on the proclamation by obtaining a patent to its lands. But after fire destroyed the cannery he made no further attempt to patent its properties and abandoned his company’s interests.50

Hemrich’s administrative oversight caused great headaches to Mainland Fisheries. In 1949 the National Park Service caught Mainland operating at Kukak without a permit. While Mainland halted its clamming operation to wait out the lengthy permit process, Frank McConnaghy approached the Park Service with a proposal. McConnaghy, who had been working as general superintendent for both Halferty’s Kodiak and Cordova plants, offered NPS officials a plan that would allow Halferty to harvest clams at Swikshak and process them at the Halferty-McConnaghy complex in Kodiak. In 1951 National Park Service granted Halferty the permit and

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Mainland Fisheries went into receivership. Kukak cannery was not involved in the agreement, and after 1949, it never operated again.

By the 1950s, Kukak’s decline reflected the state of the entire Alaskan razor clam industry. Despite the good bait prices, the market conditions for minced clams collapsed, forcing a series of consolidations among clam canners. By the 1960s, McConnoghy’s reputation gained him employment with the industrial giant, the Alaska Packers Association, the only company that could compete in the minced clam market. However, even APA’s involvement in the clamming industry was short lived. The fatal blow to the industry occurred in 1964 when the Good Friday Earthquake destroyed Kodiak clam canneries and dropped clam beds in Cordova, ending the commercial razor clam industry in Alaska.

Perhaps because little physical evidence remains, or because the industry failed to thrive financially, experts have ignored the historical significance of the commercial razor clam industry in Alaska. Indeed, the clam canneries did impact Alaskan people and places. The Kukak Historical Archeological Site is significant because it was an important clam cannery in the Alaskan commercial industry and its ruins continue to yield insights about industrial societies and their relationship with Alaskan cultures and landscapes.

Kukak may have failed economically, but it succeeded in bringing together such industry pioneers as Elmer Hemrich and Frank E McConnaghy. Both men constructed razor clam canneries and contributed to the development of innovative canning and marketing techniques. Hemrich, the son of a Washington State beer brewer, built the original cannery and remained involved with Kukak as general manager until the facility burned in 1936. McConnaghy, an experienced razor clam canner from Grays Harbor, forged the industry in Alaska and supervised Kukak for nearly each of its operating seasons. Though different—Hemrich was an idealistic and determined entrepreneur while McConnaghy was a sensible and fair businessman—both men were instilled with values characteristic of the Progressive era and shared such qualities as resourcefulness, initiative, and originality.

Today, the Kukak Site represents this progressive influence, for Kukak’s improbable location, structural complexity and community spirit symbolizes both twentieth century idealism and pragmatism and remains a tribute to human ingenuity. The Kukak Cannery and the men and women who were involved in its construction and operation contributed significantly to the development of the commercial clamming industry in Alaska. The site evokes a sense of the forward-minded attitudes in which, despite a hostile and remote environment, a modern and complex facility was built. Indeed, the Kukak Cannery site maintains integrity of location, association and feeling and is significant as a site. As clam digger Ralf Peitsch said, “Until the last chunk of cannery machinery sinks into the earth it (Kukak) still means something to someone.”

51 Ralf Peitsch, Interviewed March 1 2001, in Astoria, OR.
9. Major Bibliographical References

Books

Articles

Documents
1. Broadcasting station Listings as of March 1925. Taken from Ray-O-Vac's "Radio trouble Finder 7 Broadcasting Station Directory."
5. U.S. *United States Coast Pilot from Yakutat Bay to Arctic Ocean,* 1924.

