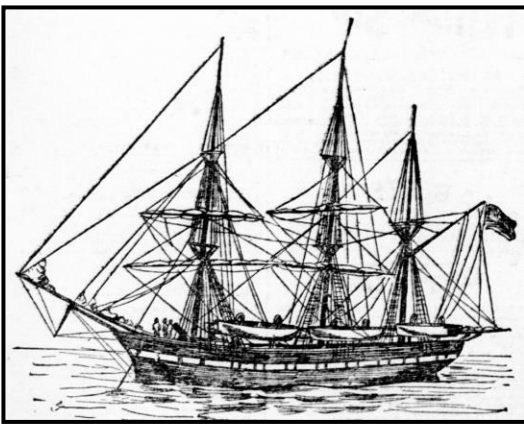


**“Their Feast of Death”:
The Wreck of the Whaler *James Allen***

Gary C. Stein



A whaling bark typical of the *James Allen*
The Morning Call (San Francisco), August 13, 1892.

On April 14, 1894, Captain Arthur Huntley, “an old and well-known seaman,” took the whaling bark *James Allen* and its forty-nine-man crew northward from San Francisco for a two-year hunt for baleen (“whalebone”) and whale oil in the Arctic. The plan was for the *Allen* to hunt whales in the Arctic and winter at the whaling grounds of Herschel Island off Canada’s Mackenzie River Delta. The *Allen*, itself worth \$10,000.00, was insured for \$14,000.00. The *Allen* also carried 250 tons of cargo, supplies for other northern whalers, worth \$30,000.¹

The 348-ton, 117-foot-long *Allen* had been built in Bath, Maine, in 1877 and sailed on whaling voyages out of its home port of New Bedford, Massachusetts, until 1888, when it was purchased by whaling merchant James McKenna. During its voyages between 1888 and 1893 from its new home port in California, the *Allen* had returned with 740 barrels of whale oil and 19,300 pounds of the more valuable “bone.”²

Barely a month into its 1894 voyage, heading north through the Aleutian Islands by way of Seguam Pass, the *Allen* struck a reef off the eastern end of Amlia Island and quickly sank. Because of the wealth of first-hand information available relating to the *Allen*—government reports, correspondence, diaries, logbooks, and dozens of articles in newspapers across the country—the story of its loss, the sufferings of its crew, and the

rescue attempts constitute one of the most detailed accounts we have of any wreck of a single whaling vessel in Alaskan waters.³

The Aleutian Islands and the passes between them have a reputation for their weather—it is mostly bad. The island chain has rightly been called the “birthplace of the winds.”⁴ Indeed, separating the weather systems of the North Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea, the region might rightly be called the “birthplace” of other perilous conditions as well. Fog can descend, gales can rage, rain or snow can blind, sea-swells can rise in a moment, and hidden rocks can appear without warning. The *Allen* met all five in the early morning of May 11, 1894, two days before Captain Huntley’s fortieth birthday.⁵

The first official account of the *Allen* disaster, that of the whaler’s third mate Joseph Duarte, was summarized by Lieutenant Commander W. H. Emory of the Navy gunboat U.S.S. *Petrel* off Atka Island, the next island west of Amlia, slightly over two weeks after the wreck. Duarte stated:

I had charge of the deck during the mid[night] watch on May 11th. By the Captain’s order we were carrying all plain sail to main top gallant sail and running before a moderate gale from the S.E. Weather overcast, thick and raining and sleeting. Course Magnetic N.W. by W. About 1:30 sighted land and breakers ahead, ported the helm and was bringing the ship by the wind on the starboard tack, when the Captain whom I had called ordered the helm to be put up and ordered me to haul up the mainsail and brace in the yards. I told him he would wreck the ship on the reef but he said it was Seguam Island of the Seventy Two Pass, and not a reef. I went aft and was carrying out the Captain’s orders when the ship struck and in a short time was a total wreck, being carried over the reef and sinking on the other side of it.⁶

Captain Huntley was not an inexperienced whaleman. In records dating before the wreck of the *Allen*, he can be found as first mate on whaling voyages of the *Coral* (November 1886 to August 1887), *Bounding Billow* (December 1887 to November

1888), *Northern Light* (December 1888-November 1889), and *Hunter* (December 1889 to November 1890). He then became master for voyages of the *Bonanza* (March to November 1891), *John P. West* (December 1891 to January 1892), *Bonanza* again (February to November 1892), and *Hunter* (February to November 1893).⁷

In 1894, Captain Huntly was wrong about where he was. The *Allen* was dangerously off course. He believed he was sailing north into the forty-three-mile gap between the central Aleutian Islands of Segum and Amukta. Called Seventy-Two Pass by whalers because the 172° longitudinal line runs through it, it is technically Amukta Pass, named for its eastern boundary of Amukta Island. It was favored above many other passes through the Aleutian chain from the North Pacific to the Bering Sea because it was “a broad clear passage, and is the first opening west of Unalga Pass which can be



Captain Arthur J. Huntley
The Morning Call (San Francisco) July 7,
1894

recommended to a stranger.” Instead, the *Allen* was over thirty miles west, sailing at the very western edge of the much narrower Segum Pass—an area “regarded with suspicion”—between Amlia and Segum islands. It is likely that the reefs the *Allen* encountered were the Agligadak reefs extending two miles eastward between Amlia and Agligadak, an island barely two-tenths of a mile long.⁸

There will be much more to say about Captain Huntley, but Third Mate Duarte’s story was not finished.⁹ After the *Allen* struck the reef, only two whaleboats were found undamaged.

Duarte’s boat, with seven other crewmen, started out following the second mate’s boat, containing ten or twelve men, which was seen going east.¹⁰ When he found that his own boat was partially damaged, Duarte turned west and made for Amlia Island’s southern coast “at the first place where the shore permitted, about five hours sail from the wreck.” The second mate’s boat, meanwhile, which also contained the whaler’s first mate and a number of other crewmen, turned east for Unalaska Island.

Duarte and his boat's crew stayed in their first camp for a week, then cautiously followed the southern coast of Amlia Island and turned north at the island's western end. Continuing east for three days along Amlia's forty-six-mile northern coast and another eighteen miles of open ocean, these eight survivors managed to reach Seguam Island on May 24, almost two weeks after the *Allen* went down. "Thinking that it would be the nearest settlement," they were attempting to reach Unalaska, but at Seguam they met five Aleut hunters who fed them and led them to their village of Nazan (today's Atka) on ¹¹Atka Island, west of Amlia.

During their six days at Atka, the survivors were cared for by the Alaska Commercial Company's resident agent, Alexander Shaisnikof. On June 1 the company's steamer *Dora*, which carried mail, freight, and passengers on a route between Sitka in Southeast Alaska and Attu Island at the end of the Aleutian chain, entered Nazan Bay and Shaisnikof transferred the *Allen*'s survivors from the village to the steamer. As the *Dora* steamed away from Atka, it encountered the Navy's U.S.S. *Petrel*, one of the vessels of the Bering Sea Fleet patrolling the Bering Sea to protect the region's fur seal herd from pelagic (open-sea) hunting. Officers from the *Petrel* boarded and inspected the *Dora*, and "at the urgent request of the master of the *Dora*" the survivors transferred to the naval vessel. At Atka, the *Dora* would have been about halfway between Unalaska and Attu islands. The steamer was headed west to Attu when it picked up the *Allen*'s survivors from Atka, and its master was probably concerned that he lacked proper facilities to care for the survivors until he could return to Unalaska.¹²

The *Petrel* immediately sailed from Atka to the site of the *Allen* wreck and spent two days "making a careful and diligent search" for any signs of other survivors or debris." Lieutenant Commander Emory reported that his ship "was taken as near these dangerous reefs as possible and an Officer sent in a whale boat accompanied by the 3rd. Mate [Duarte] to make a thorough search." They only found the *Allen*'s dinghy, which was taken on board and eventually left at Unalaska. The *Petrel* then examined the coast of Seguam Island for any signs of the other whaleboats that might have escaped the wreck, but "the search has not continued further as I have visited every point possible to fall in with the missing boat and the two mates now aboard cannot suggest anything else to be done."

