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SITKA
THE RUSSIAN BISHOP'S HOUSE

NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK / ALASKA

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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

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HISTORIC FURNISHING STUDY

THE RUSSIAN BISHOP'S HOUSE

SITKA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

ALASKA

by

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DENVER SERVICE CENTER
HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION
NATONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

FOREWORD

The study which follows was prepared on the basis of agreements contained in the Planning Directive of April 1974 covering rehabilitation and adaptive restoration of the Russian Bishop's House; covering, also, a Historic Resource Study for Sitka National Historical Park. In effect, this Planning Directive detailed the contents of three distinct historical studies: a "Historic Resource Study"; the historical data section of a "Historic Structure Report," and; a "Historic Furnishings Study." Because the budget allotted for this work was limited, the plan to cover this much information in a single project was an excessively large order. This is apparent in the end product, for it is marred by uneven coverage. The first part of the document the "Historic Resource Study" is adequate under the terms of the Planning Directive. Likewise, the "Furnishings Study" covers all available data as was requested in the Planning Directive. However, in the historical data section for the "Historic Structure Report" additional information, while perhaps not crucial to rehabilitation and restoration, would have been of value to the architects engaged in the now ongoing work to the Regional Office, and to the Park staff. Such data would have presented, for example, the 20th Century uses and modifications of the building among other such detail. When this information is gathered at a future date, the Service should have nearly full information on the structure.

In reading the historical narrative of the Russians in Alaska, their economic developments and practices, and their relations with the native populations, the reader may at times encounter language and accounts of events somewhat shocking to people who live in the latter half of the 20th Century. The events may sound brutal; the attitudes racist. This material was deliberately introduced to show dramatically the nature of the era and to reflect Russian colonial attitudes vis a vis the native peoples. The tone for native attitudes toward peoples of European origin was set in this era.

The events recounted here, using in many cases the language of the Russians themselves, give graphic evidence of what can happen when human populations of disparate cultural backgrounds meet. The events are unique only in detail. The pattern they typify has been repetitive on a global basis and has relevance to human relations as they exist today.

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY: THE RUSSIANS IN AMERICA

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INTRODUCTION

Russian presence in the New World does not loom large when one surveys those nations that discovered, explored, settled, and exploited the North American continent. England, the Netherlands, France, and Spain each had a lasting influence on the colonization of the Western Hemisphere by European nations, but Russia's advance into the New World was smaller, and its effect was more ephemeral. That there are traces of the Russian-American venture at all is attributable mainly to the Russian Orthodox churchmen who accompanied the Russian-American Company's promyshlenniks (fur hunters) across the Bering Sea in search of furs. The relationship between the two representatives of the Russian homeland was not always amicable; the hardy frontiersmen often found the churchmen to be bothersome moralizers and to be drains on their supplies and finances. The churchmen too often saw a group of morally debased ruffians devoid of spiritual refinement in the promyshlenniks. Occasionally these complaints could be justifiably applied to members of either group. But frontiersmen and churchmen were cast into the adventure together. Forming a minority of common background in a setting that was often hostile, the Russians held together for 100 years, clinging with precarious grip to the shores of North America. When economic interest no longer held the Russian-American Company there, the Orthodox church--that epiphenomenal adornment of Russian expansion into the New World--provided the more lasting monument to this Russian adventure. Today in Russian-America, or Alaska, what remain of the Russian presence are the churches of the missionaries and the living proof of their works--the Russian-Orthodox community of Alaska.

The following study deals with one of the physical remains of the Russians' presence in Alaska. The bishop's house in Sitka is a

rare, extant structure dating from the years when Sitka was called Novoarchangelsk and the promyshlenniks of the Russian-American fur company held sway in Alaska. Coming into the possession of the National Park Service in 1972 as part of Sitka National Historical Park, the restored bishop's house can serve well as a symbol of Russian colonization efforts in America. The story it tells can round out the deservedly more familiar story of the European colonization that came from different lands across a different sea.

I want to thank the staff of the Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, for their assistance in going through the many documents in the collection of Orthodox church papers from Alaska. Ellen Lang, superintendent of Sitka National Historical Park, has been most helpful. Ruth Larison, National Park Service librarian in Denver, never failed to produce the right document at the right time. All translations in the report are by the author unless otherwise noted.

RUSSIAN EXPANSION TO THE EAST AND DISCOVERY OF AMERICA: 1584-1742

Alaska, the Bering Sea (the "Eastern Sea" to the Russians), and the northwest coast of America lay thousands of miles away from 16th century Muscovy, the core state around Moscow that was to become the center of the Russian Empire of modern times. The incentives that drove the Russians eastward across this distance during the 16th to the 18th centuries--to explore, exploit, and expropriate products and lands--were the same incentives that drove the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch to leave their homelands and travel westward to the New World. These incentives could be summed up as economic expansion: the spirit of discovery, the hope of personal gain, and the search for marketable goods and new markets. This "age of discovery" appealed to the hardy and adventurous men of these times to make their mark in life far from the comfortable routines of their homelands. This appeal was especially true for Russians. Their reward was often a material wealth and a freedom of spirit unattainable closer to home and hearth.

The first move toward the east (Siberia) from Muscovy came during the reign of Tsar Ivan the Terrible in the 16th century. In the 1580s a Cossack, Yermak, teamed up with the rich merchant family of Stroganov to launch military and commercial forays into the vastness of Siberia. These regions, the scene of the former greatness of the Tartar Khans who had subdued Russia in the Middle Ages, were now witnessing a period of Tartar decline. The Russian forays met with less military resistance and more commerical success than at first expected by Yermak and the Stroganovs. By the middle of the next century tsarist Russian rule was firmly implanted as far east as Okhotsk on the Pacific Ocean and at points

in between throughout Siberia. The Russian movement eastward, like the American movement westward, brought forth a breed of men who lived by, and for, the hunting and trapping of furs. They were the Russian counterpart of the American mountain men of the frontier west: the promyshlenniks of Siberia.[1]

Siberia underwent fundamental change under the advance of the promyshlenniks and other pioneers of the Russian eastern frontier during the late 17th and throughout the 18th centuries. The economy of eastern Siberia, with its unproductive lands, depended almost entirely on the promyshlenniks and their quest for sable furs. When these pelts grew rare, due to the unbridled exploitation by the fur hunters in the late 17th century, the promyshlenniks began to move to the shores of the Arctic Ocean. When a sea route was opened to the Kamchatka Peninsula in the early 18th century, the fur hunters, always seeking new resources, moved into the north Pacific basin in ever increasing numbers.[2]

At the beginning of the 17th century the northern Pacific Ocean was still a mare incognitum to mankind. The natives on both sides of the Bering Straits--the Chukchi on the Siberian side and the Eskimos and Aleuts on the American side--had, of course, a working knowledge of their local habitats. They knew, too, that they could cross over the waters which separated them when these

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1. Stuart Ramsay Tompkins, Alaska: Promyshlennik and Sourdough (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), p. 17.

2. Svetlana Federova, The Russian Population in Alaska and California, Late 18th Century--1867, trans. and ed. by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnely (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1973), p. 103.

waters were frozen over during winter. But they had no conception that here two major land masses came within a few miles of each other.

European navigators and explorers were totally ignorant of the area. In the late 16th century, Sir Francis Drake had sailed as far north in the Pacific as any other explorer. The putative voyages of Juan de Fuca had yielded little reliable information. The Spanish maritime explorers had restricted their sights to California.

Portuguese and Dutch navigators had established trade with Asia, the Portuguese in southeast Asia, and the Dutch as far north as Japan. The English and Dutch had sought a water route over the north of Russia to Asia, but had been blocked by the icy seas. Tsar Peter the Great (died 1725), who had opened up Russia to western science and technology, was urged by western cartographers to encourage exploration of the "Eastern Sea." Indeed, in the early 18th century, the question whether or not the Asian and North American continents were joined at some point was still unsolved.

Thus, in 1719, Peter the Great commissioned two explorers to explore the Kurile Islands and Kamchatka to determine whether the two land masses were joined. This venture failed to get any farther than the Kurile Islands before it had to turn back. But the man Peter next commissioned to explore the northern stretches of the Pacific had more success.

This man was Vitus Bering. Born in Denmark, he was 44 years old when Peter the Great chose him, one of the many foreigners whom Peter had recruited for his navy, to launch another exploration of the "Eastern Sea." Bering was given instructions to construct "one

or two boats with decks" at Kamchatka; to proceed along the coast which extended to the north which, "in all probability . . . seems to be a part of America"; and to find where this Siberian coast was joined to America, then "reach some city in European possession, and to enquire what it is called, and to make a note of it, and to secure exact information and to mark this on a map and then to return home."[3]

Three years passed before Bering was ready with a ship, the Saint Gabriel and supplies for the expedition. He sailed from the mouth of the Kamchatka River in July 1728. He followed the coast to the northeast, and after a month at sea, he sighted land which he named Saint Lawrence Island. He then proceeded northeast and sailed through the straits that were named for him. On August 16, 1728, having sailed past the Diomede Islands and lost sight to the northwest of the Siberian coast, Bering reached 67° 18' north latitude. He decided that he had answered the question as to whether or not the Asian and American continents were joined--they were not. He returned to the mouth of the Kamchatka River in September.

In 1732 Bering's ship Saint Gabriel was used for an expedition into the North Pacific by the Russian "geodesist" Michael Gvozdev while Bering was in Saint Petersburg. Gvozdev's expedition sailed through the Bering Straits to Little Diomede Island where they saw land to the east. This proved to be the mainland of North America. Gvozdev's crew sailed along this coast for five days before returning to Kamchatka.[4]

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3. Peter's instructions quoted in Tompkins. p. 23.

4. C. L. Andrews, The Story of Alaska (Cladwell, Idaho: Claxton Printers, 1944), p. 24. Hereafter cited as Andrews, Alaska.

Meanwhile, in Saint Petersburg, Bering had reported his trip to the royal court and the Academy of Sciences. His recommendations for further explorations met with more support from various governmental and scientific circles than he had expected or later might have wished for. By the time Bering left the Russian capital in late 1732, he had been promoted to captain-commander of a vast expedition which had grown from his original, more modest plans to include the following: 1) the exploration and mapping of the whole Arctic coast of Russia from Archangelok in the west to its eastern extremities in the Bering Straits and down the Pacific Coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula; 2) a voyage eastward to America, to be carried out by Bering and his lieutenant Chirikov, and another southward to Japan, by other members of Bering's expedition; 3) a complete investigation of the resources of Siberia, including ethnographic, linguistic, botanical, zoological, and cartographic studies of this vast unknown area east of the Ural Mountains. This part of the expedition was nominally under Bering's command, but was actually supervised by members of the Academy of Sciences.[5]

The rest of this decade was spent by the various arms of this prodigious expeditionary group in gathering materials, organizing parties, trekking to various staging points across Siberia, and building ships for the explorations. Costs soared (Bering's original estimate of 12,000 rubles had burgeoned to 300,000 rubles by 1738) and rivalries and insubordination grew as the years went by. Bering was often the object of complaints of jealous lieutenants, but he rose above it all and proved his tenacity and intelligence as an organizer and executor of a large undertaking.[6]

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5. Tompkins, p. 31.

6. For an excellent detailed summary of the preparations and difficulties attending the expedition, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Alaska (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1886), chap. 3 passim.

In the spring of 1740 the ships for Bering's expedition to America were finally completed in Okhotsk. Two ships, the Saint Peter and the Saint Paul (measuring 20 by 80 feet and armed with 14 small cannons) were built, along with three smaller transports. Bering and Chirikov left Okhotsk in September, sailed across the Sea of Okhotsk to the Kamchatka Peninsula, then followed the Kamchatka coast southward to a new harbor on the Pacific side of the peninsula. A new post was constructed here in Avatcha Bay and was given the name of Petropavlovsk, a combined form of the saints' names which Bering's and Cirikov's ships bore.

On June 4, 1741, the expedition to America, nine years in preparation, finally set sail. Bering commanded 75 men on the Saint Peter, and Chirikov commanded 76 men on the Saint Paul. They held course to the southeast until June 12 when the Saint Paul and Saint Peter became separated. Bering remained in the vicinity, hoping to meet up again with Chirikov, but on June 22 he gave up this hope and headed northeast until July 13, then due north for three more days. On this day the clouds parted and the men on the Saint Peter saw to the north a high snow-covered mountain peak with a rugged landscape before it, sloping down to the ocean. On this day, Saint Elias day, Bering first sighted America and he named the peak in honor of the saint of that day. The point of the land off which they lay (probably the present Kayak Island) was also called Saint Elias.[7] A party of scientists went ashore to reconnoiter the island while a boat was sent around it to chart its coast.