Interviews
Previous documentation on file (NPS) N/A
  _ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been
    requested.
  _ previously listed in the National Register
  _ previously determined eligible by the National Register
  _ designated a National Historic Landmark
  _ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
  _ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data
  _ State Historic Preservation Office
  _ Other State agency
  _ Federal agency
  _ Local government
  _ University
  _ Other
Name of repository:
Lake Clark/Katmai National Park and Preserve Administration Headquarters

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property _Less than one acre (.06404 square acres or .0929 square feet)

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

    Zone Easting Northing
    1 5 430489 6464489

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)
See site map

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)
Kukak property boundaries correspond to the natural features surrounding the site. These natural boundaries encompass historic-archeological resources located at the site. The North Hill defines the north boundary. Back Beach or the east shoreline, defines the east line. The boundary line then extends to the East Hill to encompass Hemrich’s house. From the East Hill, the southeast boundary extents to the top of the South Hill to encompass the structures located along the bank. The boundary line then extends south, reaching the remains of the oil dock. The south shoreline fronting the cannery creates the southern boundary, which extends to the Superintendent’s house, located on the North Hill.
11. Form Prepared By

name/title Katherine Johnson, CRM historian

organization Katmai National Park and Preserve

date June 24, 2002

street & number 4230 University Drive, 311

telephone 907/271-3751

city or town Anchorage state AK zip code 99508

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps
- A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs
- Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name

street & number

telephone

city or town state zip code
Historic Photographs

1) Kukak Bay Cannery
   Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
   Photographer: Frida Nielson
   Location of Original Negative: Unknown
   Location of Original Photograph: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
   Description:
   This historic photograph shows a waterfront view of the Kukak Cannery in circa 1925. The photo shows (from left to right) the main dock, superintendents house (in background), the main cannery building, the back dock, the tank house, the winterman’s house, the smoke house, (also in background) the china house, and the oil dock. Note the radio pole atop the North Hill, an electric pole next to the winterman’s house, the clamshell pile beneath the main cannery, and the laundry hanging to the left of the china house. (Feature Areas 1 and 2)

2) Kukak Bay Cannery
   Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
   Photographer: Frida Nielson
   Location of Original Negative: Unknown
   Location of Original Photograph: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
   Description:
   This Historic photograph was taken from the top of South Hill, probably near the watchman’s house, in circa 1925. The photo looks down at the living area of Kukak. (Feature Area 6) and faces northwest. Back Bay beach is just barely in view. Buildings from left to right include: the mess hall (just barely in view), the store, the three bunkhouses, and an unidentified structure on the edge of Back Bay beach.

3) Kukak Bay Cannery
   Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
   Photographer: Frida Nielson
   Location of Original Negative: Unknown
   Location of Original Photograph: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
   Description:
   This historic photograph taken circa 1925 shows a tender that was used to haul clams, cargo, and people, to and from the Kukak Cannery.
4) Kukak Bay Cannery  
**Location:** Kukak Bay, Alaska  
**Photographer:** Frida Nielson  
**Location of Original Negative:** Unknown  
**Location of Original Photograph:** LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK  
**Description:**  
This historic photograph was taken on “Cannery Row” in circa 1925. The photo shows a toddler drinking from a water pipe. He is standing on the boardwalk that connected the main cannery to the residential area, and eventually to Back Beach. The buildings in view are probably (on the right) the meat house and the tool house, and (on the left) is probably the blacksmith’s house. (Feature Area 3)

5) Kukak Bay Cannery  
**Location:** Kukak Bay, Alaska  
**Photographer:** Frida Nielson  
**Location of Original Negative:** Unknown  
**Location of Original Photograph:** LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK  
**Description:**  
This historic photograph shows several cannery workers sitting on the back of a Model-T flatbed truck in circa 1925. The location is unknown but at this time, the cannery owners employed trucks to transport clam diggers to various digging locations along the wide expanse of Swikshak Beach. The flat sand makes us believe the photo was taken at Swikshak Beach.

6) Kukak Bay Cannery  
**Location:** Kukak Bay, Alaska  
**Photographer:** Frida Neilson  
**Location of Original Negative:** Unknown  
**Location of Original Photograph:** LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK  
**Description:**  
This historical photo taken circa 1925 shows Frida Nielson and her sister preparing to go clam digging. Note their equipment: clamming shovel and 5-gallon blazo box altered for holding clams. The girls are standing on the main dock in front of the Kukak Cannery. Based on their shadows, it is morning and they are just beginning their day.