As the *Petrel* turned east for Unalaska, the ship's surgeon, Dr. Oliver D. Norton, reported on the condition of the survivors, whose "principal complaint was of frosted feet." Third Mate Duarte simply had "slight pains in his legs." Thomas Gordge, the *Allen*'s cook, also "complained of pains in legs" and "tingling sensations in his fingers, also due to cold." Gordge seemed "perfectly well" after two days, Dr. Norton attributing this to the cook's having worn "rubber boots" when he left the wreck. Gordge also had "one large contused wound" on his left hip, which "responded rapidly to treatment." Frederick Hill, "landsman," was "rather anæmic, otherwise in good condition," as were boat steerers John Roach and Joseph Gonzales. Seaman Max Gohre also had "frosted feet" and developed a fever and diarrhea on the *Petrel*, which Dr. Norton thought "due to change of diet." Seaman Peter Peterson was noted simply as "rather weak and anæmic." Both of Fourth Mate Charles McIntyre's feet and his toes were "puffed and inflamed from frost," and his condition, unlike that of the others, "continued to be under treatment" once the *Petrel* reached the port of Dutch Harbor on Unalaska Island on June 6.¹³

Five days after the *Petrel* picked up the survivors from the *Dora*, the United States Fish Commission steamer *Albatross*, loaned to the Navy, under naval command, and assigned to the Bering Sea Fleet, steamed into Nazan Bay. Its commanding officer, Lieutenant Commander F. J. Drake, had learned of the *Allen* wreck when he met the *Dora* at Attu on June 4. He interviewed Alexander Shaisnikof and the Aleuts who had brought Duarte and his crew to Atka. Drake learned that Atka Natives had visited the wreck site looking for additional survivors. From these interviews, Drake determined "that no trace or evidence of any description can be found showing that any other survivors of the ill-fated bark ever reached the shore. Neither have any bodies been observed among the wreckage which has been washed on the beach in various places. Hence ... I felt justified in not attempting to make further search ..., as it would not in any way have aided the cause of humanity." Late in the afternoon of June 10, the *Albatross* turned away from Atka and headed east for Unalaska, intending to take on coal before sailing north to the Pribilof Islands in the middle of the Bering Sea.¹⁴

Not finding Commander Charles E. Clark, the naval officer in command of the Bering Sea Fleet in 1894, at Dutch Harbor, the *Petrel*'s Lieutenant Commander Emory sent his initial reports about the *Allen*'s fate to the Secretary of the Navy, "in order that

the Department may have early information of the wreck of the Whaling bark.” The eight survivors were placed under the charge of the Collector of Customs at Dutch Harbor, “who has arranged for their passage to Port Townsend aboard the American barkentine ‘John Worster’ [*sic*].”¹⁵ Not all of them chose to go south, however. Three decided to remain and found employment with the North American Commercial Company at Dutch Harbor. The *Wooster*, the barkentine’s actual name, was towed out of the harbor by the *Dora* and sailed at 2:00 in the afternoon on June 11.¹⁶

The first news of the disaster that had befallen the *Allen* reached San Francisco on June 16 from British Columbia. Based on information received from the coal steamer *Willamette* returning from Unalaska, this admittedly “meager report” was so full of misinformation about where the wreck occurred (stating it was Atka Island, instead of Amlia), how many men were saved (the “Dora picked up twenty of the crew”), and the value of the cargo the *Allen* carried (\$45,000 instead of \$30,000) as to be almost useless. Other newspapers across the country, however, reported this same misinformation.¹⁷ Nothing more was heard for almost a week, when the *John Wooster* reached Port Townsend, Washington on June 22, eleven days after leaving Unalaska.

Although still awaiting the *Wooster*’s arrival in San Francisco, on June 23 newspapers in California published more information, based largely on Third Mate Duarte’s descriptions of the *Allen*’s last moments and the struggles of his boat crew. Some details, not mentioned in Lieutenant Commander Emory’s reports from the U.S.S. *Petrel*, were frequently added to the story. These additions may be attributed to Duarte himself, as well as the reporters who retold his story. Emory, in his original hand-written report, stated that he was providing a “summary” of Duarte’s account. When Emory’s report was printed as part of a Congressional document a year later, however, the word “summary” was replaced by “a consensus of the statement” Duarte offered.¹⁸

One of the initial newspaper articles stated that the five men who came on the *Wooster* were all “foreign-born.” One Alaska newspaper referred to Duarte, Gorge, and Gonzales (called Dewatt, Gordyn and Gunsalogn) as “Jamaican negroes, speaking very little intelligible English,” while Gohre and Hill were “green-looking Norwegians.”¹⁹ Despite this misinformation, Duarte—a Portuguese, not Jamaican, surname—gave a

coherent account of the wreck to correspondents from the Associated Press and added information not found in the version he gave while on the *Petrel*. In reaction to one newspaper headline that called the wrecked “due to a blunder of the captain,” in being off course, Duarte asserted that because of the heavy fog, “the sun had been hidden four or five days and we lost our exact reckoning.”²⁰

More important to reporters was learning Captain Huntley’s fate. As the ship was sinking, Duarte saw the captain “engaged in launching boats and getting the crew off.” Huntley then went into the cabin, and Duarte followed: “Everywhere it was pitch dark and the only way to distinguish a person was by the voice. I ... found it [the cabin] full of water and with floating debris. I called the captain loudly three times and got no answer. The ship began to heave and lurch and I hastily embarked and pulled away.” While Duarte thought it “barely possible” that Huntley could have escaped the wreck in another boat, the *Allen*’s cook, Thomas Gorge “says the captain did not come out of the cabin.” It was recognized, however that some of the survivors’ recollections were contradictory, having “told several conflicting stories on the way down. At one time they averred the



Captain Michael A. Healy
Chicago Tribune, January 29, 1893

mate and captain were drowned in the cabin. This they now deny, and state that the mate got into the second mate’s boat.” It was the “general opinion,” however, “that all the missing men are drowned.”²¹ Unknown to the survivors of Duarte’s whaleboat and the newsmen who interviewed them, less than twenty-four hours after they left Unalaska on the *John Wooster* events would transpire that would eventually lead to the rescue of more of the *Allen*’s crew.

The Revenue Cutter *Bear* entered Dutch Harbor early on the morning of Sunday, June 10, 1894, just a day short of a month after the *Allen*’s loss. The U.S. Treasury Department’s Revenue-Cutter Service, a predecessor of the U.S. Coast Guard, had a long history in Alaskan waters, and the *Bear*, under its

commanding officer, Captain Michael A. Healy, was the best known of its vessels. Typical Alaskan cruises consisted of duties as varied as enforcing federal revenue laws; protecting the Pribilof Islands' seal population from poachers; protecting Alaska's Native population from suppliers of illegal whiskey and breech-loading rifles; rescuing shipwrecked whalers; and ferrying scientists, government agents, teachers, destitute miners, shipwrecked whalers, and businessmen to, from, and along the Alaskan coast.²²

In 1894, the *Bear* had two primary duties. First, orders issued by Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle on April 20 instructed Captain Healy to take his cutter north from Port Townsend, Washington, and proceed to Unalaska by way of Sitka, Prince William Sound, Cook Inlet, and Kodiak Island. From Unalaska the *Bear* was to proceed into the Arctic to the Whalers' Refuge Station that had been erected at Point Barrow in 1889. Returning, Healy was to place his cutter at the disposal of the Navy commander at Unalaska, and, in a joint operation with three cruisers from the British fleet, patrol in the wake of the migrating fur-seal herd "for the preservation of the fur seals in the Northern Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea." There was another duty to perform before becoming one of the eleven United States vessels of the Bering Sea Fleet: Since 1891, the *Bear* had assisted Presbyterian missionary and General Agent of Education for Alaska Sheldon Jackson in the project of transporting domestic reindeer from Siberia to a reindeer station in Alaska as a way of saving Alaska's Native population from starvation because their traditional food sources were being decimated by the encroaching non-Native population.²³

The *Bear's* arrival at Unalaska Island in June was a preparatory stop to take on coal before continuing on to various Siberian points to purchase reindeer from Siberian Natives. In the afternoon of June 10, the *Bear* unmoored from the North American Commercial Company's wharf and drew beside the coal steamer *Iroquois* in order to begin coaling the next morning. The *Bear's* engineers blew down the cutter's main boiler for cleaning. From 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. the next day, June 11, the *Bear's* crew stowed 106 tons of coal from the *Iroquois* into the cutter's coal bunkers. The *Bear's* surgeon, Dr. James T. White, had dinner with friends on the *Dora* and noted that in the afternoon the

steamer had “towed out the Bark *Jno. Worster* [sic], having on board several men from the wrecked whaler *Jas. Allen*.”²⁴



Detail from color lithograph "The Famous Old Coast Guard Cutter Bear." Charles Robert Patterson. MSM Accession number 1953.93.