Bering was not in a mood to linger in these dangerous waters. Fog, reefs and rocks, and tidal currents made Bering wary of this

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7. Tompkins, p. 40.

forbidding shoreline. The Saint Peter thus proceeded around Kodiak Island and came within sight of the Chirikov and Semidi islands to the north. Water was running low and by now scurvy infected many of the sailors, including Bering himself. The Saint Peter landed briefly at the Shumazin Islands, where scientists gathered herbs to treat the scurvy among the crewmen, but Bering was bent on returning to Kamchatka, giving up plans for any further discovery in America. On October 25 they sighted (probably) Amchitka Island; three days later, Kiska Island; and then, the Semichi Islands. On November 6 the scurvy-weakened crew sighted what they took to be Kamchatka. The men of the Saint Peter beached their ship, made provisional huts, and prepared to wait out the winter in order to return overland to Petropavlovsk.

In reality, Bering and his sick crew had landed on an island, which they realized after spending some weeks there. Meanwhile, Bering himself now weakened rapidly from scurvy and from the hardships of the approaching winter on the inhospitable island. December 8, 1741, Vitus Bering died on the island that came to bear his name, and where a plain Greek cross still marks his grave on the north side.[8] By January, 31 of the Saint Peter's 75-man crew had died from hardship and scurvy. The remaining men slowly recovered, rebuilt a boat from the wreckage of their stranded ship, and made their way back to Petropavlovsk in August 1742.

Back in June 1741, Chirikov had kept the Saint Paul in the vicinity of his and Bering's point of separation, just as Bering had done.

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8. Clarence C. Hulley, The History of Alaska, 1741-1953 (Portland, Ore.: Benford and Mort, 1953), p. 52.

By the 23rd, he gave up on finding Bering and set his own course to the northeast. On July 15 he sighted the west side of Prince of Wales Island. On the 17th, the entrance to a great bay, possibly Sitka Harbor, came into view. A boat with ten men was sent into the harbor to explore. It did not return. A few days later Chirikov sent another boat with six men to search for the first party. But like the first boat, the second rounded the entrance into the bay (around Mount Edgecumbe?) and disappeared from sight, never to be seen again. The total disappearance of these two boats from Chirikov's Saint Paul remains a mystery to this day.[9]

At this point Chirikov, too, decided to return to Petropavlovsk. With more luck than Bering had had, he headed the Saint Paul past the Afognak and Kodiak islands, skirted the Aleutians in September, lay becalmed in a bay (probably) on Adak Island, and arrived in Petropavlovsk safely, but with a scurvy-weakened crew, on October 10, 1741.

The following May, before the remainder of Bering's crew arrived, Chirikov set out again in the Saint Paul to search for the Saint Peter. He unwittingly came close to Bering Island, but failed to find the ship and returned to Kamchatka because of bad weather.

Although Bering had been criticized for his precipitate return from America and his failure to allow his scientists to perform investigations when they did land on various islands, his accomplishments nevertheless outweighed these shortcomings. He

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9. Ibid., p. 48.

charted the "Eastern Sea" and opened the door to the northwest coast of America.[10]

The death of Bering and many of the seamen on board both the Saint Paul and the Saint Peter, and the hardships they endured, might have slowed rather than promoted further expeditions into the north Pacific had it not been for one thing: the furs that the crews returned with. In spite of all the dangers involved, word of the wealth in the form of blue fox, fur seal, sea otter, and other skins excited interest among the promyshlenniks throughout eastern Siberia. The survivors of Bering's ship, for instance, returned with skins worth 90,000 rubles in trade with the Chinese.[11] This was the message that the fur hunters of Siberia perceived from the Bering expedition of 1741-42.

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10. Tompkins, p. 44.

11. Hector Chevigny, Russian America: The Great Alaskan Venture, 1741-1867 (New York: Viking Press, 1967), p. 29. Hereafter cited as Chevigny, Russian America.

EXPANSION INTO THE NORTH PACIFIC: 1742-1790

The cossack Emil Basov was the first to follow in the wake of Bering and Chirikov. In 1743 and the years following, Basov and his partner, the Moscow merchant Serebrennikov. financed fur-hunting expeditions which went only as far as Bering Island and the Commander Islands. Nevertheless, they were able to return with large amounts of blue fox, sea otter, and fur seal skins.[1]

Following this, another expedition under Michael Nevodchikov sailed in 1745 as far as the outermost of the Aleutian Islands. The Russian promyshlenniks stayed the winter in Attu. While there, they engaged the native men to hunt for them while they remained in the village with the women. Trouble ensued over the Russians' dalliance with the native women. Fighting erupted, and the Russians killed all the Aleut men in one village before leaving hastily. On the return trip Nevodchikov's ship was wrecked and 12 sailors lost their lives. For the natives over the next decades, this incident on Attu came to symbolize the dangers that the white-skinned strangers brought to their land. The place where this happened on Attu Island is now known as Massacre Bay.[2]

In 1753 Serebrennikov financed another ship, which sailed to a hitherto undiscovered group of islands (probably the Rat Islands), where the vessel was wrecked. The sailors went ashore, stayed a year, and then returned in a ship made from the wreckage of the

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1. Bancroft, p. 100.

2. Tompkins, p. 47.

original ship. Other ships sailed in the next years to the Rat, Aleutian, the Fox islands and to the Alaska Peninsula, all returning well rewarded in furs for their efforts.[3]

In 1759 Pushkarev sailed to the Alaskan Peninsula and fared well until he attempted to seize some native girls. In the ensuing fight several Russians were killed. The Russians responded by killing some of the hostages they had taken and then retreated from the land after taking 31 more hostages aboard their ship. At another landing the Russians sent some girls ashore to pick berries. Two girls ran away, another was killed, and still others committed suicide rather than be taken again by the Russians. So Pushkarev retaliated by throwing all of the other natives (except for two boys) into the sea in order to remove witnesses to his brutality. Later, in Siberia, the authorities issued no more than a strict warning to Pushkarev and others against such actions.[4]

The Aleut uprising of 1763-66 was a direct result of such brutality by the Russians, although this brutality may not have been typical of the majority of the promyshlenniks who were active in the area. In 1762 four ships sailed from Okhotsk for the Fox Islands. Two-thirds of one ship's crew was attacked and wiped out by natives the following year on Unalaska Island. The remaining crew members managed to rejoin another ship of the party. The crew of the second ship was attacked the following winter (1763); the ship and many of the crew were lost. The remainder of the crews of

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3. Andrews, p. 33.

4. Ibid.

these two of the original four ships had to make their way by native bidarkas (canoes) to the island of Umnak. Here the stragglers found the burned remains of the third ship and the bodies of the slain crew and captain in a heap on the shore. Finally, in August of 1774, the fourth ship, returning to Petropavlovsk, found and rescued the survivors on Umnak. Instead of proceeding to Kamchatka, they decided to find a defensible position for their ship and wait out the danger.

By now word of the killing of the Russians had reached Kamchatka. In revenge, one Ivan Soloviev sailed forth and arrived on Unalaska Island in September 1774. Prepared for battle, Soloviev's crew staved off the attacks of the natives, killing some and capturing others as hostages. In November the natives made a concerted attack on Soloviev and his men, but were repulsed with many casualties.[5] Attacks continued both on Unalaska and Umnak throughout the winter of 1774-75. Finally the natives were beaten down. From this time on, the Aleuts seemed to be a subjugated people, never again rising up against the Russians.

One of the stories that came out of the Aleut uprising demonstrated the cruelty of Soloviev. He reportedly tied up a dozen Aleuts in row, front to back, to see how far a musket ball could penetrate their bodies. The ball reportedly stopped in the body of the ninth Aleut.[6] The estimates of the total number of Aleuts killed during Soloviev's revenge range from 200 to 3,000.[7]

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5. Tompkins, p. 53.

6. This incident was reported years later by the natives to the Russian missionary Ivan Veniaminov. Bancroft, p. 151, n.

7. Ibid.

The brutality of Soloviev's actions only reflected the general lawlessness that characterized the frontier regions of Siberia at this time. The royal court of Empress Elizabeth was too taken up in European affairs to pay attention to the activities of the promyshlenniks in the far eastern reaches of the Russian Empire. Saint Peterburg's authority--officially represented by various governors, vice-governors, voyevodes, etc., in some of the larger Siberian cities--had, in reality, little effect on keeping law and order. Officials of the government were both the policemen and the judges, a situation which invited corruption. In these lands of the fur hunters taxes were exacted in animal skins (yasak). This tax, or tribute, was extended to the natives of the Aleutians in 1749, a practice they neither understood nor accepted when administered by the likes of a Soloviev. The tax of pelts was normally a tenth of a catch, but was increased to as much as a third when temporary monopoly privileges were granted to an expedition. This monopoly, in turn, was often granted only after the right palms had been crossed. Moreover, the large number of exiles from Russia--which increased when Elizabeth banned capital punishment in favor of banishment--worked to bring the prevalent low tone of morality in public life even lower.[8]

Catherine the Great's ascension to the Russian throne in 1762 signalled a change in the affairs of the east. These changes did not occur overnight, and some things, such as robust frontier lawlessness and venality, could never be completely controlled. But a renewed perception of the political importance of the thrust to the east was awakened in the councils of Saint Petersburg. New official

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8. Tompkins, p. 49.

explorations into the Bering Sea were again encouraged by the royal court, even though they at first proved fruitless (Synd, 1764; Krenitsyn-Levashev, 1768). Moreover, the fur-trapping expeditions were encouraged by Catherine. The rescinding of the tribute of fur from the natives in 1774 exemplified Catherine's directives to deal humanely with the natives.[9] First governmental extension of control over the new lands of the northern Pacific came in 1772, when the governor of Siberia extended his jurisdiction to include the Aleutian Islands.[10]

The period from 1770 to 1790 has been described as "the heyday" of fur trapping in the Aleutians.[11] The pioneering days of the individual promyshlennik were over. Fewer entrepreneurs organized larger companies, used larger ships, and stayed on the hunt longer--up to several years now--in order to bring back ever greater numbers of pelts.

The result of these more efficient and productive fur-trapping expeditions was the gradual depletion of seals and sea otter in the Aleutian chain. By the 1780s new grounds were sought for hunting. The first attempt to establish a base on the Alaskan mainland came in 1783 but proved unsuccessful.[12]

In 1786 the fur trader Gerasim Pribilof decided to search for islands to the north of the central part of the Aleutian chain. He had

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9. Ibid., p. 56.

10. Hulley, p. 65.

11. Bancroft, p. 202.

12. Hulley, p. 65.

heard about these islands from native Indian lore. They supposedly teemed with the fur seal. As long as the Aleutian islands were still productive, there was no need to seek these islands, which were not far from the Aleutian chain but difficult to find because of the mantle of fog that almost always hid them from view. After searching through the misty Bering Sea for three weeks, Pribilof finally found his prize on June 12, 1786.

The Seal (or Pribilof) Islands proved to be all that the native informers had said they were. In the first year of trapping (1786-87) the hunters amassed the immense number of 40,000 fur seal skins, 2,000 sea otter skins, 14,400 pounds of walrus ivory, and "more whale bone than a ship could carry."[13]

The half century of increasingly intensive activity by the Russians, their reach for the American continent, and the stories of the wealth of furs which they were bringing back to Russia from these cold, gray northern Pacific waters could not but eventually arouse the interest, and sometimes concern, of other seafaring nations.

First and foremost among these nations were the English. The famous explorer Captain Cook was sent in July 1776 to search for a northwest passage from the Pacific to Hudson Bay; he was also to avoid "disturbing" subjects of any European prince which he might meet on the way, "but on the contrary to treat them with civility and friendship." After passing 65° north latitude (i.e., areas north of what the English considered possible points of conflict with the Russians), Cook was "to take possession . . . in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such

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13. Ibid., p. 68.

countries as you may discover, that have not already been discovered or visited by any other European power."[14] And if they were discovered but uninhabited, Cook was to claim the lands anyway for the king "by setting up proper marks and inscriptions as first discoverers and possessors."

Cook did not reach the Alaskan coast until nearly two years later. He passed and named Mount Edgecumbe at the inlet to Sitka. He traveled on up the coast, sighting and naming Mount Fairweather, Bering Bay (now Yakutat Bay), and Kayes Island (Kayak Island) for the English and discovered and named Prince William Sound. At what is now Cook's Inlet, he attempted to sail up the river, hoping for a passage to Hudson Bay but, frustrated, returned down river and named it the Turnagain River. On his way up to the Arctic Ocean, Cook also named Bristol Bay. Blocked by ice, Cook's ships, the Resolution and Discovery, returned to Unalaska Island, where he beached his ships for repairs. While there, Cook's ships were visited by Russian traders, who introduced themselves by sending a salmon pie. Cook responded with bottles of liquor. Exchanges of information ensued in a cordial atmosphere. The most important bit of intelligence Cook received from the Russians was that Unimak was an island not part of the mainland as shown on Cook's maps.[15]

Cook thus closed out his expedition to the northern Pacific and proceeded on to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), where he died at the hands of natives in February 1779. No lands were claimed for the king; no passage was found over North America to the Atlantic.