7) Kukak Bay Cannery  
**Location:** Kukak Bay, Alaska  
**Photographer:** Adolph Murie  
**Location of Original Negative:** Harpers Ferry, West Virginia  
**Location of Original Photograph:** LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK  
**Description:**  
This historical photo taken on 6-24-51 by Adolph Murie shows the Quonset Hut, dock, watertanks, winterman’s house, watchman’s house, tank house, covered warehouse, tool shed, meat locker, mess hall, store, bunkhouses. (including the remodeled Hemrich House) and back bay area. There is also a large processing vessel docked in front of the cannery along with several purse seiners.
8) Kukak Bay Cannery
   Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
   Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
   Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
   Description:
   This photograph, taken from a skiff in Cannery Channel, shows the collapsed Quonset hut that replaced the original cannery in 1949. It was taken July 2001. Submerged beneath the high tide are the remains of several cannery machines used for both clam canning and fish processing. (Feature Area 2)

9) Kukak Bay Cannery
   Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
   Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
   Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
   Description:
   The aerial view reveals all that is left of the Kukak Cannery. To the left, atop South Hill, are the remains of the watchman's house. The ruins located within the drainage are the remains of the Quonset hut, and the warehouse. Moving north, down the drainage to the right, are the remains of the mess hall, the store, the cold storage building, and one bunkhouse.

10) Kukak Bay Cannery
    Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
    Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
    Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
    Description:
    This photograph, taken in July 2001, shows the remains of a tender, tucked in a small cove, located south of the cannery, across Cannery Channel (Feature Area 7). All that is left of the tender is the anchor wench, divots from the hull's ribs, and the diesel engine. At high tide the wreck is completely submerged. Also, note the cannery in the background.

11) Kukak Bay Cannery
    Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
    Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
    Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
    Description:
    This photograph taken in July 2001 shows the water pipe and all that remains of "Cannery Row." (Feature Area 3)
12) Kukak Bay Cannery
Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
Description: This photograph shows the fallen machinery that once occupied the first floor the cannery building, which now sit on the beach beneath the cannery remains. (Feature Area 2) In the foreground are two steam powered wheels that spun belt used to run cannery machines. Ranger Al Hoffs marks the site of the coal-run boiler, which was used to generate steam. Just behind the boiler are the remains of a Model-T flatbed truck.

13) Kukak Bay Cannery
Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
Description: This photo, taken July 2001, shows the remains of the southwest bunkhouse and faces west, towards Cannery Channel. (Feature Area 6)

14) Kukak Bay Cannery
Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska
Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK
Description: This photograph, taken July 2001, shows a piece of cannery machinery called the clincher. A clincher is used in the cannery process to “clinch” the lid down on the filled can. It was probably used for both clams and salmon. It was located in front of the cannery among boulders and other machinery scattered along the beach. (Feature Area 2)

15) Kukak Bay Cannery
Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS
Location of Original Negative: Private Owner
Location of Slide: LAKA Collections, Anchorage, AK
Description: This photograph, taken in May 2001 from the collection of Dick Powell of Kodiak, shows a token used by Kukak cannery owners to pay clam diggers. The tokens could be used in the cannery store for merchandise, or be turned in for reimbursement at the end of the season. Tokens were used during historic period, but by the 1950’s canners paid clam diggers in real currency.
16) Kukak Bay Cannery

Location: Kukak Bay, Alaska

Photographer: Katherine Johnson, NPS

Location of Original Negative: LAKA Collections, Anchorage AK

Description:
This aerial photograph taken in July 2001 shows the view of the cannery approaching from the North Hill. Vegetation covers any evidence of the Superintendent’s house. Photo reveals the extent to which the Quonset hut has collapsed.
Kukak Cannery Token
Kukak Cannery, Kukak Bay, AK