& six men of wrecked whaler *Jas. Allen*.” The men with Huntley were identified as boat steerers Thomas Westaway and Harry Johnson, ship’s carpenter P. O. Isakson, and seamen Oscar Hansen, Frank Pena, and Charles Luis (or Lewis). Huntley reported that he and his boat crew had spent the previous seven days rowing their whaleboat 130 miles from Umnak Island, where he had left ten other men ²⁵

The morning of June 12 dawned “partly clear” with a light, southwesterly breeze. A “light rain” would soon begin. The *Bear*’s crew briefly hoisted the cutter’s steam launch to see if it needed repairs and then placed it back in the water. The crew “resumed coaling,” taking on board another sixty tons from the *Iroquois*, while the engineers busied themselves “cleaning boiler, and repairing machinery.” At 1 p.m., after having lunch on the *Bear*, Dr. White was heading ashore “when we saw a whaleboat coming round the spit. Went out to her in the launch & found them to be Capt. Huntley

Captain Huntley’s first account of the disaster that befell his ship was given to Captain Healy and the *Albatross*’s Lieutenant Commander Drake on board the *Bear* on the afternoon of June 12. Later, missionary Sheldon Jackson as well as Healy and Drake would write similar versions of it, Jackson in his diary, Healy and Drake in reports to their superiors. Huntley insisted that the last reckoning taken, four days before the wreck, had shown the *Allen* “to be on a safe course” and that the reef off Amlia Island had been seen. In “changing her course to avoid the reef, the ship struck 3 times on a sunken rock & then passed over it into deep water.” The crew attempted to man the whaler’s pumps, “but it becoming aparent [sic] that the Ship was filling, orders were given to clear the

boats from the ship.” As five whaleboats were lowered—Duarte’s earlier account said only two were undamaged—Huntley ran to the cabin to get navigation charts and the whaler’s chronometer. He then got into the first mate’s whaleboat. Unfortunately, “as the boat was badly stove in in lowering, the 1st Mate & several of the Crew jumped into the boat of the 2d Mate, as it passed by them, leaving the Captain & 3 of the crew in the damaged boat.” Leaving the *Allen*, Huntley saw that its “fore & main masts fell. Then raising her head high up out of the water she was seen to go down stern first.” It took only twenty minutes after the whaleboats were lowered for the *Allen* to sink into the sea. Soon after leaving the wreck, two of the boats that had been lowered into the water were separated from the other three. One was Joseph Duarte’s; the other was the boat carrying the first and second mates and their crew, which was “the only boat which succeeded in getting away from the wreck with a boat outfit of oars, spars, sails, compass, and chart,” it was briefly see off of Amlia Island two weeks later, after which “nothing has been seen of it.”²⁶

Survivors with Captain Huntley bailed their damaged whaleboat until dawn, when it landed on the northern shore of Amlia Island. It was soon joined by two other boats, and the number of survivors reached twenty-six. A gale kept them on the beach for two days, the men surviving on mussels and seaweed. On the third day a boat was able to get off and some codfish were caught. Two days later, May 16, the whaleboats left Amlia Island for Unalaska, Huntley’s boat in the lead, towing the other two.²⁷

On May 18, the boats reached a group of islands known as the Islands of the Four Mountains, 130 miles east from where the *Allen* went down and 160 west of Unalaska. A landing was attempted, but high surf forced the men to keep their boats offshore. They landed on one of the islands the next day. The first death among these survivors, from hunger and exposure, occurred here. Leaving a damaged boat behind, the remaining two continued on. That afternoon, Captain Huntley’s boat capsized and two seamen and the *Allen*’s blacksmith and engineer, drowned, with the additional loss of a precious sail and compass. The capsized boat was left, and the last surviving whaleboat containing more than twenty crewmen, made a landing on Umnak Island the night of May 19. Three more men died the following day from “exposure and hardship.”²⁸

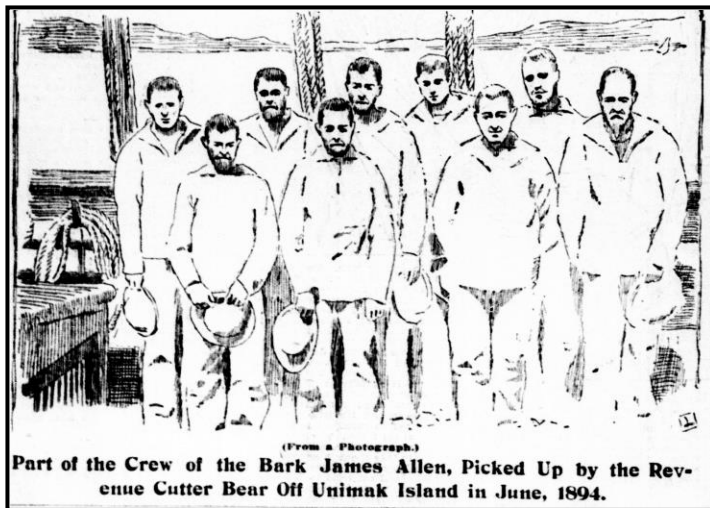
Captain Huntley quickly recognized “that the lives of the whole party depended upon leaving the weak ones in camp on the Island & taking a picked crew & try to push through to Unalaska for help.” With “six of the best men” Huntley made his first attempt to leave Umnak on May 20, but a storm forced him back to camp, where two men had died while the captain and his crew were away. Back in camp, which turned out to be an old Aleut sea-otter-hunting site, the survivors found “an abandoned hut” (a barabara, a traditional Aleut semisubterranean dwelling) for use as shelter. In it they found “two rusty tin pails, from the wire bails of which they made fish hooks” to obtain food. Huntly made four more attempts to launch his whaleboat but was prevented by bad weather. Another man died on May 30. Finally, on June 5, telling the men left in camp that he would return with help in nine days, Huntley and his small crew managed to leave Umnak and after a grueling week arrived at Unalaska. Dr. White noted that “it took them seven days to make 110 miles, & the last 10 miles it took 9½ hours.” Having left the wire fishhooks with the men on Umnak, “their only food was fish, mussels, seaweed & grass.”²⁹

Captain Healy was on shore when the survivors, “in a weak and exhausted condition,” were brought aboard the *Bear*, fed, clothed, and given medical aid. Word was immediately sent to Healy who, “with his usual promptness,” ordered his officers and crew to prepare the cutter for duty. “With lives at stake the men worked with such a will that in 4 hours the engine was repaired, the boilers filled, steam got up & we were off to sea at 7.05 P.M.” Captain Huntley and his small crew “went along to show us the place where his men were.”³⁰

Prior to leaving Unalaska, Captain Healy and Lieutenant Commander Drake conferred as to their next steps, and “the following course was decided upon . . . : First, the *Bear* to sail immediately to the rescue of the men left on Umnak Island and return to Dutch Harbor; second, the *Albatross* to search thoroughly the north shores of Unalaska, Umnak, Islands of the Four Mountains, Yuaska, Chugul, Amukta, Seguam, and Amlia for the missing boat” with the first and second mates, which “might possibly be found on some of the islands named above, with boat probably stove in landing.”³¹

The *Bear* was under “under steam full speed and sail” the night of June 12 and the next day, while contending with “moderate gales,” “hard squalls” and “rough seas” for almost the entire trip to Umnak Island. With weather moderating, at 10:30 on the morning of June 14 Captain Huntley recognized Idaliuk Point near the western end of Umnak, and the *Bear* anchored. It was one day later than the nine-day promise Huntley had made to the crew he left in camp. Two of the *Bear*’s boats were lowered, one carrying Third Lieutenant Chester White and the other taking Huntley ashore “to bring off the men left here, if any remained alive.” The boats returned to the *Bear* two hours later with nine of the ten men Huntley had left behind; one other, Austin Gideon, had died four days after Huntley left for Unalaska.³²

The rescuers were shocked at what they found in the barabara on shore. Sheldon Jackson described the “pitiable sight” when they reached the survivors: “they gave a feeble hurrah, and, laughing and crying by turns, remarked that they were sorry to say that they were cannibals, but that starvation had stared them in the face and they were compelled to resort to that food. They reported that Gideon had died June 7 and they had eaten him. When he was gone, they had dug up [Joseph] Pena, who had been buried on May 30, and were now (June 14) eating him.”³³