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14. Quoted in Bancroft, p. 203.

15. Ibid., p. 214.

He was, however, able to add to cartographic knowledge and to treat the subjects of a European prince "with civility and friendship." The sailors of the Cook expedition were able to sell the furs collected on their voyage for $10,000 in Chinese ports.[16] Home in England, the crews of the Resolution and the Discovery fanned excitement for this land of quick riches.

Several fur-hunting expeditions set out from England in the years following Cook's expedition. They actually became the first of a steady stream of English voyages to these waters throughout the 19th century. Americans, too, began to frequent the northern Pacific after the close of the Revolutionary War. The Americans were called "the Boston men" by the natives, just as the English were known as "King George's men."

French and Spanish hunters and explorers also began to show up in the northern Pacific. As early as 1774 a Spanish ship went as far north as Prince of Wales Island. The next year the Spaniard Quadra went north to Sitka, named Mount Edgecumbe "Mount Jacinto," and gave the permanent name to Buccareli Bay on Prince of Wales Island. The Spanish also established a fort at Nootka, which proved to be short lived when the British brought pressure to bear on it. When the Spanish left Nootka in 1794, they gave up hope of a foothold on the northwest coast of America.[17]

The most notable of the French excursions into the territory was that of de La Perouse. Sent by his government in 1786 to carry out scientific exploration, his trip was ill-fated from the beginning.

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16. Andrews, Alaska, p. 51.

17. Tompkins, p. 78.

Many of his crew were drowned in Frenchmans Bay; in memory of his men La Perouse named Cenotaph Island. He later disappeared (along with the remaining crew of his two ships) in the South Seas.[18]

By the last decade of the 18th century more and more signs began to point toward the fact that a different approach should be used by the Russians in their pursuit of the fur trade in the northern Pacific Ocean. The fur-bearing animals of the islands closer to Russia were gradually decimated. Longer and longer trips had to be made. The ships had to become larger, and the companies of men greater, in order to successfully pursue their object. Financing of the ventures became more expensive and, because of the dwindling supplies of pelts, riskier. Added to these changing economic factors was the new political and diplomatic situation thrust on Saint Petersburg resulting from the presence of more and more Russians in the vicinity of the New World and the attendant suspicions aroused in the competing nations of Spain and Great Britain as to Russian intent there. How Russia--both the government and the private entrepreneurs--dealt with these problems marked a new era in the history of Russia in the northern Pacific.

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18. Andrews, Alaska, p. 52.

THE FOUNDING OF THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY

The man for these changing times was Grigorii Shelikhov. He was a successful merchant in the trading city of Irkutsk, in Siberia, who in 1776 had formed a partnership for a fur-hunting voyage to the Aleutians. Shelikhov was active in the Aleutian fur trade both as an organizer of his own hunting expeditions and as an investing participant in other undertakings of the time. He had grown rich on this trade because of his energy and business acumen and, to some degree, the luck of having his ships return to Okhotsk laden with furs while others might have found thin herds of seal and sea otter or lost ships and furs to the still uncertain waters of the Bering Sea. But Shelikhov's success served to excite rather than slow his energies.[1]

Shelikhov became intrigued with the thought of a permanent Russian settlement in the northern Pacific. It would take advantage of such trading institutions as had been proven by the East India Company or Hudson's Bay Company. In 1781 he formed a company with this in mind, decided on an island close to the American shores, and started construction of three large ships--the Three Saints, Saint Simeon, and Saint Michael--to carry him, his wife, and 192 men to found his Russian colony. The squadron set forth in 1783 for Kodiak Island.

Not until a year later, in the summer of 1784, did Shelikhov arrive at his destination, and then without the Saint Michael, which had become separated while underway. This loss was especially damaging, for this ship carried most of the tools needed for building

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1. Tompkins, p. 89.

a colony. Shelikhov nevertheless carried forth his project, named the location of the colony Three Saints Bay after his ship, and started construction of buildings. Three Saints Bay became a village of seven or eight individual dwellings, bunkhouses, a commissary, barns, workshops, and the like for over 120 Russians.[2]

The natives of Kodiak were hostile to the Russian intruders. They sent a message that Shelikhov and his party should leave at once if they wanted to escape with their lives.[3] Several battles ensued in which the Russians had the advantage and many Aleut lives were lost. After a time, the natives gave up open resistance, but remained unfriendly. Shelikhov tried to overcome their hostility by offering gifts and treating the native population with kindness and respect. At last he broke down their hostility enough to employ some in his company and even to baptize and open a school for a small number of them.[4]

Shelikhov was heartened by the progress of his undertaking. Adding to this optimism was the news received in February 1786 that the lost Saint Michael had turned up with crew and cargo aboard and could proceed to Kodiak Island and the Russian colony at Three Saints Bay. After setting up a solid organization and training a leader for the Russian colony, Shelikhov and his wife returned from Kodiak to Kamchatka in May 1786. Thus Shelikhov had founded the first permanent Russian colony on the threshold of what was to become Russian-America. His task now was to assure that all future colonies would be under his control. Shelikhov and

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2. Chevigny, Russian America, p. 55.

3. Bancroft, p. 225.

4. Ibid., p. 227.

his wife, the first European woman to accompany the promyshlenniks to America, arrived home in Irkutsk in 1787. In the meantime, Golikov, a partner of Shelikhov, had arranged an audience with the Empress Catherine II for the two leaders of the Kodiak expedition. Shelikhov arrived in Saint Petersburg with high hopes for his future.

The partners drew up a petition to the empress containing requests for (1) a monopoly position on the fur trade, (2) armed assistance from the Russian navy, (3) the right to employ natives, and (4) a loan of 200,000 rubles.[5] Catherine turned the request over to a commission for examination, and it approved the requests of Golikov and Shelikhov for everything they wanted. Nevertheless, this petition was refused finally by Catherine, probably because in this age of Adam Smith, the empress favored a policy of free trade and the break-up of monopolies in Russia. Added to this was Catherine's fear at this time of antagonizing Great Britain, a circumstance which might result from a Russian company on North American shores.[6]

This setback did not cause Shelikhov and Golikov to cease their efforts. Shelikhov, while in Saint Petersburg, ostentatiously visited the famous Valaam monastery and offered to underwrite the building of churches and missionary work of priests in the New World. Favorably impressed, the empress ordered the church to accept the partners' offer and send priests to their settlements on Kodiak Island, Cook's Inlet, Afognak Island, and Cape Elias. Shelikhov also paraded his plans for educating the natives, building villages, and encouraging agriculture, to impress Catherine.

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5. Chevigny, Russian America, p. 60.

6. Hulley, p. 75.

In 1795 Shelikhov died, but the realization of his plans was not yet extinguished. As instrumental as anything in their final realization was the marriage of Shelikhov's daughter to an influential courtier in Saint Petersburg, Nikolai Rezanov. Rezanov was able to carry on the interests of the Shelikhov-Golikov company at court. When Catherine II died in 1796, her son and successor, Paul I, was convinced by Rezanov and Golikov that the Christian cause (Paul was devout) would be advanced by the company.

Moreover, Paul now perceived that the interests of Russia in the Pacific would be better served if the Russians there presented a unified, centrally controlled contingent under the direct influence of the tsar. The iron was hot for striking.[7]

Rezanov now used his influence to bring about an imperial order in 1797 stating that all competing companies in American waters were to unite. After two years of fighting with rival companies, the dream of Grigorii Shelikhov, now furthered by his son-in-law, Rezanov, came true on July 8, 1797; the Russian-American Company was granted its charter by Emperor Paul I.

The ukase[8] granted the new company privileges for a period of 20 years on the northwest coast of America, starting at 55° north (i.e., at about the present southeastern boundary of Alaska in Ketchikan) and running north from this point. The company had exclusive rights to hunting, trading, building, and all new discoveries. All those who refused to join the new company and were then in Alaskan waters had to cease operations when their last ship returned to port in Kamchatka. Foreigners were not allowed

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7. Ibid., p. 122.

8. See appendix A.

to invest in the company.

In 1800 the tsar ordered that the company headquarters be moved from Irkutsk to Saint Petersburg. One thousand shares of the stock for the company were quickly sold there; soon thereafter the tsar, tsaritsa, and Grand Duke Constantine openly favored the company by buying 20 shares apiece and designating their returns to go to charities. The par value of each share rose quickly from 1,000 to over 3,500 rubles, leading some of the Irkutsk managers to play the market too dangerously to suit Rezanov's liking.[10] This speculation was one of the reasons Rezanov chose to gain control over the company's affairs by moving it to Saint Petersburg. Also, as a quasi-official extension of the government, the Russian-American Company's activities, especially as they touched on affairs with foreign nations, had to be closely supervised by the tsar's officials.

Relations with natives were mentioned in the acts of consolidation of the company. Shelikhov's courting of the church's favor found full response ten years later. The company had

> to bind itself to maintain a mission of the Graeco-Catholic church in America, members of which were to accompany all trading and hunting expeditions, and voyages of discovery which were likely to bring them in contact with known or unknown tribes, and to use every endeavor to christianize them and encourage their allegiance to Russia.[11]

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9. Bancroft, p. 381.

10. S. B. Okun, The Russian-American Company, trans. by Carl Ginsburg (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 48.

11. Quoted in Bancroft, p. 382.

The Russian settlers, moreover, were to be encouraged in the art of shipbuilding and in agriculture and cattle raising on the islands and continent of America. The Americans [i.e., natives] were to be employed where possible, traded with, and "the maintenance of friendly relations" with them was to be kept constantly in view.

The independent promyshlennik had no future in America. The Russian-American Company, a state-chartered monopoly, ended what Vitus Bering had opened up to the free-spirited trapper of Siberia 70 years earlier.

THE DESTRUCTION OF OLD SITKA, 1802

On a Sunday in mid-June 1802 the Russians at the recently established post of Saint Michael on Sitka Bay were enjoying a day of rest. The manager of the post, Medvednikov, had sent some of the men to fish and tend the nets in the river. Some of the women were in the woods picking berries. Fifteen men remained at the barracks of the post, some of them outside in the courtyard.

The Indians--having been informed by Indian women living within the post of the numbers of men in the fort and the condition of readiness on such holidays--suddenly appeared out of the surrounding forests. They were armed with knives, spears, and guns, and wore terrifying masks representing animals' heads. They immediately opened the attack by firing guns and throwing spears at the surprised Russians in the courtyard, who scrambled for safety inside the two-story building of the fort. The Russian leader Medvednikov hurried downstairs, joined the other dozen or so men, and tried to repulse the attack. But the doors of the fort were soon broken in by the Indians. Medvednikov and two others were slain immediately.

The remaining Russians retreated upstairs where the women were hidden and continued the fight, but soon the Indians had set fire to the building. The men and women either fell from the upper floor or attempted to jump to safety and escape to the woods, but the Russian men were caught by the Indians and pierced through with spears. They were then dragged around for a time, after which the Indians cut off the heads of the dying men."[1] The women were packed off to boats as prisoners. The Indians ended

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1. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Alaska, 1730-1885 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1886). p. 412. The account of the Sitka massacre is from Materiali dlia istorii russkich zaselenii, St. Petersburg, 1861, as translated in Bancroft, pp. 402-13.

their assault on the Sitka post by escaping with the furs, trading items, and all other goods they could lay their hands on.

One of the few Russian men at the fort that day who escaped described the onslaught from a different perspective. On that fateful day he had been sent by Medvednikov to tend the cattle. When he returned he found a "great multitude" of Indians surrounding the barracks and climbing onto the roof "with guns and canons." In the middle of the horde the Indian leader, whom the Russians had given the name Michael, was directing the attack. He soon signalled to the bay for more Indians in canoes to join the attack.

Seeing that there was no hope of joining his companions in the fort, he rushed back to the shed in the cattle yard to get a gun, but Indians overtook him and forced him to hand it over. He was lucky to rush away into the woods and hide in the underbrush from his pursuers. After a while he made his way through the woods and back to the perimeter of the settlement. Hiding in a thicket, he saw that his comrades had not been able to stave off the attacking Indians and watched the several buildings of the post--barracks, warehouse and shed, bathhouse, and the recently built ship--all going up in flames. Of the 16 men he knew to be in the barracks he witnessed that two were caught trying to escape and decapitated. How the other fourteen met their death he did not know to relate.

After this the Russian again fled into the woods and wandered about all night long, staying high on the mountains to avoid being seen. During this time he met up with two other refugees from the attack, friendly natives from Kodiak whom the Russians had brought with them to the Sitka fort. One was a young mother

"with a child at her breast"; the other a sick man whom the hunting party had left behind in the woods. The group wandered about for eight days, occasionally returning close enough to the fort to see if any Russians had returned who might help them get away. On the last day of their hiding they heard cannon shots in the bay. The Russian went to inspect, found an English ship at anchor, and finally managed to make himself seen by the captain, who sent a boat to his rescue just before six pursuing Indians could reach him. The Russian persuaded the ship's captain, Captain Barber, to send another boat to rescue his companions in flight.

The Russian then told Captain Barber of the attack on the Sitka post and persuaded him to return to the scene of the slaughter where they found the bodies of the slain Russian men, all but one were headless. The ship's party buried the dead, determined that nothing of material value remained to be saved, and returned to the ship.

After staying at anchor for a few days in the bay, Captain Barber's ship was approached by two Aleut bidarkas. In them were Chief Michael and his nephew. Chief Michael asked the English captain whether any Russians were on board and whether he wished to trade. The captain denied he had seen any Russians but enticed the chief to come aboard, whereupon the crewmen of Barber's Unicorn pounced on Chief Michael, put him in chains and threatened to hang him if all the hostages and loot from the Sitka post were not turned free to the English ship. After several days of sporadic freeing of the hostages by the Indians (while Chief Michael was being held hostage aboard ship), the remaining hostages plus the loot from the fort were finally turned over to the English, Chief Michael and his nephew were set free, and the Unicorn sailed for Kodiak Island to return the rescued Russians to Russian-American Company headquarters on that island.

Captain Barber, for all his apparent humanity, drove a hard bargain once he faced the grateful chief manager of the company, Alexander Baranov. He demanded 50,000 rubles, or the equivalent in furs, for the release of the refugees he had brought from the destroyed fort at Sitka. Baranov refused and a period of threats by Barber, mingled with haggling on Baranov's part, finally produced a compromise of 10,000 rubles' worth of furs as the price for the release of the Captain's guests aboard the Unicorn--three Russian men, five Aleuts, and 18 Aleut women and children.[2]

The attack on Sitka was one of the more dramatic and grisly events in the history of the Russian settlement on the northwest coast of America. It was by no means the only conflict between the native and the intruder from across the seas. The Russians undoubtedly took more lives than they gave up in their trek across the Aleutian chain and down the coast of America. But the Sitka melee pointed up several elements of the Russian advance which, at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, were important to the future direction of the Russian-American Company. These elements were the growing resistance of the Indians to the Russians; the increasing friction with the other European powers in the Pacific basin; and, third, the importance of the resourcefulness of the company's chief administrator to the success or failure of the company in its early days.

The revolt of the natives, the Tlingits of the Sitka area and other tribes all along the southeast coast of Alaska, was a well-planned maneuver that had been in the offing for some time before the destruction of Sitka. The Russian usurpation of native hunting

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2. Hulley, p. 125.

grounds and land and the lingering suspicion of their brutality had by this time developed a cordial hate for them in the councils of the natives. The planning of the uprising showed great resourcefulness on the part of the Indians. Some 50,000 Indians from various tribes, ranging from the Queen Charlotte Islands in the south to Yakutat Bay in the north and representing a variety of dialects and customs, were brought together by their desire to drive out the interlopers and were able to keep the secret of the uprising from the Russians.[3] Their attack brought death to some 200 Russians and their Aleut comrades up and down the coast and caused hesitation in the advance of the Russian-American Company.[4]

The hostile attitude of the English Captain Barber to Alexander Baranov, aside from Barber's humane aid to the victims of the Sitka disaster, also indicated the growing tensions between the powers competing for the northern Pacific. These tensions were not new in 1802. In the last decades of the 1700s Spain and Great Britain were already vying with Russia for the fur trade in the Alaskan waters. The Hudson's Bay Company was moving relentlessly westward on the mainland, and with it came the British flag.

The Spanish had already asserted their "rights" to the west coast of America by seizing English trading ships in Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island) in the 1780s. The British protested vehemently, and by the Nootka Convention of 1790 Spain capitulated, returned Britain's ships, and withdrew to her

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3. Tompkins, p. 115.

4. Andrews, Alaska, p. 74.

establishments in California. Thus ended Spain's claim to supremacy in the northern Pacific for all time.[5]

Russia signed the Nootka Convention along with Spain and Great Britain, but the Russians secretly scoffed at the provision that would limit their southward extension to the 60th parallel, a line well to the north of Sitka. Nevertheless, Russia was wary of exciting British resentment. Though intent on moving south, Baranov tried to avoid disputes over boundary alignments with the British. When they arose Baranov was instructed to hide behind the camouflage of the Russian-American Company and refer the British to the imperial court in Saint Petersburg.[6] The Russians had learned well the lessons of the British East India Company.

After the Sitka affair the fortunes of the young Russian-American Company were at low ebb. Many men had been lost. Sitka, the southern outpost, so promising as the center of a rich fur-trapping area, had been snatched back by its original owners. Ships with men and supplies from Russia had not arrived. Baranov, away from his post in Sitka when the attack came, was sure that the bad news of the Sitka disaster would reflect on him personally. To top things off, Baranov was confined to his quarters with an attack of rheumatism, the common complaint of these damp, cold regions.[7] A lesser man might have despaired, but Baranov was no mean antagonist. He was already planning how to recoup his and the company's losses.

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5. Olesk Rudenko, "Russia in the Pacific Basin," Journal of the West 15(April 1976):55.

6. Bancroft, p. 415.

7. Andrews, Alaska, p. 75.

BARANOV REESTABLISHES SITKA

Alexander Baranov, the chief manager of the Russian-American Company's "field headquarters" in America, was at a low point in his career in June 1802. His southernmost trading oupost at Sitka had just been wiped out by Indians. Other Russian and Aleut hunting parties all up and down the coast from Sitka had been attacked, resulting in great loss of life and property to the company. Relations with Russia's rivals, the English, were tense. The "Boston men" from American ships were suspected of inciting and equiping the Indians for their attacks on Russia. But it was the nature of "field general" Baranov to persevere in the face of adversity. Under him the Russian-American Company gained its foothold on the northwest coast of America in spite of temporary reverses and hostile conditions.

Alexander Baranov was born at Kargopol, Russia, in 1741. He was the son of a petty merchant and worked as a young man in shops in Kargopol and in Moscow, where he estabished his own business in 1771. Sometime in the 1790s Baranov returned to Kargopol to set up his own trading business. He married and had a daughter, but apparently this was not a happy marriage. In later years of separation, however, Baranov dutifully sent his family money.[1]

In 1780 Baranov left his wife in Kargopol and went to Siberia to manage a glass factory at Irkutsk. He was successful in Siberia through most of that decade. More than once he turned down

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1. For Baranov's life see Hector Chevigny, Lord of Alaska: Baranov and the Russian Adventure (New York: Viking Press, 1944), passim. Hereafter cited as Chevigny, Baranov.

offers by Shelikhov to head the Shelikhov-Golikov company. But in 1790, after a run of misfortune in his Siberian trade which left him penniless, Baranov accepted Shelikhov's offer to manage the fur-hunting company that Shelikhov had recently established on Kodiak Island. Baranov received a five-year contract and ten shares in the company from Shelikhov. From his old friend Major Koch, the commander of Okhotsk and the Aleutian Islands, Baranov received certain jurisdictional authority as his representative. This aided Baranov in his dealings with ship captains (who otherwise could have ignored this commoner) as well as in his role as judge, jury, and administrator over feuding Russians on Kodiak Island.[2]

Baranov's first years as Shelikhov's chief were troublesome. To begin with the ship Three Saints, carrying Baranov, wrecked on Unalaska Island. Baranov and the crew had to spend the first year there in make-shift quarters. Arriving at last at company headquarters at Three Saints Bay on Kodiak Island in July 1791, Baranov found a prospering colony of Russians and "creoles" (persons of mixed Russian and native blood). But he also found the pressing need to move ever eastward and southward to meet the competition of other Russian companies and foreigners for furs. In 1792 Baranov moved the company headquarters to the north side of Kodiak Island (where the present town of Kodiak is). In the same year, the first shipbuilding yard in Russian-America was founded in Resurrection Bay on the Kenai Peninsula of the Alaskan mainland. In 1794, with the help of the English ship captain Shields, the Phoenix (the first ship to be built there) was completed in the new navy yard.[3]

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2. Ibid., p. 39.

3. Bancroft, p. 321.

In 1794, a rival company from Russia was active in the Cook Inlet, where some of Baranov's men were also encamped for a hunting season. The rivalry soon developed into fighting, with Konovalov, the leader of the rivals, leading raiding parties on the supplies and fur caches of Baranov's men. Using governmental powers that actually exceeded those given him by Major Koch (the military commander in Okhotsk), Baranov nevertheless exhibited his flair for resourcefulness by "ordering" Konovalov arrested, placed in chains, and sent back to Okhotsk. This affair marked the decline of Baranov's chief Russian rival in the area.[4]

Also in 1794 an attempt was made to establish a settlement on Yakutat Bay. Shelikhov had organized a colony of convicts and serfs from Russia to develop agriculture and cattle raising to help feed the Russians in America. But after several years of unsuccessful farming, bad weather, and attacks from the aggressive natives, the colony proved a failure. The coup de grace was given the Yakutat Bay colony in 1804 when Indians attacked and killed most of the inhabitants.

The first attempts at missionary work among the natives were hardly successful. The first monks sent out from the Valaam monastery to Kodiak Island had a low opinion of Baranov's morals and were unable to establish a sympathetic relationship with the natives they were to convert. Hence any conversions they made were superficial and nonlasting. Nor did the addition of these monks to Baranov's colony ease the material situation. From Baranov's viewpoint they were merely a nonproductive element of his group who had to be supported by the working members. The

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4. Tompkins, p. 102.

best that could be hoped for from them would be the conversion of the natives into obedient, hard-working servants of the company, a result the monks were incapable of achieving. Even the greatest of the Alaska missionaries, Ivan Veniaminov, was incapable of striking success in terms of number and permanence of conversions.

By the later 1790s, Baranov's ever-searching eye had fixed upon the Alexander Archipelago as the place for an extension of Russian influence to ward off the English and Americans moving in from Queen Charlotte Island to the south. The following exposition of the reasons for Baranov's eventual move into Sitka displays his ability for a lucid weighing of factors:

> There is now no one at Nootka, neither Englishman nor Spaniard. It has been left tenantless; when they reappear there, they will endeavor to extend their trade and found settlements in our direction. I have heard from the Americans that they are organizing a special company to form a permanent settlement in the vicinity of the Queen Charlotte Islands towards Sitka; perhaps our head office could secure protection and strengthen their position if they were to petition the Throne. This is very pressing now that Nootka is unoccupied by the English, who are engaged in war with the French. The advantages of these localities are so great that they would guarantee the government millions of profits for the future. Just recall this one fact that, for more than ten years, English and American ships have been visiting this coast at the rate of six to ten a year. They figure that if they take in less than 1,500 otter-skins, they encounter a loss. There are places along this coast where they will get 2,000 to 3,000 skins. Let us assume that the average number is 2,000; with a minimum of six

> ships per year, 12,000 skins will leave here, and even if you take a lower number, say 10,000 over a ten year period, the total will be 100,000; allowing 45 roubles for the price of an otter in Canton, this will amount to 4,500,000 roubles, and if one allows an expenditure of 1,500,000 roubles per year on goods, there is left a clear profit of 3,000,000 roubles for the ten year period. What advantages might accrue to Russian subjects alone by every claim of justice! But add to this the fact that from the supplies of furs imported to Canton and from there shipped all over China, our trade at Kiakhta is suffering from a decline in prices or may come to a complete stop. The Americans say that when Kiakhta was closed to trade, they enjoyed extraordinarily favorable conditions and disposed of their goods at an advance of 20 per cent. Wherefore, one must conclude that the conduct of the trade at Canton has an important bearing on that of Kiakhta.[5]

The arrival in Kodiak in 1798 of a ship loaded with supplies and 50 more mechanics and laborers allowed Baranov to spend the following winter in optimistic planning for his new settlement to the south. In May 1799 Baranov led an expedition of 22 men in two ships plus 200 more in bidarkas to the Alexander Archipelago. At Prince William Sound they were joined by a ship and 150 more bidarkas under the leadership of Kuskov, one of Baranov's most trustworthy lieutenants. Stormy seas claimed 60 of the men paddling the bidarkas (Baranov himself traveled in one rather than on one of the large ships), and another 13 Aleuts were killed in an attack by the Tlingits. But Baranov pushed on, against the advice of Kuskov.[6]

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5. Baranov to Shelikhov, 1800; quoted in Tompkins, pp. 108-9.