Seattle Post Intelligencer, December 12, 1897

The rescued men, whom Dr. White called “the worst set of men I ever saw, most filthy, low & degraded,” were seamen David Logan, Frank King, John Dietriche, William Andrews, James Allen, John Ricker, D. Peterson, James Milani and Frank Burton. Brought aboard the *Bear*, they were “all in a weak

and emaciated condition from exposure and starvation, and their bodies covered with sores and vermin.” Dr. White believed that they had suffered so much that they “were rapidly passing into that state of semi-insanity, resembling more the wild animal than the

human being.”³⁴ Given food, and clothes by the *Bear*’s crew, provided with haircuts and hot baths, and given medical attention by Dr. White, the “filthy, tattered garments” they had been wearing were “thrown overboard as soon as possible, as a sanitary precaution.” Dr. White later noted that “whisky and hot coffee was sparingly administered to them.”³⁵

It had taken the *Bear* thirty-nine hours to travel from Unalaska to where they rescued the *Allen* survivors. With better weather and again “under steam, full speed, and all square sails,” the cutter returned to Dutch Harbor in sixteen, arriving in the early morning of June 15. The number of survivors was “beyond the capacity of this community [Dutch Harbor] to take care of,” it was necessary that “they be sent to some place where they could receive proper care” immediately. Healy made arrangements with the North American Commercial Company for fourteen survivors’ (one determined to go north with the *Bear* and join the whaling fleet) transportation to San Francisco on the company’s mail steamer *Crescent City*. Healy “went security for their passage,” submitting vouchers for their fare of \$30.00 each and an additional \$54.55 for new outfits—“white duck suits” and hats—because “the interests of humanity made it imperative they be given clothing.” Some of the *Bear*’s crew was sent to build “bunks on board steamer ... for the accommodation of the shipwrecked men.” The *Crescent City* sailed from Dutch Harbor shortly after noon on June 17. “After they had gone,” wrote Jackson, “in cleaning up, one of the sailors found a piece of human flesh in the pocket of an oil cloth Coat which the shipwrecked men had left on board the ‘Bear.’”³⁶

Healy’s official report to the Treasury Department was somewhat critical of the survivors. Although he recognized that they “were completely demoralized” by their condition and “had given up hope of ever being rescued,” they could still be considered responsible for their actions: “No attempt had been made to hunt or to attract attention from seaward. Not even a mark had been set up on the bluff behind them. ... When found they lay around the fire in the hut doing nothing, looking at each other, with the blood of their late shipmates on their hands and faces. ... No such thing as a watch had been kept.” Jackson wrote that “it has since been learned that the wrecked men in the hut were within 6 miles of a small Aleut village. But they knew nothing of the existence of the village, and the villagers saw nothing of the sailors.” Jackson was probably referring to Nikolski, a village actually about ten miles away from the survivors’ camp. Prior to the survivors’

arrival in California, one newspaper offered that the “weakness and savagery” of the men who had “lapsed into a hopeless condition” was typical “of men who have no leader.” From “the history of many Arctic expeditions” it was evident “that unless men have Commanders of unusual force they will descend to cannibalism. Hence it is not strange that this whaling crew should have been guilty of the same offense.”³⁷

While Captain Healy and the *Bear* were dealing with rescuing the shipwrecked men on Umnak, Navy personnel were busy as well. Following the plan that he and Healy had worked out, Lieutenant Commander Drake took the *Albatross* out of Dutch Harbor on June 13 to search for the missing boat containing the *Allen*’s first and second mates and more of the whaler’s crew. The *Albatross* did not get far before a storm forced it back into port for another day. Leaving again on the morning of June 14, the *Albatross* made a careful inspection of Unalaska Island’s long northern coast. The next two days the northern shores of Umnak and Seguam islands were covered, and on June 17 the *Albatross* stopped in Nazan Bay at Atka Island. Drake again interviewed Alexander Shaisnikof and Aleut hunters “in order to ascertain if any additional information had been obtained from Amlia island or near the scene of the wreck, but with negative result.”³⁸

From Atka, the *Albatross* cruised close to the northern shore of Amlia Island, “sounding the steam whistle every five minutes. The reverberation of sound from the whistle was very distinct, and would undoubtedly have aroused any of the survivors to action by displaying some signal.” There was no answering signal, and, after making another quick inspection of Seguam Island, the weather forced Drake “to abandon further search” He returned to Dutch Harbor on June 18, “having steamed 853 miles in search of the missing boat’s crew.”³⁹

Meanwhile, much farther south, the *Crescent City* neared San Francisco. As with Third Mate Duarte and those with him, news that Captain Huntley and his men were alive reached California on July 3, three days before they did. This time it was news brought by a ship from Sitka, where the *Crescent City* had stopped after leaving Unalaska. Like the news of the earlier rescued survivors, accurate information reached the press only after Huntley and his crew finally disembarked July 6. Still, the first report of their survival was good news for one person—Captain Huntley’s wife, Jessie. She had been

adamant all along that her husband “must have been thrown ashore on one of the numerous islands of the north” and survived. Now “the sea has drifted him back to her.”⁴⁰

Arthur Huntley was a widower and Jessie F. Morfee a widow and when they married on March 27, 1894, only three weeks before he left San Francisco on the *James Allen*. His first wife had died sometime after January 22, 1892; the last record of her is a newspaper notice of that date announcing her departure, with her husband, from Hawaii and their arrival in San Francisco. Jessie Morfee’s first husband had died in December 1890. Their courtship must have been brief indeed. Captain Huntley was ashore only three months between the arrival of his whaler *Bonanza* in November 1892 and the sailing of his next whaler, the *Hunter*, in February 1893, and he was again ashore only four months between the *Hunter*’s return in November 1893 and his wedding to Jessie. The only clue to their being together prior to their wedding is a newspaper notice regarding two men charged with burglary: “They entered the room of Arthur Huntley in Mrs. Morfee’s lodging-house, 302 Front street, on January 13, and stole a lot of clothing and other articles.”⁴¹

When Captain Huntley reached San Francisco one reporter noted that he “stood on the main deck on the starboard side and looked wistfully at the city,” but the reporter was confused as to what happened next. At one point the article states that Huntley’s wife “met him and greeted him wildly with both smiles and tears.” The same article said that Huntley initially refused to talk to the reporters who met him at the dock: “I cannot talk to you now, ... I must hurry home to my wife first. She is waiting for me I know.” Once he was safely “seated in his parlor,” Huntley gave a detailed account of the *Allen*’s sinking, his crew’s experiences, and their rescue by Captain Healy. His account was not much different than the one he had given on the *Bear* when his whaleboat arrived at Dutch Harbor, although he did add that one of the *Allen*’s crew, Fifth Mate Andrew Robinson, “refused to go with his boat and went down with the wreck.”⁴²

The accounts given by the crew, however, were different, not in the details of the wreck, but in what they were willing to talk about. Captain Huntley said that the events surrounding the rescue of the men on Umnak Island was “part of the story I would rather not relate.” The crewmen, however, “after some persuasion,” readily recounted “their

experience without any great show of remorse, and did not hesitate to unfold the details of their feast of death.” The accounts contradict each other, and none may be completely accurate. Certainly they suffered from starvation and exposure after Huntley took his whaleboat to find help at Unalaska. They lost their fishhooks, caught in rocks along the shore, and were forced to subsist again on seaweed, harder-to-find mussels. “Every green twig or blade of grass was ravenously devoured,” even the grass that formed their beds. Frostbitten feet prevented them from going far from their shelter and eventually incessant rain forced them to remain in the barabara, almost blinded by smoke from a fire fed with waterlogged driftwood.⁴³

William Anderson, a “tall, gaunt seaman” and the “foremost hand,” was considered an “intelligent” spokesman for the survivors, and he gave at least two versions—or one story became two interpretations by different newspapers—of how they turned to cannibalism. In one version, Anderson was quoted as saying that “six days after the Captain left us ... but one thing stood between us and death by slow starvation, and that was the body of Austin Gideon, my friend. He had given up hope and died the night before, though I tried my best to sustain him. But he had to go. His poor wasted body lay in the cave ..., and the temptation was greater than we could stand. We stripped portions of the flesh from the bones boiled it in the pot and ate it.” After finishing with Gideon’s body, starvation again faced the nine men, “but as no more of the men had died in the meantime we dug up the body ... of Joseph Pena, a Portuguese boat steerer, and were preparing a meal when the rescue party arrived.”⁴⁴

In another version of his story, embellished, perhaps to gain more sympathy, Anderson stated that, instead of Gideon’s body being in the barabara after he died, it had been dragged outside the shelter. The men were too weak to bury it, and three days later:

one of the men near the door moved, and presently he went out. I was too weak to pay any more attention to him, and I dozed off, praying for death. How long I was that way I do not know, but for a long time I fancied I could smell boiling meat. ... I rose up, and there in the center of the hut was a smoldering fire with the kettle over it. Inside was a piece of meat, covered

with slowly bubbling water. In an instant I had grabbed it from the pot and was soon devouring a shred of it that I had torn from the half cooked piece. Others grabbed the meat from my hands, and soon we were all eagerly devouring the morsel. None of us asked where it came from. None of us cared. After the meal life came back to us, and we dared not for awhile think of where our meat came from, though we all knew.