6. Bancroft, p. 387.

The landing on the site of Old Sitka, where the massacre would occur three years later, was made May 25, 1799. Baranov bartered with the local Tlingit toyon, Chief Katlean, for a building site. Work was begun immediately on the building of the ill-fated fort. At this time an American ship, the Caroline, was anchored in Norton (Sitka) Sound, carrying on trade with the Tlingits. The American Captain Cleveland warned Baranov early on to keep half his men on constant alert for attack by the Tlingits.[7]

The several buildings of the Old Sitka fort were finished by the summer of 1799. Baranov left the Sitka fort for Kodiak in the spring of 1800, leaving Medvednikov in charge. Strict orders were given him on precautions to be taken. But the Tlingits patiently waited and had their revenge for the white man's effrontery two years later.

The destruction of Sitka and the Indian insurrection of 1802, bloody as they were, did not change any of the basic elements of the forces at work in the northern Pacific. Baranov remained intent on moving south, indeed to Sitka itself in the pursuit of trading furs on the one hand and the race to forestall the Anglo-Saxon advance from the south on the other. The Indians remained resentful and threatening. So it was just a matter of time, and the arrival of men and materials, until Baranov would confront the Tlingits again in Sitka.

That time came in September 1804. In the intervening two years since the Sitka massacre, Baranov had recouped his strength with fresh men and supplies from Siberia. Also, the Russian-American

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7. Ibid., p. 388.

Company had started a new method of supplying Russian-America. Instead of sending supplies over the long land route through Siberia, ships were outfitted in Saint Petersburg, sailed through the Baltic, and made their way around the sea lanes of the world to Alaska. The first ships thus to circumnavigate the world were the Neva and the Nadezhda, which left in August 1803.[8] The Nadezhda went to Japan first, with the Court Chancellor Rezanov on board to try (unsuccessfully) to open trade with that country. Captain Lisianski of the Neva arrived at Kodiak in July of 1804 and found that Baranov had already left with a force to retake Sitka. Lisianski followed and arrived in Sitka Bay even before Baranov's force. While waiting, Lisianski saved an American who had been trading with the Tlingits but then was turned upon and almost captured by them.[9]

Coming by way of Yakutat with his armed force, Baranov arrived at Sitka from Kodiak on September 19, 1804. Baranov had mustered 800 men (mostly Aleuts and Kodiaks) in 300 bidardkas, plus 4 Russian ships and their crews. He could now add to his attack force Lisianski's Neva, which was waiting for him in Sitka Bay.

The Tlingits' defenses were formidable. Their main fortification, on the mouth of the Indian River (within the present national historical park), was described by Lisianski as an irregular square, its longest side looking toward the sea. It was constructed of wood, so thick and strong that the shot from his guns could not penetrate it "at the short distance of a cable's length." The walls were two logs thick and 6 feet high. Two embrasures for cannons faced the

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8. Andrews, Alaska, p. 77.

9. Ibid., p. 78.

sea and two gates faced the forest. Within the fort were 14 large huts. Lisianski estimated that 800 Tlingits were inside.[10] The Tlingit settlement was located around a hill, which later held "Baranov's castle."

On September 28 the Russians drew their ships closer to the Tlingit fort. Baranov landed the next day and took possession of the hill overlooking the Tlingit village and placed several cannons on it. The following day (September 30) Baranov parlayed with the Tlingit chiefs for the peaceful surrender of their fort. The Tlingits rejected this offer, but they left a hostage with the Russians.

On October 1 four Russian ships drew up in a line close to the Indian fort. An attack party was sent from the ships and was joined by Baranov and 150 men. The parties drew close to the fort and attempted to storm it before they were met by fire from the Tlingits. What followed was a rout of the Russians and their Aleut and Kodiak allies. Their retreat would have ended in massacre had the Russian ships not been there to fire on the oncoming Tlingits. Baranov himself received a shot through the arm. The attack cost the Russians 10 killed and 26 wounded.[11]

Baranov asked Captain Lisianski to take over the operations. On October 2 Lisianski started a bombardment of the Tlingit fort from his ships. The next day the Tlingits raised a white flag and sued for peace. Hostages were turned over to Lisianski, and negotiations were carried on for several days. When no progress was made during peace talks, Lisianski resumed his bombardment on

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10. Bancroft, p. 429.

11. Andrews, Alaska, p. 79.

October 6. During that night the Tlingits escaped from the fort and fled to the southern part of the island. The next day the Russians found only two women and a small boy living. Inside the fort they found the bodies of 30 warriors and 5 children - the latter evidently killed to keep them from making noise during the Tlingit retreat.[12] The Russians removed everything of value from the fort and then burned it to the ground. Construction of the new Russian fortified town, to be called Novoarchangelsk, started immediately. The Tlingits crossed over to Admiralty Island and rebuilt a fort there. It was not until July of the following year that they signed a treaty with Baranov and recognized his rule over Baranov Island. This submission was to remain more apparent than real for much of the next half century.[13]

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12. Ibid., p. 80.

13. Tompkins, p. 120.

Baranov, with the decisive assistance of Lisianski's armed ship had won the battle. But the larger struggle remained to be engaged. Like the other Russian settlements in America, Sitka (or Novoarchangelsk, as the Russians named it) was at a low point in its fortunes. Building had begun immediately after the town was secured from the Tlingits. But in the spring of the following year (1805) there were still only eight completed buildings with 15 kitchen gardens and some cattle nearby.[1] "Russian posts were mere clearings in the forest that clung with a precarious footing to islands or coasts separated from one another by a watery waste."[2] The gloom of Sitka in 1805 was deepened by the eternal fog, rain, and dark overcast skies of these climes. Russian promyshlenniks from the backwoods of Siberia were known more for their hardiness than their finesse. Their settlements, in Sitka as in other fur-hunting communites, were littered with the stinking remains of fur-stripped animals, rotten fish, and half-rotten furs. "When to these conditions was added the Muscovite contempt for sanitation or the amenities of life, it is small wonder that the courtier's [i.e., Rezanov's] senses . . . revolted to the point of nausea."[3]

Count Nikolai Rezanov, Shelikhov's son-in-law (whose young wife had died prematurely) was now chamberlain to Tsar Alexander I and arrived in Sitka in August 1805 to visit the American colony. As

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1. Andrews, Alaska, p. 81.

2. Tompkins, p. 120.

3. Ibid., p. 121.

its principal representative in Saint Petersburg, he wished to see at first hand the business of the Russian-American Company. His senses were apparently offended by what he saw, but Rezanov marvelled at the fortitude and cheer of Baranov. In his first report back to the Russian capital, he wrote how poorly they all lived in Sitka;

> but worse than all lives the founder of this place, in a miserable hut, so damp that the floor is always wet, and during the constant heavy rains the place leaks like a sieve. Wonderful Man! He only cares for the comfort of others, and is very neglectful of himself. Once I found his bed floating in the water, and asked him whether the wind had not torn off a board somewhere . . . . "No," he answered quietly, "it is only the old leak" and turned again to his occupation.[4]

Rezanov had high plans for the extension of Russian influence--both political and commercial--in the Pacific basin. In 1803, partly to alleviate the pain of the loss of his young wife, he undertook a round-the-world journey that was to include the opening of trade with Japan, furthering trade in Canton, and the inspection of the Russian commercial bases in Russian-America. Sailing on the Nadezhda (Hope) from Saint Petersburg in August 1803, he arrived in Japan over a year later, in October 1804, after stopping in Kamchatka for refitting and supplies. Rezanov was forced to cool his heels in Nagasaki six months while waiting for an audience with the Japanese emperor. And then he was admitted only to an imperial chancellor, before whom he had to sit on the

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4. Quoted in Bancroft, pp. 450-51.

floor, shoeless, only to be dismissed after an exchange of formalities. Finally Rezanov was admitted to the emperor. The first visit brought nothing concrete in the matter of trade relations, but Rezanov did present his expensive gifts from the Russian tsar to the emperor. On his second, and last, visit pleasantries were exchanged curtly, and then Rezanov was given a document and dismissed. The document stated that no Russian ship should come again to Japan; the presents and letter from the tsar to the Japanese were refused and returned to the Nadezhda.[5]

Rezanov left Japan in a livid rage due to the effrontery shown him, Russian high chamberlain. He took an oath of vengeance on the whole Empire of the Rising Sun, even attempting to outfit a Russian warship in Kamchatka to maraud the Japanese coast. Later, in Sitka, he wished to reserve the small island off the townsite for the prisoners he dreamed of catching on his raids on Japan and for use as laborers for his company. The island is still known today as Japonski Island.

From Japan the disgruntled Rezanov proceeded to his inspection of the Russian-American Company's settlements in the northern Pacific. On Saint Paul Island he noted the disarray of the company's settlement and complained about the "wanton killing" of the fur seals, which were left to rot. He feared an early extinction of the company's source of wealth if the practice was not stopped. Rezanov noted the large amount of furs being taken by the "Boston men" and requested the tsar to provide an armed brig to drive the Yankees away from Russian hunting grounds. He also saw the need

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5. Bancroft, p. 444. However, the Japanese resupplied the ship generously.

of importing foodstuffs from Hawaii or California or Chile to end the need of supplying the colonies from Russia via the interminably long land route over Siberia. On Kodiak Island Rezanov found conditions generally better. But he admonished the monks there to pay more attention to the education of the natives. For this purpose he deposited with them a valuable library brought from Russia. After administering peremptory justice, as the tsar's representative, to the more callous criminals (one Russian was put in chains for cruelly beating a native woman and her infant), Rezanov made south for Sitka, arriving there in late August 1805.

While Rezanov was repelled by the squalor of the Russian outposts, including that at Sitka, he was nevertheless impressed with the good shape in which Baranov had kept company affairs. Rezanov held many business meetings with Baranov and his lieutenants during his winter stay in Sitka in 1805-6. His reports show his satisfaction with Baranov's management. He found the organization of the company to be "complete and in perfect working order." All matters connected with trade, actual settlement, and general economy were "flourishing." Baranov had seen to it that the inhabitants were being instructed in the necessary industries, trades, and manufactures, Rezanov reported, and he was extending the business connections. Adminstration of justice was efficient. Young men were being trained to replace the capable body of seamen already on hand. With less well-founded optimism Rezanov also noted that relations with the "friendly tribes of the natives are of a satisfactory character, and likely to be permanent."[6]

Rezanov complimented Baranov on his excellent work and encouraged him to carry on. His recommendations for the future

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6. Bancroft, p. 453. n.

were undoubtedly consonant with Baranov's plans: Special attention was to be given to the training of mechanics and tradesmen; the garrison troops were to be recruited from friendly local Tlingits, and these youths trained at company expense; young Russians and creoles were to be schooled as bookkeepers, clerks, and agents; a fund was to be established for the care of the sick and the aged; foreign ships were to be purchased for company use whenever possible because of the shortage of qualified shipwrights in the colonies and, for this purpose, credit was to be established with banking houses in London and Amsterdam; last--the most constant and pressing need of the colonies was once again mentioned--a closer source of foodstuffs was to be established by trade with California or the Philippines.[7]

The eastern Siberian cities of Okhotsk and Petropavlovsk exercised a stranglehold on trade as a result of their monopolistic control as the only source of foodstuffs open to the colonists. While the high cost of transport from European Russia played a major role in the exorbitant charges in these cities, the temptation of price manipulation could not always be withstood by the merchants. Rezanov's stopover in Petropavlovsk on his return from Japan had illustrated the advantages of maritime transport over the land route through Siberia. When he sold his goods, foodstuffs, etc., from the Nadezhda in preparation of transfer to another ship (the Maria) for his trip to America, the effect this had on the Petropavlovsk market was to depress the market sale price of those goods by 50 to 70 percent.

The company, while seeking a better method of supply, seldom suffered financially. It acted as a middleman in passing the

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7. Ibid., p. 453.

supplies on to the promyshlenniks who were employed by it. Thus, in the end, these fur hunters, who were obligated by five-year contracts or were working off penal debts, were held in financial servitude. They had to pay the high prices passed on to them, and they could not leave American service until their debts were cleared with the company. When the aged promyshlennik did return to Russia to live out his days, he often faced a retirement in penury. Though Rezanov's main concern was with the welfare of the company, he was not oblivious to the financial stress these high living costs placed on the promyshlenniks. Each promyshlennik received for his year's pay one-half the current value of one share in the company.[8] According to Rezanov's calculations for 1805 the average cost for a year's living for the promyshlennik could not be less than 317 rubles, and it was only because of Baranov's determination to retake Sitka and the resultant rise in the value of the company's shares that the promyshlennik could keep his head above water by his yearly earnings. That was 1805. Other years would be worse for the company's workers.[9]

As favorably disposed as Rezanov was toward company affairs and his chief manager, Baranov, Sitka was not Saint Petersburg. As winter wore on, supplies and tempers grews shorter, and his courtier's contempt for the ragged frontier life increased. Although the company had bought the American ship Juno in October with all its supplies, even these were running low by February. So Rezanov decided to sail south for California. He would reconnoiter possible sites farther south where future Russian colonies might grow food, and attempt to strike up relations with the Spanish for the purposes of obtaining food in trade for Russian manufactures.