I got up and walked down to the little gully in which Gideon's body had been rolled. Both legs were missing. I crawled back into the hut and slept again. Presently I got up and gathered more driftwood while the renewed strength lasted. The next day more of Gideon's body was missing, and again we all had a meal. Horrible and all that it was, the food was refreshing.⁴⁵

Other stories about the "gnawing famine" that had caused the men to turn to cannibalism were bandied about. In one of them, after being carried onto the *Bear*, a survivor "was asked what they would have done for food when the last of the flesh of their two dead comrades had been eaten. He pointed to two men who seemed almost at the point of death and said that they would soon have been ready for the pot had not the cutter arrived."⁴⁶

One account newspapers found curious was that of seaman James Allen—no relation to the ship—at eighteen the youngest of the crew. On arriving in San Francisco it was noticed that he "has grown fat and did wax heavy ... while all of his comrades grew hollow-eyed and slim." He told a reporter that he survived "by keeping his system chock full of water" and because in his hunger "he fell to on the green grass which grew near the hut. An herbaceous diet seemed to agree with young Allen, for he thrived on the tender blades and grew strong again before the final famine set in." Once rescued, he "took to eating ravenously the *Bear's* food," and while "the rest of the rescued party walked about the cutter's deck for a week looking like skeletons, ... in twenty-four hours Allen was as spry as ever and so fat you couldn't have moved him with a derrick, unless he stood in with the derrick."⁴⁷

It was also said that when the survivors were first taken aboard the *Bear*, the cutter's cooks "with that generosity which ever characterizes the sailor in the

presence of suffering and distress,” almost did them in by overfeeding them with “a gigantic banquet of pork and beans,” which was “the worst possible cargo for the condition they were in.” Dr. White does not mention this in his diary of the *Bear*’s 1894 cruise, but if it happened he was probably the one responsible for what was later reported: “the proper authorities took hold of the case in time, ... [and] they were soon nursed back to relative health.”

The crewmen who had gone to Unalaska in the whaleboat with Captain Huntley were horrified at what their nine comrades had done, went one report. On the way down to San Francisco on the *Crescent City* “they held aloof from their mates,” and even when reaching port “the nine forlorn figures in white were huddled on the after-deck,” while Huntley’s boat crew were forward. They “drew the line at cannibalism and refused to associate with those who had been forced to partake of human flesh.” They were dressed differently, too, the nine men of Umnak in the “duck uniforms” they received at Dutch Harbor, while Huntley’s crew “wore ordinary clothes.”⁴⁸

Certainly the survivors, even having arrived in San Francisco, still faced adversity: “They have landed here utterly destitute, weak and covered with sores. ... Those who stand most in need of medical attendance will be sent to the Marine Hospital, but the rest do not know what will become of them. There is not a cent of money in the crowd.” It was hoped, however, that “as they are all young men” they would “soon be able to try their luck again on the bounding billows.” William Anderson boasted, “I will soon be on deck again.”⁴⁹

Back at Unalaska, neither the Navy nor the Revenue-Cutter Service had quite given up the search for the *Allen*’s still missing fifteen crewmen. The *Bear* left Dutch Harbor for the north on June 20, but because “it was rumored there were some shipwrecked whalers” at Seguam Island, the cutter “kept to the Westward along the Islands on lookout for more wrecked men.” That afternoon the *Bear* reached Umnak, and the June sun allowed it to steam along the island’s northern coast until midnight, searching “for traces of missing boats and men of the bark.” Examinations of Kagamil and Yunaska, two of the Islands of the Four Mountains group, were made the next day.

On the morning of June 21, the cutter steamed as slowly and as close as possible along the north and northwest shores of Seguam Island “to search every portion of the beach and hillside thoroughly, but no traces were seen.” One of the *Bear*’s boats, under Second Lieutenant J. F. Dodge, was sent to a spot where a tent was rumored to be. Dodge “examined the beach for about four miles,” but nothing was found during his two-hour search. The *Bear* then turned north-northwest for Siberia.⁵⁰

In his report to the Secretary of the Treasury, Healy mentioned that one of the survivors “will go north on the *Bear* to join the whaling fleet.” It is unlikely that, because of their pitiable condition when rescued, this was one of the Umnak survivors. This was probably the boat steerer listed as “H. Johnson” in the *Bear*’s log entry on June 12 (Jackson calls him “Harry Johnson”), one of the survivors in Captain Huntley’s whaleboat. The cutter’s log entries between June 18 and July 26 denote one whaler on board as a passenger. On July 27, off Port Clarence, that notation is gone, and the log states: “Shipped W. Johnson, as ordinary seaman, to date from July 14th.” Port Clarence was a rendezvous point for the Arctic whaling fleet, and Johnson may have decided for a safer berth on the revenue cutter than more adventure on a whaling ship.⁵¹

The Navy continued to look for *Allen* survivors for a good part of July. On July 1, Commander Clark gave verbal orders to Commander Caspar F. Goodrich of the U.S.S. *Concord* “to search for the missing men from the American whaler *James Allen*, at points not previously visited by other ships.” For the next five days, the *Concord* cruised around the northern and western portions of Umnak Island, its launch close to the shore while the ship “followed slowly outside and astern of the launch at the distance of a mile or more from the beach. From time to time I fired a projectile from the secondary battery at objects on shore. The report would have aroused any person on or near the beach.”⁵²

Bad weather forced Commander Goodrich to give up the search, but on July 11, having returned to Unalaska, he received new orders from Commander Clark. Clark believed that the *Allen*’s missing boat “has either been lost at sea or picked up by a whaler on her way to the Arctic.” Still, on the chance that survivors from the *Allen* “may have been cast away and reduced to the condition of their shipmates

found on Umnak Island,” and “in order that any doubts still existing may be cleared away,” he would make one more effort. He ordered Goodrich to take the *Concord*, assisted by the Revenue Cutter *Corwin*, and make “a careful examination of the uninhabited islands” that had not been “coasted by the *Petrel* and *Albatross*.”⁵³

Leaving Unalaska on July 13, for the next six days the *Concord* and *Corwin* examined island coasts that were often “uncharted and unknown, and in many places full of dangers.” Starting at Umnak Island, where weather had forced Commander Goodrich to give up the search on July 5, “with the launch skirting the beach, the *Corwin* following close in and the *Concord* just outside the *Corwin* (the ship’s whistle being frequently sounded) the search was thoroughly and prudently conducted.” A stop was made at “the small settlement of Nikolski” on Umnak not far from where the nine survivors had been rescued on June 14, “where fruitless inquiries were made as to the missing men.” After making similar searches off the shores of Adugak and Samalga islands southwest of Umnak, the *Concord* and *Corwin* continued on to the Islands of the Four Mountains, where three days of searching led only to the naming of two uncharted islands after the secretaries of the Navy and Treasury. At the end of the day, Goodrich wrote to Clark, having concluded his search on July 19, “I may close the history of the search by assuring you beyond peradventure that the missing seamen from the *James Allen* are not alive.” Agreeing with what Clark had written earlier, Goodrich was of the opinion that “they are either drowned or they were rescued by a passing vessel. It is inconceivable that they are ashore and undiscovered at any place within the limits of your command which they could have reached.”⁵⁴

There were rumors, however, about the missing fifteen men of the *Allen*. One was voiced by C. A. Gifford, captain of the whaler *Abram Barker*, that had been crushed by ice off Cape Narvarin, Siberia, on May 7, four days before the *Allen*’s wreck. Gifford arrived in San Francisco with the story “that some of the men of the United States steamer *Concord* were aboard a fishing vessel in Bering Sea and found there two of the crew of the ill-fated *James Allen*. The men preferred to remain with the fisher to going aboard the *Concord* and were, of course, left with her.” Coming from Unalaska to Port Townsend at the very end of July, the coal steamer *Willamette* gave another version of the same—or a completely different—story, reporting that a vessel of the Bering Sea