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8. Okun, p. 177.

9. Bancroft, p. 455.

So the newly acquired Juno was made ready, and Rezanov and his party left Sitka on February 26, 1806. In early March, Rezanov had the ship stand off the mouth of the Columbia, waiting for favorable winds and tides to cross the bar at the mouth of the river. After several days' frustration, and since the ship's underfed crew had already lost eight men to scurvy, the decision was made to push on to the Spanish settlement at San Francisco.

Long-term agreements on trade were not achieved. In fact, due to the Spanish prohibition on trade with foreigners, Rezanov was lucky even to break down the Spanish reserve long enough to barter his furs for a ship full of grains and meat to take back to Sitka.

Rezanov returned in June to Sitka to deposit the foods he had obtained. He hurried on to Okhotsk in order to speed up his eventual return to Saint Petersburg. More than affairs of state or commerce spurred him on. The 42-year-old high chamberlain of Russia had fallen in love with the 18-year-old daughter of a Spanish captain in San Francisco. He needed church dispensation for his planned wedding with his Catholic betrothed, Maria Arguello. But the marriage was not to be. On his trip across Siberia, Rezanov took sick and died at Krasnoyarsk in March 1807.[10]

After Rezanov's departure from Sitka in 1806, the affairs of the company, once again under Baranov's direction, continued to go forward. Baranov instructed his chief lieutenant, Kuskov, to carry on the shipbuilding and the construction of buildings in the town,

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10. Hulley, p. 28.

and he himself then went back to the company's headquarters on Kodiak Island. He had left his Indian wife and children (a son and a daughter) there when he sailed south in 1804 to retake Sitka, and had not seen them since. In the following two years, two ships were built and launched at Sitka--the Sitka and the Otkrytie (Discovery). Two more were added to the company's number--one purchased from an American captain and renamed the Kadiak, and the other, the Neva, provided by the Russian naval fleet.

During Baranov's absence the Tlingits apparently felt that the Sitka garrison would be more open to attack. In the winter of 1806-7, under the pretext of gathering for the herring season, some 2,000 Indians gathered in Norton Sound, virtually surrounding the Russians and their few Aleut and Tlingit allies. Hunting parties of Aleuts were attacked; some Aleuts were killed. Baranov's chief lieutenant, Kuskov, drew his lines of defense tightly and kept a watchful eye. He had the good sense to wear down the natives' patience with his watchfulness, occasionally sending out gifts. Finally, through a friendly Tlingit woman, Kuskov opened negotiations with one of the chiefs. Dissension soon set in among the natives, and the threat ended in the spring of 1807 with their dispersal. Kuskov had proved worthy of Baranov's trust. The Indians had proved that they still resented their defeat of 1804.[11]

In 1808 Baranov returned to Sitka from Kodiak. While there, he learned of his legitimate wife's death in Russia and proceeded to have his creole children legitimized. He also announced his decision to retire from the company and return to Russia where his children might enjoy the advantages of court schools. But during this time

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11. Andrews, Alaska, p. 87.

he also learned of Rezanov's death, and the company directors were able to prevail on him to stay at the helm until new leadership could be found. So Baranov decided to return to Sitka and make it the new company headquarters of Russian America. He brought his wife and children this time and even the library of 1,200 volumes which Rezanov had left in Kodiak.[12]

Under Kuskov Sitka had prospered during Baranov's absence. A two-story governor's residence stood on the knoll overlooking the harbor and the town.[13] The fort had a solid appearance and 60 guns; two blockhouses stood in its corners. Wooden sidewalks lined the streets, and a bakery had been built. At the harbor workmen were busy building ships. Baranov could be pleased with Kuskov's performance during his absence. Apparently Baranov now put away all thoughts of retirement. Sitka was becoming an important, if small, port in the northern Pacific where many trading ships put in for repairs, trade, and exchange of foods for furs. In fact, the colony depended to an ever larger extent on the "Boston men" for their food.

Baranov was now esteemed near and far. The local Tlingits respected him, and he had become known as far away as Hawaii. Between his elevation in rank to court councillor in 1804 and the scathing reports about Russian naval officers' treatment of him in 1806, Baranov was now recognized as an equal even by the men of the tsar's imperial navy.[14] His weariness and desire for retirement

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12. Chevigny, Russian America, p. 128.

13. Not the same as the larger structure that was built here in 1837 and burned down 1897. Cf. Clarence Andrews, The Story of Sitka (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1922), p. 60. Hereafter cited as Andrews, Sitka.

14. Bancroft, pp. 419, 457.

of two years before seemed to give way to a new optimism and energy.

Rezanov had left plans for expansion to the south with Baranov during his inspection in 1806, and Baranov put these plans into motion. One party had already been sent out to explore the Columbia River region for a permanent settlement.[15] At about this time an attempt was also made to establish a settlement in Hawaii, once again (as with the expedition to the Columbia), to secure a source of foodstuffs as well as to take part in the trade in sandalwood. But King Kamehameha of Hawaii, who up to this time had respected Baranov and sent him gifts, could not brook this assault on his territorial honor. The Russians were expelled from Hawaii and gained only the contempt of a former friend.[16]

In the summer of 1809 a plot to overthrow and murder Baranov was hatched and thwarted. The small affair, unsettling to Baranov, brought to the surface strains and tensions that went beyond the immediate details of the plot. Two Siberian exiles first conceived the idea. They were joined later by another seven or eight conspirators, among whom were at least two Poles, whose homeland was then under (inter alia) the Russian yoke. The plot called for the murder of Baranov and his family, to be followed by the takeover of Sitka. They would then load a ship with supplies, each conspirator taking a Russian woman of his choice plus 15 natives as servants, then sail to Easter Island and set up a republic. The

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15. This attempt ended in failure and tragedy, with many of the party killed by Indians. Cf. Chevigny, Russian America, chap. 9, *passim*.

16. Bancroft, pp. 491-92.

plot was found out and the conspirators were sent to Petropavlovsk in chains, where they were tried and given heavy sentences.[17]

The assassination affair was a revealing incident. First, there was a hint of revolutionary ideas in the wishes of the conspirators to "overthrow rule" and set up a "republic." Napoleonic Europe was thus not that far from Sitka, especially in the hearts of the Poles involved in the plot. Second, the stories of the men at their trial, although they were later convicted, revealed the cruelty, privations, and suffering to which some, if not all, of the employees were subjected. The hesitation by the company even to bring the men to trial, where their stories could be aired, showed that the company's directors were culpable.

In June 1810 Sitka was visited by the Russian warship Diana. Its presence relieved Baranov, for the time being, of worry over an uprising by the Tlingits or his own employees. Captain Golovnin of the Diana left an interesting description of Baranov's Sitka:

> In the fort we could see nothing remarkable. It consisted of strong wooden bastions and palisades. The houses, barrack magazines, and manager's residence were built of exceedingly thick logs. In Baranof's house the furniture and finishing were of fine workmanship and very costly, having been brought from St Petersburg and England; but what astonished me most was the large library in nearly all European languages, and the collection of fine paintings--this in a country where probably only Baranof can appreciate a picture, and no travellers are apt to call except the skippers of American trading vessels.

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17. Chevigny, Baranov, pp. 236-38; Bancroft, pp. 463-65.

> Mr. Baranof explained that the paintings had been presented to the company at the time of its organization, and that the directors had considered it best to send them to the colonies; with a smile, he added that it would have been wiser to send out physicians, as there was not one in the colonies, nor even a surgeon or apothecary. I asked Mr Baranof how the directors could neglect to send surgeons to a country the climate of which was conducive to all kinds of diseases, and where men may at any time be wounded by savages and need surgical treatment. "I do not know," he said, "whether the directors trouble themselves to think about it; but we doctor ourselves a little, and if a man is wounded so as to require an operation, he must die." Mr. Baranof treated us to an excellent dinner, during which we had music which was not bad.[18]

The Napoleonic wars kept Europe in turmoil for the first 15 years of the 19th century. Russia, alternating as ally and foe to Napoleon, was throughout this time too involved in the affairs close to home to spend a great amount of time worrying about her colonies in North America. The Russian-American Company headquarters in Saint Petersburg sent no ships through the Baltic on round-the-world voyages to Alaska for several years. Baranov was effectively left to his own devices to keep the Russian-American Company alive, i.e., to keep his fur catches going to the fur markets in Canton and to buy foods and supplies for Russian colonials wherever he might find them. The source of supply

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18. Quoted in Bancroft, pp. 467-68.

proved, in these years of isolation from the homeland, to be mostly Yankee traders.

Official communications between the young American republic and the Russian Empire came during these first years of the 19th century, and among the primary items of concern were those relating to "Boston men" traveling to the northwest coast of America. As welcome as these food-laden Yankee ships were to the Sitka port, the Russians nevertheless protested against Yankee interlopers in "their" fur-hunting grounds (such poaching the Russians, however, practiced with reckless abandon against the now weak Spanish government off the California coast); and Baranov especially resented the Americans' trade in firearms with the Indians.

One of the earliest official protests the first American consul in Saint Petersburg, Levett Harris, had to hear from the Russian government concerned this trade. This was in March 1807. In 1810 the Russian emissary to Washington, D.C., Dashkov, made similar protests. But the whole matter was impossible to solve at that time. The Americans maintained that if the Indians were the subjects of the Russian government, then it was the Russians' responsibility to keep ship captains from other nations out of their territorial waters; if not, then the Indians were free to trade with whomever they pleased. The matter was then referred to John Quincy Adams, American minister at the court of Alexander I, who came close to a settlement with the Russian government in 1810. But final settlement was postponed because of Russia's more pressing concerns involving Napoleonic France.[19]

It was no surprise that the prince of the American fur traders, John Jacob Astor, should interest himself in the furs being

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19. Tompkins, pp. 126-27.

harvested by Baranov's promyshlenniks. Astor was interested in trade, licit or not. The Russian minister in Washington, Dashkov, had approached Astor with a proposal of trade in order to alleviate the food shortages Sitka was experiencing. This was all the opening Astor needed.[20] He sent the Enterprise to Sitka. Baranov bought supplies but declined Astor's offer to enter into a permanent trade relationship that ultimately was aimed at a joint monopoly of the fur trade on the whole northwest coast of America. The North West Company, the Canadian fur company active in Canada and the greatest competitor in the field, would thereby be excluded.[21] In reality, Baranov did not wish to limit himself to Astor as his sole supplier, nor did he want to share his alleged monopoly with anyone else, be that with Astor or the British. Astor sent several more ships in trade to Sitka during the years 1810-12, and even attempted to set up a post on the Columbia River in 1812. But the War of 1812 brought a halt the his ventures, which had taken him too close to the British Northwest Company.

By 1813 Baranov seemed to have given up his wish to be replaced and go into comfortable retirement in Russia. Either the company directors had been unable to find a replacement, or more frequently the unfortunate ones sent for this purpose had been lost at sea. In 1813 he started actively seeking to buy ships to aid in the trade of the company. Construction in Sitka continued under his direction. And for the first time Baranov showed interest in bringing representatives of the church to Sitka and in the construction of a church in the capital city of Russia's American colonies.[22]

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20. Bancroft, p. 468.

21. Tompkins, pp. 125, 128.

22. Chevigny, Russian America, p. 150.

The first ship in four years to enter Sitka Bay from Saint Petersburg arrived in November 1814, with first-hand accounts of Napoleon's complete defeat in Russia. Celebration of the arrival of the Suvorov and her captain, Lazarev, was intense but short lived. The old rivalry between naval officers and Baranov surfaced with Lazarev's visit and lasted until he left in July 1815.

While in Sitka, Lazarev refused to take Baranov's orders to pick up a load of furs in the Seal Islands during the winter, finally acceding to Baranov's demands in May 1815. By the time Lazarev left Sitka in July, relations were so strained between the men that Baranov woke up one morning to find the Suvorov departed, Lazarev having even left the packet of mail Baranov wished to send to Saint Petersburg.[23]

One of the passengers aboard the Suvorov was a German, Dr. Schaeffer. Having alienated himself from Captain Lazarev, he automatically became the friend of Baranov. When the Suvorov left Sitka, Dr. Schaeffer stayed behind. Baranov decided the accomplished linguist and adventurer was the man to attempt another undertaking of settlement in Hawaii. In the fall of 1815, armed with Baranov's instructions, Schaeffer sailed for Hawaii.

The purpose of the trip was twofold: The immediate purpose was to obtain from the Hawaiian King Kamehameha compensation for a Russian ship that had recently foundered, laden with furs, on the shores of one of the islands near Hawaii. The more lasting purpose was, as in the attempt some six years previously, to establish a Russian colony in the "Sandwich Islands" for providing food and taking part in the sandalwood trade.

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23. Bancroft, p. 505.