Fleet had just returned to Dutch Harbor “from a western cruise, and reported speaking with a sealing schooner, which reported that another sealer, the name of which was not learned, had picked up a boat containing fifteen castaways belonging to the ... James Allen. The former schooner, not being pleased at being boarded by the officers of a man-of-war, did not volunteer any particulars.” Neither Captain Gifford’s tale nor this report of a report of a report were ever substantiated, and no official Bering Sea Fleet correspondence mentions the encounter, but Captain Huntley “read with delight the telegraphic report” of the latter rumor, as “the picking up of this boat accounts for all of the crew of the Allen.”⁵⁵

If Commander Goodrich’s return to Unalaska in July closed “the history of the search” for any more *Allen* survivors, there must be a postscript about Captain Huntley. There is no doubt that as “the brave skipper” Huntley, “the last man to leave the deck,” emerged the hero of the *Allen*’s saga.⁵⁶ It must be said, however, that Huntley had not been the luckiest of whaling captains over the previous few years. His employer, James McKenna, had had even worse luck. Years later, it was recalled that “a long run of bad luck caused him to lose a fortune that had been accumulated in the [whaling] business.”⁵⁷ McKenna’s whaling bark *Reindeer* was wrecked in the ice at Return Reef east of Point Barrow three months after the *Allen*’s wreck (without loss of life), and a newspaper tallied the losses—five whaling vessels—McKenna suffered between 1892 and 1894. Two sentences in the article are significant: “This year the barks James Allen and *Reindeer* have been lost in the Arctic. Last year the *Hunter* returned clean and is now tied up in Oakland creek, while in 1892 the *John P. West* was burned off the Hawaiian islands.”⁵⁸ Apart from the *Reindeer*, the three other whalers mentioned—the *James Allen*, *Hunter*, and *John P. West*—had all been captained by Arthur Huntley.

In December 1891, Captain Huntley had, as whaling masters often did, taken the *John P. West* to the Hawaiian Islands to hunt for whales prior to heading north for the Arctic whaling season. The fire that destroyed the *West* broke out at 4:00 on the morning of January 5, 1892, just after Huntley “left the deck on the termination of his watch ... [and] retired to his cabin.” When the alarm was raised by the officer of the deck, Huntley “rushed out as soon as possible and on reaching the deck, saw smoke emerging from the fore and main hatches. I called all hands together and rigged the pumps; it took some

time to accomplish this owing to the excitement and confusion, and when we had the pumps working I found they were of little avail. The flames came from both hatches in a terrific manner causing everybody to retreat.” Huntley ordered boats lowered, and he and his crew of thirty-nine were rescued by a local freight steamer. The *West* burned to the waterline; its smoldering hull could be seen off Diamond Head for hours.⁵⁹

Returning to San Francisco from Honolulu on January 21, Huntley was just in time to take command of another whaler, James McKenna’s schooner *Bonanza*, sailing for the Arctic on February 13 1892. Although he did not lose this ship, word reached Honolulu in September that the *Bonanza*, “ran into a cake of ice containing about four acres, just north of St. Lawrence Island, splitting her stem from the water line to the keelson. She was leaking badly at last accounts, but has gone to Ounalaska to repair damages.” Readers were reminded that Huntley had captained the *West* when it burned off Diamond Head earlier in the year.⁶⁰

Then there was the bark *Hunter*. Its story reveals that captains Huntley and Healy had met on at least one occasion, and that only a year before the *Allen* disaster.⁶¹ According to the whaler’s log, on June 15, 1893, while readying to trade with local Natives for baleen at Plover Bay, Siberia, the *Hunter* ran aground, “high and dry &c.” To lighten the vessel and get it afloat, its provisions were moved to another whaler nearby and ballast water was pumped out, but to no avail, and “to night she layes on her side So you cannot walk the deck.” Luckily, the next day the *Bear* arrived on its way to purchase Siberian reindeer, and Captain Healy offered his assistance in pulling the *Hunter* off the beach. The tide rising in the early evening as the *Bear* approached, the *Hunter* was suddenly able to “hove our self off, Just before she got to us.” W. F. Allen, the sailor from New Bedford, Massachusetts, who kept the *Hunter*’s log was well aware of what caused the whaler to run ashore in the first place: “what is the reason, nothing but rum.” Captain Huntley was drunk—again.⁶²

The *Hunter*’s 1893 log is replete with notations about Captain Huntley’s continuous drinking, often in company with the ship’s unnamed first mate. On March 15 the log simply notes that “Capt under the Weather to day. have not seen him on Deck at all. sick i suppose.” The first specific reference to Huntly’s drinking was made on April

1, while the Hunter was off Seguam Island in Seventy-Two Pass: “Capt. and mate Both drunk, and been drunk for three days. I wish i had never come in this ship for it is nothing but rum, a curse to mankind. But we hope for the best.” These comments continued, with very few exceptions that described Huntly as “sober,” for six of the whaler’s nine-month cruise. On April 18, near Cape Navarin, Siberia, Huntley was “Full as a tick to night it is a good place to get drunk i must say, he is a regular sot.” On May 13, “Capt still on a drunk So my self and the boat-header Took all his rum away from him and locked it up in our room. he was mad as a fox But that did not do him and [sic] good As we had the rum. pretty go[od] i think. He will have to get sober now i bet.” Locking up Huntley’s rum was fine for a time. On June 8, Allen was able to write “The Capt has been sober now for quite a While,” but four days later he wrote “old man pretty full to day.”⁶³

Captain Huntley was a copious drinker; on July 31, Allen noted, “two gallons lasted him most two Days and one night, and i think he Done very well for him.” Huntley’s drinking gave him an overconfident attitude as to his abilities. At Point Barrow among other ships of the whaling fleet on August 27, Allen wrote rather sarcastically, “This is getting to be a very disagreeable Ship. our Capt knows more than the Whole fleet put together, and if it Dont get him into trouble yet it Will be better for us.”⁶⁴

We may never know how—or even if—Captain Huntley’s earlier propensity for drinking had something to do with the disaster that befell his ship in 1894. Certainly none of the surviving crew ever voiced that charge. We do not know, for instance, whether Huntley was drinking in 1893 because of his first wife’s death, or if Jessie Morfee forced him to stop drinking after they married. We can be relatively certain that, if he had been drinking on the *Allen* before it wrecked, he sobered-up rather quickly. There was no time to take food or water into the lowered whaleboats, and although Huntley ran to his cabin before getting into one of the boats, it is unlikely that he went for liquor.

Huntley would never captain another ship, but he did continue whaling for a time, although records are limited. He was an officer on the steam whaler *Baelena* for its 1895-96 hunt. Although his wife is listed in the 1900 Federal census, he is not, and it can be presumed that he was on another voyage. In 1905 he was noted as first mate of the *Narwhal*, which hunted in the Arctic and wintered at the Herschel Island whaling grounds

from 1905 to 1907. None of these later voyages were on ships owned by James McKenna.⁶⁵

As for his later life, the 1910 census lists Huntley simply as captain of a steamship. His wife, Jessie, died in January 1919, and the 1920 census lists him as a shipyard guard. He became ill thereafter, listed in the 1930 and 1940 censuses as an “inmate” of the Fairmont Hospital and Infirmary in San Leandro. Arthur Huntley died in his 87th year on October 25, 1941. There seems to have been no final acknowledgement of his struggle to save what remained of his crew almost half a century earlier.⁶⁶

Endnotes

¹ The characterization of Captain Huntley is in “Wreck of the Whaling Bark James Allen,” *The Morning Call* (San Francisco), June 17, 1894. Captain Huntley’s June 28, 1894, report to U.S. Customs regarding the *Allen* disaster gives a brief account of the wreck. Using the “Measuring Worth” website to calculate comparative value, the cargo’s value would equal \$853,000.00 in 2015 dollars, while the *Allen* would be worth \$284,000.00.

² Reginald B. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels Sailing from American Ports: A Continuation of Alexander Starbuck’s “History of the American Whale Fishery” 1876-1928* (New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum, 1959), 23, 25, 27, 29, 51.

The profitability of these voyages is somewhat difficult to determine. Even by taking the table of “Average Prices” in Hegarty, *Returns*, 51, and using the “Measuring Worth” website, only a tentative answer can be given. If John R. Bockstoe, *Whales, Ice and Men* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 35, is right, that a third of the return of whaling voyages went to the ship owners (the other two-thirds going to ship maintenance and crew payment), then James McKenna received a yearly average in 2015 dollars of \$171,733.00 from products of just the *Allen*’s voyages between 1889 and 1893. And it must be remembered that McKenna owned eleven other whaling ships sent out in those years, some even more successful in hunting whales than the *Allen*.

³ The disasters to the Arctic whaling fleet in 1865, 1871, 1876, 1888, and 1897 are well-chronicled, but they deal with the loss of multiple vessels in each instance. The only historian’s account of the *Allen* is that by Robert N. DeArmond, “The Wreck of the James Allen,” *Alaska Life* 8 (December 1945):15-18.

⁴ Ethnobotanist Theodore P. Bank II gave this title to his book about his travels along the Aleutian Chain: *Birthplace of the Winds* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1956).

⁵ For Huntley’s birth date, see “California Death Index, 1940-1997,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VPQM-7GW>; 26 November 2014), Department of Public Health Services, Sacramento.

⁶ Emory to Commander C. E. Clark, June 6, 1894, “Area File of the Naval Records Collection, 1770-1910, Area 9,” National Archives Microfilm Publication M625.

⁷ This information is from two sources: San Francisco Shanghaiers, database, National Marine Digital Library <https://nmdl.org/projects/sfshanghaiers/sfs/>; Hegarty, *Returns*, 27-29.

⁸ Department of Commerce, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, *United States Coast Pilot Alaska Part II, Yakutat Bay to Arctic Ocean* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1916), 218.

⁹ Unless otherwise noted, the remaining part of Duarte's story and the *Petrel's* search for other survivors are from Emory to Clark, June 6, 1894, "Area File of the Naval Records Collection, 1770-1910, Area 9." National Archives Microfilm Publication M625.

¹⁰ Different counts of the number of men in the second mate's boat are in "Diet of Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 3, 1894; "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894.

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¹² The *Dora* reached Unalaska on June 11; having come from Attu; Sheldon Jackson, "Diary of a Cruise on the Cutter Bear, 1894" (Hereafter cited as "1894 Diary"), 2 vols. In Jackson, "Travel Diaries, 1890-1900," Heritage Patron Micropublication #226. Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, 2:June 11, 1894.

¹³ Norton to Emory, June 6, 1894, in *Message From the President of the United States, in Response to Senate Resolution of January 8, 1895, Transmitting Information Relating to the Enforcement of the Regulations Respecting Fur Seals, Adopted by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain in Accordance with the Decision of the Tribunal of Arbitration Convened at Paris, with Other Information Called for by Said Resolution*, S. Ex. Doc. 67, 53d Cong., 2d Sess. February 11, 1895 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 305-306; <http://books.google.com/books?id=rSxJAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover>. "Boat steerers" were the harpooners stationed at the front of whaleboats who first struck a whale; Bockstoce, *Whales, Ice, & Men*, 353.

¹⁴ Drake to Clark, June 12 1894, *Message From the President*, 296-97.

¹⁵ Emory to Clark, June 9, 1894. "Area File of the Naval Records Collection, 1770-1910, Area 9." National Archives Microfilm Publication M625.

¹⁶ Dr. James Taylor White, surgeon on the Revenue Cutter *Bear*, noted in his June 11, 1894, diary entry that "several men" from the group of survivors left Unalaska; White, "U.S. Rev. Str. 'Bear' Arctic Cruise 1894," James Taylor White. Diaries, 1888-1894, Manuscript Collection No. 4966, Special Collections, University of Washington, Seattle (hereafter cited as White, "Arctic Cruise 1894"); Jackson, "1894 Diary," 2:June 11, June 12.

¹⁷ *The Morning Call* (San Francisco), June 17, 1894. See, for example, "Loss of the James Allen," *The Durham Daily Globe* (Durham, N.C.), June 19, 1894; "Ran on a Rock and Sank," *The Washington Times* (Washington, DC), June 18, 1894; "American Whaler Lost," *The Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), June 18, 1894; "West and South," *Lawrence Democrat* (Lawrenceburg, TN), June 22, 1894; "An American Whaler Wrecked," *The Evening Herald* (Shenandoah, PA), June 18, 1894.

¹⁸ Emory to Clark, June 6, 1894, "Area File of the Naval Records Collection, 1770-1910, Area 9." National Archives Microfilm Publication M625; Emory to Clark, June 6, 1894, *Message From the President*, 304.

¹⁹ "Storm and Shipwreck," *Herald* (Los Angeles), June 23, 1894; *The Alaskan* (Sitka), July.

²⁰ "Wrecked in the Arctic," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 22, 1894; "Lost in the Fog," *San Francisco Call*, June 23 1894.

²¹ "Lost in the Fog," *San Francisco Call*, June 23 1894. Newspapers were not averse to providing headlines that misinformed readers, one from the Pacific Northwest insisting "The James Allen Wreck Confirmed, Only Five Saved," *Daily Morning Astorian* (Astoria, OR), June 23 1894

²² For details on the Revenue-Cutter Service's activities in Alaska see Truman R. Strobridge and Dennis L. Noble, *Alaska and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, 1867-1915* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999) and Irving H. King, *The Coast Guard Expands: 1865-1915* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1966).

²³ Carlisle to Healy, April 20, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 252-53; Roxanne Willis, "A New Game in the North: Alaska Native Reindeer Herding, 1890-1940," *Western Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn 2006): 277-301. The *Bear* did not officially become part of the Bering Sea Fleet until it returned to Unalaska on September 21, after completing its other Arctic duties; Clark to Secretary of the Navy, October 4, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 416.

²⁴ "Logbook of the U.S.S. 'Bear,' Commanded by Captain M. A. Healy, U.S.R.C.S. commencing April 21, 1894 at San Francisco, Cal." (Hereafter cited as "Bear Log, 1894") National Archives, Washington, DC; White, "Arctic Cruise 1894."

²⁵ White, "Arctic Cruise 1894"; Jackson, "1894 Diary," 2:June 12; "Bear Log, 1894."

²⁶ Jackson, "1894 Diary," 1:June 15; Healy to Secretary of the Treasury, June 16, 1894, in *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting a Report from Capt. M. A. Healy, of the U.S. Revenue-Cutter Service, Concerning the Rescue, by the Steamer Bear, of 9 of the Crew of the Wrecked Bark James Allen, and Presenting Bills for Transportation and Clothing*, S. Exec. Doc. 143, 53rd Cong., 2nd Sess., July 17, 1894 (hereafter cited as Healy, *James Allen Report*), 4-5, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Ryc2>

[AQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false](#); Drake to Clark, June 18, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 297-98; “Diet of Human Flesh,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 3, 1894.

²⁷ There is a discrepancy in the reports regarding the number of boats that were together at this point. Jackson, “1894 Diary,” 1:June 15, and Healy, *James Allen Report*, 2, say there were three total. Drake to Clark, June 18, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 298, says two. Three is more likely.

²⁸ Jackson, “1894 Diary,” 1:June 15; Healy, *James Allen Report*, 2; Drake to Clark, June 18, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 298; “Fed on Human Flesh,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; *Jessie H. Freeman Log*, Logbook #1080, Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford Whaling Museum, Research Library.

²⁹ Jackson, “1894 Diary,” 1:June 15; Drake to Clark, June 18, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 298; White, “Arctic Cruise 1894,” June 12. Some newspapers reduced the old Aleut dwelling to a “miserable cave”; “Fed on Human Flesh,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; “A Thrilling Tale,” *Washington Standard* (Olympia), September 7, 1894.

³⁰ “Bear Log, 1894,” June 12; Jackson, “1894 Diary,” 2:June 12. The repairs made to its engine were not necessarily “complete” when the *Bear* sailed. Four years later, a newspaper article based on the diary of furrier Julien Liebes, a passenger on the cutter in 1894, stated that when brought on board Huntley had “implored us to go at once to the rescue” of the men left on Umnak. Huntley “begged so earnestly not to delay that we abandoned all repairs, put the machinery together as fast as possible and steamed out of the harbor within four hours”; “Shipwrecked Sailors Saved From Cannibalism,” *San Francisco Call*, August 21, 1898.

³¹ Drake to Clark, June 18, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 298.

³² “Bear Log, 1894” June 12-14; White, “Arctic Cruise 1894,” June 14; “Fed on Human Flesh,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894.