King Kamehameha received Schaeffer as an envoy from Baranov with amazing cordiality, considering the affront he had received from the Russian a few years before. Schaeffer had the run of the island as far as his botanical investigations were concerned. But it was soon obvious to Schaeffer that Kamehameha would still not allow foreign settlements. Schaeffer then turned to a rival king on the isle of Kauai and at first seemed to have more luck. He obtained recompense for the Russian ship and permission to establish a colony. The rival king's intent, of course, was to use Schaeffer and his promise of Russian aid (never forthcoming) to drive Kamehameha from Hawaii. By 1817 Schaeffer had fallen from grace in his host's eyes, Kamehameha had exerted his superior force against the rival king, and Schaeffer had turned both the Russians and the natives of his incipient sandalwood empire against himself by his dictatorial methods. He left the Hawaiian Islands in disgrace, blighting the names of both the Russian Empire and Baranov's Russian-American Company in the process.[24]

In that same year (1817) the ship carrying Baranov's replacement arrived in Sitka. The retirement he had so often wished for in the past (and then had cast from his mind five years before) suddenly came to him in the form of Captain Hagemeister, who arrived aboard the Suvorov in July 1817. Hagemeister, carrying out his instructions from the company's board of directors, took over a year to inspect Baranov's bookkeeping and the affairs of the company. To his surprise, he found the books to be in perfect order, down to the penny, and the physical establishment in excellent shape. Appointing young Lieutenant Yanovski to represent him as manager, Hagemeister relieved Baranov of his duties in September 1818.

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24. Chevigny, Russian America, pp. 157-59.

For 30 years the fortunes of the Russian-American Company had been directed by Baranov. That he had done his task well was attested to by the string of colonies down the northwest coast of America and by the 30 million rubles' worth of business which he had created and which had passed through his hands to the profit of the company's shareholders. A man of the frontier, sometimes cruel, but always reliable and resourceful in his dedication to his employers and employees, Baranov deserved the lion's share of the credit for the success, first, of the Shelikhov-Golikov company, then of its outgrowth, the Russian-American Company, for 30 years. Baranov returned with Hagemeister on his voyage to Saint Petersburg. He took sick and died off the coast of Java in 1819, where his body was buried at sea.

THE SEARCH FOR FOOD: FORT ROSS, 1812-1841

When Rezanov returned from California to Sitka in 1806, he directed Baranov to press southward to "New Albion" and establish a settlement for the purposes of trading, hunting, and above all, agriculture. The dutiful Baranov therefore never ceased to watch for opportunities to establish posts farther to the south of Sitka. Finally, in 1812 his lieutenant, Ivan Kuskov, was successful in establishing the long desired colony at Fort Ross, near Bodega Bay, California. The success of 1812 had been preceded by several exploratory trips by Kuskov. In 1808 he had returned from a hunting expedition in the area of Bodega Bay and reported on the great number of sea otter and fish to Baranov. In 1810 Kuskov had led an expedition to New Albion, but had to return to Sitka after his party was attacked by Indians on the Queen Charlotte Islands. In 1811 Kuskov had again landed at Bodega Bay, traveled inland, negotiated with the Indians to buy land, and returned to Sitka. The following year he returned with a party of settlers, building materials, and provisions and founded Fort Ross.[1]

The establishment of a Russian colony so close to San Francisco Bay brought an immediate protest from the Spanish authorities. Such protests were to follow for the whole of its duration, first from the Spanish and then, after Mexican independence, from the Mexican government. Russia was never conceded the right to be in New Albion by any of the other European powers involved.[2] Even its

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1. Bancroft, pp. 481-83. The term "Ross" is related to an archaic form of the word for "Russia"' the literal translation of the Russian designation (Krepost' Ross) is "Russian Fort."

2. Okun, pp. 126-40.

claim to the land by right of purchase from the Indians had very dubious validity.

Nevertheless, for almost 30 years the Russians fought the odds facing them--both diplomatic and climatic--and attempted to turn Fort Ross into a breadbasket for its north Pacific settlements, including those on the east Siberian littoral.

The first thing Kuskov's colony constructed was a stockade. Within five years the stockade contained a dozen cannons, the commandant's residence, an office, barracks and warehouses, a tannery, and a bathhouse. In the mid-1820s a chapel was added; however, it was never officially consecrated and never had a resident priest. By 1833, when the governor of the colonies, Wrangell, made an official visit of inspection, the fort was already in need of repair.[3] At the time of his visit the population of the fort was 200, of which only 41 were Russians; the rest were Aleuts and natives of California. Manpower was a constant problem at Fort Ross for the whole time of its existence. Russians often deserted into the hinterlands in order to escape what they considered to be penal servitude in a foreign land, and the local Indians were simply unreliable as laborers.

While hunting and shipbuilding were carried on at Fort Ross, the main reason for its existence, of course, was agriculture. Throughout the first 20 years the Russians added new lands for cultivation. This was necessary not only because the extensive grain farming was exhausting the soil rapidly, but also because the Russians found, to their dismay, that the fog and rain of the area they had settled in were not conducive to good crops. Rot and rust took much of their wheat and barley.

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3. Ibid., p. 141.

Thus, the "breadbasket" never materialized. It was not until 1826 that the first exports were made to the colonists in Alaska. In that year they expected 45 tons of grains but received only 25.[4] From 1826 to 1833, moreover, the Ross colony shipped an average of only 13 tons of grains annually to Alaska; needed were 180 tons annually. Even in the "good" years of the 1830s, the company had to buy one half of its needed grains, despite Fort Ross's agricultural efforts. In the two bad years of 1836 and 1837, no grains at all were forthcoming from New Albion.[5]

The beef needs of the Russians in America were likewise left wanting by the Ross experiment. Alaska's total beef needs were met only in 1838. Usually not half of the beef needed was forthcoming from Fort Ross. To supplement the meat exports, the Russians hunted mountain goats, sheep, and bison, as well as sea lions and seals. Even the fishing was inadequate at Fort Ross.

Considering the problems of manpower, climate, and local hostility, it is perhaps remarkable that Fort Ross could produce as much as it did. Nevertheless, the venture was a failure. By 1839 the company was thinking of liquidating its post in California. The board of directors thought in terms of profit and loss. It pointed out that the total operating cost of Fort Ross had amounted to 45,000 rubles annually for most years, but by 1839 this figure had jumped to 72,000 rubles. Hunting, which in the past had netted as much as 29,000 annually, now brought in nothing. Farming income

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4. James R. Givson, Imperial Russia in Frontier America: The Changing Geogrpahy of Supply of Russian America, 1784-1867 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 124.

5. Ibid.

was down to around 8,000 annually by the late 1830s, and the smaller industries such as brickmaking and tanning were yielding nothing.[7] In 1832 expenses had amounted to 55,378 rubles, while profit had brought in only 47,779 rubles. By 1837 the debit column read 72,000 rubles and the credit only 8,000 rubles. The average loss for the next three years was 44,000 rubles.[8]

Thus Fort Ross was not only an agricultural failure but a financial one as well. Conceivably, if the settlement had been able to meet the needs of Alaska in foodstuffs, even at some financial loss, the company would have hung on to it dearly. But Fort Ross was a failure in every respect. International relations pointed the same direction as all the other indicators. In short, more and more pressure was felt from American quarters, indicating that it was time to leave California. Hence the Russians, burdened with a money-losing, nonproductive colony, looked for a buyer in order to recoup some of their losses. In 1841 they sold Fort Ross to an American, John Sutter, for 150,000 rubles ($30,000) and retreated to their Alaskan base in North America.

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7. Okun, p. 150.

8. Gibson, p. 138.

THE MIDDLE PERIOD, 1821-1840

At the close of Baranov's reign as chief manager over the Russian-American Company, the directors of the company in Saint Petersburg, while not always happy with their manager, could look back with pleasure over the last two decades of development. Business had been profitable. In government circles the only criticism of the company's dealings had come from naval officers, who often found fault with Baranov's manner of leadership. Their criticism stemmed in part from their desire for the imperial navy to direct the affairs of the Russian colony in North America. Their resentment of Baranov's humble origins figured in their opinions as well. Otherwise one might perceive general approval of the company from governmental circles in Saint Petersburg. Among the shareholders were, after all, several members of Alexander's family and others with noble rank.

The Russians seemed firmly established in great parts of the American northwest. All of what is today Alaska was claimed by Russians for their government, although their numbers were few and their hold on the interior parts were tenuous at best. The great landmass of Alaska, the offshore islands, the country north of Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, and the Alexander Archipelago were considered by other nations to be Russian territory, even though the formal treaty acknowledging their rights was not to come until the middle 1820s. Many of the native tribes had by 1820 acquiesced to the Russian presence in their lands, if not agreeing to it, and some had even undergone nominal conversion to the Orthodox faith. Hence as the original 20-year charter granted to the company ran out in July 1819, the directors of the company looked with confidence not only to its renewal but also to the addition of some new privileges.[1]

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1. Hulley, p. 147.

In anticipation of the company's request for another 20-year charter, the imperial government sent naval Captain Golovnin to Russian-America on an inspection tour of the settlements. Sailing in the Kamchatka around the Cape of Good Hope from Kronstadt (the port city of Saint Petersburg), Golovnin toured the Russian colonies in 1818 and 1819 before returning to Kronstadt. In his report, Golovnin was, not surprisingly, critical. In his view, three matters were most pressing: "a clearer definition of the duties belonging to the various officers; a distinction of rank; and a regular uniform so that the foreigners visiting these parts may see something indicating the existence of forts and troops belonging to the Russian sceptre--something resembling a regular garrison. At present they can come to no other conclusion than that these stations are but temporary fortifications erected by hunters as a defence against savages."[2] Golovnin found that the company's treatment of the laborers and creoles was unexcusably harsh, but in a following statement, he expressed confidence that these matters were being improved under his naval colleague, Captain Hagemeister, who had just arrived to relieve Baranov of his duties. In September of 1821, Tsar Alexander I granted the Russian-American Company its second 20-year charter for monopoly in America. The tsar's preamble to the second charter expressed favor for the company:

> The Russian American Company, under our highest protection, having enjoyed the privileges most graciously granted by us in the year 1799, has to the fullest extent justified our hopes and fulfilled our expectations, in extending navigation and discovery as well as the commerce of our empire, in addition to

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2. Quoted in Bancroft, p. 531.

> bringing considerable immediate profit to the shareholders in the enterprise. In consideration of this, and desiring to continue and confirm its existence, we renew the privileges given to it, with some necessary changes and additions, for twenty years from this time; and having made for its guidance certain rules, we hereby lay them before the governing senate, with our orders to promulgate the same, to be submitted to us for signature.[3]

The new charter called for the southern limit of company-controlled lands to be at the 51st parallel, a line which ran just north of Vancouver Island. This sudden, arbitrary extension of the Russian-American empire was immediately and hotly disputed by both American and British negotiators, who in a few years forced the Russians to return to the original (and present) boundary. Because of the far reaches of the company territories in the north Pacific and the many peoples it claimed to rule over, the new charter decided to confer official rank and standing on the colonial officials. Baranov's old position of chief manager was to be raised to equal status with that of governors of Siberia. The naval officers with whom Baranov frequently disputed also won a victory in the new charter: military, naval, and civil servants were to be allowed to serve in the company, keeping half of their former pay and their promotion rights. All officials of the company, moreover, could claim the official title of collegiate assessor after two years service and were exempt from government taxation. All workers were exempted from conscription. In deference to Golovnin's report, all employees were given the right to complain directly to the Imperial Senate in Saint Petersburg over any injustice suffered at the hands of company officials.[4]

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3. Ibid., p. 532.

4. Ibid., p. 533.

Lengthy regulations appended to the new charter of 1821 called for, among other things, fair and humane treatment of the natives (as Catherine II had ordered half a century earlier); the obligation of the company to provide schools and churches (including the support of attending teachers and priests) from company funds; and the provision by the company of sufficient living supplies for the Russian residents of the colonies and other native and creole employees.

The new charter stated that from then on the chief manager was to be chosen from the navy and have a rank of at least captain of the second class; the second in command was also to be a naval officer. All transactions of the company were to be submitted to the imperial minister of finance in Saint Petersburg for review.

Thus the new charter formalized more openly the close ties between the Russian-American Company and the Russian government. That the company was a real arm of Russian expansion in the Pacific was doubted by no one, least of all the competing international powers of England and the United States. The colonists used their official status as a private, joint-stock company only as a smoke screen when the demand arose, as in their relations at Fort Ross with the suspicious Spanish officials nearby.[5]

One of the first orders of business for the board of directors, after receiving their new charter, was to appoint a replacement chief manager for the young Yanovski. Because of his marriage to Baranov's daughter, he was somehow tainted--in the eyes of the board--with the sins of Baranov. Hence as part of the rejuvenation

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5. Okun, p. 128.

of the company and its upgrading in the eyes of its critics, Yanovski was replaced by a captain of the navy, M. N. Muraviev, who belonged to an old Russian noble house.