³³ Jackson to William Hamilton, June 15, 1894, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alaska Division, Letters Received, 1883-1907, National Archives, Washington DC; Jackson, *Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska*, 1894, S. Ex. Doc. 92, 53d Cong., 3d Sess. (Washington: DC: Government printing Office, 1895), 40.

³⁴ James T. White, “Some Arctic Shipwrecks Revived by the Relief Cruise of the Bear,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, December 12, 1897. White seems to be quoting from one of the earliest newspaper accounts of the rescue of Huntley’s crew: “Some of the men lost their reason, and acted more like wild animals than human beings;” “Feasted on Human Flesh,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 3, 1894.

³⁵ “Bear Log, 1894” June 14; “Fed on Human Flesh,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; “Shipwrecked Sailors Saved From Cannibalism,” *San Francisco Call*, August 21, 1898; James T. White, “Some Arctic Shipwrecks Revived by the Relief Cruise of the Bear,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, December 12, 1897.

³⁶ “Bear Log, 1894,” June 14-16; “Wreck of the James Allen,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 12, 1894; “Fed on Human Flesh,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; Jackson “1894 Diary,” 2:June 17. The *Bear*’s log of June 20 lists one whaler on board as a passenger. For the vouchers Healy submitted see Healy, *James Allen Report*, 4-5.

An article Dr. White wrote lauding the lifesaving exploits of the *Bear* included a drawing of the nine men rescued from Umnak (the drawing mistakenly calls in Unimak) Island in 1894. Its caption states that the drawing is “from a photograph”; White, “Some Arctic Shipwrecks Revived by the Relief Cruise of the Bear,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, December 12, 1897. An avid photographer, Dr. White probably took the photograph himself, and just as likely created the drawing. Unfortunately, according to a family history, a family squabble caused his brother-in-law to “shatter” his glass photographic plates; [Phyllis Price White], “A Jataka,” Series Description File, John Wesley White and James Taylor White Papers, 1865-1913, USUAF339, Alaska & Polar Regions Collections & Archives, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska-Fairbanks.

³⁷ Healy, *James Allen Report*, 2-3; Jackson, *Reindeer Report 1894*, 40. Healy’s criticism was repeated in a number of newspapers; see “Shipwreck and Cannibalism,” *Washington Post*, July 11, 1894; “Forced to Eat Their Mates,” *New-York Tribune*, July 12, 1894; “Wreck of the James Allen,” *Record-Union* (Sacramento), July 12, 1894; [Editorial], *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 4, 1894.

³⁸ Drake to Clark, June 18, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 298-99.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ "Huntley is Rescued," *San Francisco Call*, July 3 1894; "In Final Stress," *The Morning Call* (San Francisco), July 7, 1894.

⁴¹ "California, County Marriages, 1850-1952," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K86L-SQJ>; 28 November 2014), Santa Clara, California, United States, county courthouses, California; FHL microfilm 1,302,027; "Held for Burglary," *The Morning Call* (San Francisco), February 2 1894.

⁴² "In Final Stress," *San Francisco Call*, July 7, 1894; "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894.

⁴³ "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; "In Final Stress," *San Francisco Call*, July 7, 1894; "A Thrilling Tale," *Washington Standard* (Olympia) September 7, 1894.

⁴⁴ "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894.

⁴⁵ "An Arctic Shipwreck," *The Islander* (Friday Harbor, WA), September 20, 1894.

⁴⁶ "Cannibalism in the Arctic," *Los Angeles Herald*, November 19, 1894.

⁴⁷ "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; "Allen Kept Fat," *The Morning Call* (San Francisco), July 9, 1894.

⁴⁸ "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; "In Final Stress," *The Morning Call* (San Francisco) July 7, 1894.

⁴⁹ "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894.

⁵⁰ Jackson, "1894 Diary," 2:June 20; White, "Arctic Cruise 1894," June 20-22; "Bear Log," June 20-22.

⁵¹ Healy, *James Allen Report*, 3; "Jackson "1894 Diary," 2:June 12; "Bear Log, 1894," June 18-July 27.

⁵² Goodrich to Clark, July 12, 1894, in *Message From the President*, 321.

⁵³ Clark to Goodrich, July 11, 1894; Clark to Munger, July 11, 1894; Clark to Secretary of the Navy, July 11, 1894; *Ibid.*, 318-19 349-50.

⁵⁴ Goodrich to Clark, July 30, 1894; Goodrich to Clark, August 1, 1894, *ibid.*, 347, 353-54.

⁵⁵ "Lost in the Ice," *San Francisco Call*, July 15, 1894; "In Behring Sea," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 1, 1894; "The Allen's Boat," *San Francisco Call*, August 2, 1894. If these are two different stories, perhaps the two men discovered in the fishing vessel were the survivors of from Third Mate Duarte's whaleboat who decided to remain at Unalaska and work for the North American Commercial Company.

⁵⁶ "Fed on Human Flesh," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1894; "Diet of Human Flesh," July 3, 1894.

⁵⁷ "Whaler Fearless Lost in the Far North," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 1, 1902.

⁵⁸ "Wrecked Whaling Barks," *Los Angeles Herald* August 27, 1894. The newspaper was mistaken on one point: The *Hunter* did not "return clean" after its whaling voyage in 1893. It had taken one whale during its nine-month hunt, bringing to San Francisco eighty barrels of whale oil and 2,500 pounds of baleen, much of the latter having been obtained in trade from Siberian and Alaska Natives; *Whalemen's Shipping List, and Merchants' Transcript*, November 11 1894 <http://images.mysticseaport.org/images/wsl/18931114.pdf>; Hegarty, *Returns*, 29. A further report estimated that McKenna "must have lost \$150,000 [\$4,260,000.00 in 2015 dollars] in whaling vessels during the past three years"; *Los Angeles Herald*, September 27, 1894.

⁵⁹ "Burnt at Sea," *The Daily Bulletin* (Honolulu) January. 5, 1892 "A Sea Fire," *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), January 6, 1892.

⁶⁰ "Mishap to Whalers," *The Daily Bulletin*, (Honolulu) September 26, 1892.

⁶¹ Captains Huntley and Healy had probably met before. While it is not likely they met while Huntley was first mate of the whalers *Northern Light* (1889) and *Hunter* (1890) when the *Bear* was at Port Clarence in those years, once Huntley became a master of whalers that might have changed. In 1891, one of the vessels among the whaling fleet was the schooner *Bonanza* under Captain Huntley. It would not be surprising if he and Healy met at that time when "the Captains of the various whalers came on board [the *Bear*] for their mail"; Sheldon Jackson, "Diary of the Cruise of U.S. Revenue Steamer *Bear* 1891," July 5, 1891.

⁶² "Logbook of the U.S.R. Steamer *Bear*, Commanded by Captain M. A. Healy, U.S.R.M. Attached to Bering Sea Squadron, Commencing May 2d, 1893, at San Francisco," National Archives, Washington, DC, June 15-16; "A Journal of a Whaling Voyage on Board the Bark *Hunter*, Capt. Huntley, From San Francisco to the Artic [*sic*] Ocean, Commenced February 15, 1893, By W. F. Allen of N. Bedford," June 15-16, https://archive.org/details/logbookofhunterb00hunt_1. Allen's grammar was a bit off, and his spelling even more so, but I have kept both for their flavor.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ “Bowen Must Answer,” *San Francisco Call*, November. 7, 1896; “United States Census, 1900,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M9PW-9XF>), Enumeration District 400, sheet 6A, NARA microfilm publication T623 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1972.); FHL microfilm 1,240,083; “Report of Inspector D. M. Howard, Commanding Mackenzie River District, February 15, 1906,” in “Supplementary Report of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, 1905,” 5-6 Edward VII. *Sessional Paper No. 28* (Ottawa: Printed by S. E. Dawson, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1906), 19.

⁶⁶ “California Death Index, 1905-1939,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK91-5SGN>), Department of Health Services, Vital Statistics Department, Sacramento; “United States Census, 1930,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCX6-TGM>), Enumeration District 253, sheet 6A, NARA microfilm publication T626 (Washington DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 2002), roll 109; FHL microfilm 2,339,844; “United States Census, 1940,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K931-7XH>), Enumeration District 1-53, sheet 3B, NARA digital publication T627 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 2012), roll 185; “California Death Index, 1940-1997,” database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VPQM-7GW>): 26 November 2014), Department of Public Health Services, Sacramento.