Muraviev, now called "governor" instead of chief manager, was an able, popular, and liberally oriented officer. He arrived in Sitka in 1820 and set about reorganizing affairs, starting construction of new buildings, and inspecting posts. He received 40,000 rubles per year, compared to Baranov's 5,000 rubles.[6] He also had a large well-paid staff. The policy instituted by Hagemeister in 1818 of replacing the half-share pay system with a salary for the workers had been formally recognized under the new charter. Each worker now received 300 paper rubles per year.[7]

One of Muraviev's first policy changes was to lift the ban that Baranov had placed on the Tlingits, preventing them from living near Sitka. Muraviev preferred to have them close by, in order to watch them. Thus he allowed them to return from the nearby islands to their settlement outside the stockade in Sitka, a move they eagerly made. The stockade, however, was strengthened and a heavy gate was built, through which the Tlingits could only pass with permission. Only at certain times were the Indians allowed to move about freely for marketing purposes. Otherwise armed guards patrolled the streets during the day, and Sitka was closed to the Indians from sunset to sunrise. These procedures instituted by Muraviev were successful enough to be copied by later Russian governors and, after 1867, by the American military authorities.[8]

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6. Chevigny, Russian America, p. 174.

7. Bancroft, p. 535.

8. Ibid.

Muraviev also attempted to bring stricter discipline to all the outlying fur stations. Only Kodiak was amenable to such an order, however, since the other stations were too small to institute such a regime. Muraviev toured all the stations except Atka and Attu to see firsthand the shape of company affairs. On his return to Sitka he then divided the colonies into five districts with the chief city (capital) at Sitka and a second main administrative center at Saint Paul, Kodiak (the site of the first administrative center, which was moved to Sitka by Baranov in 1808).

Muraviev called on his resourcefulness in 1823-24 to relieve a dangerous shortage of food supplies in the colonies, which arose due to the loss of one Russian supply ship, confusion in the home office, and the growing consistency of Fort Ross's inadequacies as a breadbasket for the Russians. Muraviev dispatched his trustworthy aid, Captain Etolin (later governor of Russian America) to San Francisco. Etolin bought grain there, proceeded to Hawaii, where he bought an American ship and its supplies, and returned to Sitka in 1824 in time to relieve the food shortage.

In April of 1824 and February of 1825 conventions were signed with the United States and Great Britain, respectively, that settled the matter of the southern line of demarcation in Russian-America between the Russian and the American and English powers. While opinion is divided on whether the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was aimed primarily at Britain or Russia, the imperial ukase of 1821 (granting the second charter to the Russian-American Company with its attendant claim of Russian dominion extending to the 51st parallel and 100-mile coastal limit) played a major role in eliciting one of the most well-known foreign policy pronouncements ever made by an American president.

On hearing of the Russian ukase in 1822, the American secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, informed the Russian minister that the ukase "so deeply effects the rights of the United States and of their citizens" that the Russian government had first to explain such presumption on its part before the Americans could even consider it.[9] Poletica, the Russian minister, responded that Russia based the claim on the "uncontestable right of discovery" and 50 years' possession. To extend the boundary to the 51st parallel instead of, say, the 49th, he added, was to make "only moderate use" of this right. The 100-mile coastal limit was also moderate, Poletica explained, since Russia owned the land joining both sides of this "closed sea" [i.e., the northern Pacific]. Poletica assured Adams that the move was not directed against the American government, only against "foreign adventurers," the majority of whom were Americans. Saint Petersburg had long been protesting to Washington about these interlopers, to no avail. Adams replied that Americans had always had the right to navigate those seas and that to give up that right would be to give up part of America's independence.

While American-Russian haggling over the matter dragged on, the British, too, were negotiating informally with the Russians over the same issue. The British feared that the decisive response by the Americans (who had signed a convention with England in 1818 calling for free access to the northwest country by both nations) indicated that the Americans were now trying to "go north" and squeeze out the British. The British weighed their two alternatives: they could sign a separate treaty either with the Russians or with the United States, in order to deal more

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9. Howard I. Kushner, "The Russian-American Diplomatic Contest for the Pacific Basin and the Monroe Doctrine," Journal of the West 15(April 1976):73.

effectively later with the "odd-man-out"; or they could bring Russia into a convention with themselves and the United States similar to the one that had been signed in 1818 with the United States alone. The drawback to the latter, in British eyes, was the tacit recognition such a convention would give the young United States as having equal rights as a major power. Britain's esteem for her former colonies did not extend so far in 1823.[10]

In the meantime, President Monroe delivered to Congress in December 1823 his famous message containing the Monroe Doctrine, which inter alia declared that the American continents were henceforth not to be considered for future colonization by any European power. The British herewith decided on separate negotiations with the Russians, since Monroe's statement had opened an unbridgeable chasm between American and British intentions in the Russian affair.

Secretary of State Adams continued negotiations with the Russians through the spring of 1824, showing some flexibility in his earlier demands that the Russians pull back to the 60th parallel (which would have deprived the Russians of Sitka, for instance). On their part the Russians, whether out of fear or not, were glad to pull back now from their extreme claims of 1821. A settlement between the Russians and the Americans was reached in April 1824.[11] It called for the Russians to recognize their southern boundary in America at 54°40' north latitude (i.e., the present Alaska boundary); the Pacific Ocean was to be open to Russians and Americans for purposes of trade and fishing, with citizens of each country respecting those of the other who were already established

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10. Tompkins, pp. 139-40.

11. Ibid.

on any unclaimed land; coastal waters of each country were to be open to ships of the other for ten years; and finally, trade in firearms and liquor was forbidden; this last provision was a formal concession to Russia and in reality impossible to enforce on the Yankee traders. The British were still negotiating with the Russians when news of the Russian-American settlement became known. Their agreement on 54°40'N. embarrassed the British--who were rigidly holding to at least 59°N.--and made any other arrangements between them and the Russians impossible. Finally, in February 1825, the Russian-British treaty on the northwest was signed. It, too, recognized Russia's southern boundary at 54°40'N.; but the British were able to gain a concession that moved Russia's eastern boundary line north of 59°N. from the 139th to the 141st meridian, which is the present boundary between Alaska and Canada.

"Considered by itself, the matter was less one between the Anglo-Saxon powers and Russian, as it seemed to be, than a phase of the struggle between Great Britain and the United States for the possession of the continent."[12] Russia was probably too weak to make any serious bid to rival the other powers in the northern Pacific region. The permanence of her foothold on the continent (whose only raison d'etre was the exploitation of the diminishing resource of furs) was constantly cast in doubt.

In Saint Petersburg, in December of 1825, the famous "Decembrist Uprising" greeted the new tsar, Nicholas I. The purpose of the revolt was to depose the tsar. Actually, Nicholas's predecessor was originally marked for regicide. Alexander I had started his career

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12. Ibid., pp. 139-40, 146. Chap. 9 gives an excellent detailed but lucid account of the whole diplomatic struggle between Russia, United States, and Great Britain.

so promisingly in the eyes of democratically oriented reformers in Russia; but after two decades on the throne, with the Napoleonic Wars behind him and with republicanism (the genie du mal for autocrats throughout Europe) rearing its head to threaten his ordered society of peasants, serfs, and aristocrats, he joined the forces of reaction in 1817, forming the Holy Alliance with Metternich, Louis XVIII, and the Prussian Fredrich Wilhelm III. The hopeful Russian reformers of the early days of Alexander's reign had soured and become visionary, radical democrats prepared to kill Alexander and force an authoritarian democracy on all Russians. Alexander learned of the planned revolt by the aristocratic intelligentsia before his death in 1825, and he alerted his brother Nicholas, the next tsar. The rebellion grew into threatening military action only in the south of Russia, and there only for a few days. The planned eruption and regicide in Saint Petersburg turned out to be the mere puff of an unsuccessful palace revolution.

The Russian-American Company headquarters in Saint Petersburg was not left unaffected by the Decembrists' uprising. Some of the conspirators had served in the company in the Russian capital, most notably the well-known poet Ryleiev. Nicholas soon gained the impression that company headquarters was a virtual hotbed of rebellion. Ryleiev was executed, along with five others, for his role in the plot, and other company employees were sentenced to exile in Siberia. Three years went by before Nicholas gave his stamp of approval to the chastened company and reaffirmed its imperial charter.[13]

In the same year of the Decembrist revolt, Muraviev was replaced as governor. The reasons are uncertain, but his replacement may

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13. Chevigny, Russian America, p. 188.

have been connected with his failure to comply fully with imperial orders prohibiting the company's trade with foreigners. Strict compliance with this order would have meant starvation to the Russian colonies in America, relying as they did on foreign import of foodstuffs.

Muraviev reported the difficulties in complying with this order to the Board of Governors. He maintained that if he had followed the letter of the law and not, for instance, sent Etolin on his grain-buying voyage to San Francisco and Hawaii in 1823, famine would have followed. He reminded the board of Baranov's freedom to deal in all goods with the Boston men and others, and what a beneficial effect this had had on building up the colonies. The great expense of supplies sent from Kronstadt in Russian bottoms, contrasted with the cheaper goods bought from foreign merchantmen who brought supplies to Sitka at their own risk and expense, was clear to the Saint Petersburg authorities. Muraviev made his point to the board members, who themselves saw their receipts dropping off rapidly. The board appealed successfully to the government to reopen Sitka to foreign merchants. As a result, Muraviev's successor, Gov. Peter Chistiakov, experienced a marked improvement in the company's business.[14]

The company was not reluctant to advance on foreign lands. The settlement in Fort Ross testified eloquently to this, as did the short-lived claim to lands as far south as 51° north latitude. In 1828, the company pressed its rights to Urupa Island in the Kurile group on the basis of an abandoned Russian hunting camp which dated from 1805. In two years the operations from this island

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14. Bancroft, pp. 540-41.

yielded 800,000 rubles in furs. In 1830, therefore, the sister island of Simusir was annexed to the possessions of the company.[15]

Under Chistiakov, who had taken over the reins of management in Sitka in 1825, not only were discovery and annexation of new lands pushed further, but also various internal explorations and scientific investigations of the great landmass of Alaska, whose extent the Russians did not yet fully perceive.

In 1816 the German scientist Otto von Kotzebue had led a scientific expedition to Alaska to search for the fabled northwest passage and chart the coast about Norton Sound. He left Kamchatka in the summer, sailing past Saint Lawrence Island, through the Bering Sea, and onward along the northern coast of the Seward Peninsula to the sound now named in his honor; Kotzebue Sound. He attempted to and chart this coastline, but was forced to leave by the onset of winter. He returned the next summer (1817) to continue his work. Kotzebue's navigational charts marked a vast improvement over earlier Russian efforts. The outfitting of his expedition was notable as well. He took with him the latest scientific instruments made in Britain. His ship, the Rurik, was specially built in Sweden for Arctic exploration. His provisions included the new invention of tinned goods--meats, soups, milk, and vegetables.[16]

The Russian Korsakovsky had undertaken the charting of the long shore of the Bering Sea in 1818. He charted the area north of Bristol Bay and established a permanent base on the Nushagak

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15. Ibid., p. 546.

16. Hulley, p. 154.

River north of Bristol Bay. This outpost was given the name Alexandrovsk, and from this point the interior was explored by men Korsakovsky left behind for that purpose. Korsakovsky continued his sea journey around Cape Newenham and came upon the estuary of the Kuskokvim River. Two men left the ship in 1829 to travel up the Nushagak River, cross Lake Tikchit, cross by portage to the Holitna River, follow this river down to its junction with the Kuskokvim, and then follow the Kuskokvim downstream to its mouth. Thus the lower Kuskokvim basin was added to the Russian's knowledge by 1830.[17]

In 1828 Captain Luetke explored the northern shore of the Alaskan Peninsula, mapping Port Moller and Port Heiden, among other places.[18] In the same year Hagemeister and Staniukovich explored and mapped the Bering Sea. In 1830 Captain Etolin was sent again to explore Norton Sound and the Bering Strait, stopping at the Saint Lawrence, Asiak, and Ukivuk islands. Etolin found all of these islands to be filled with walrus, which were easily taken by the native hunters.[19]

In 1833 it was decided to attempt to connect Bering Bay with Norton Sound by a land route. Lieutenant Tebenkov, later the governor in Sitka, sailed to Norton Sound and established a fort there, now known as Saint Michael's Redoubt (Michaielovski redoubt to the Russians). A creole by the name of Glazunov then pushed on by foot, accompanied by four others on two dog sleds, and attempted the overland journey. He reached the Anvik River and followed it to its junction with the Yukon in late January of 1834.

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17. Ibid.

18. Andrews, Alaska, p. 100.

19. Bancroft, pp. 547-48.

Glazunov was thus the first Russian to discover the Yukon River. After four weeks of travel, the exhausted men were taken in by the natives, who had been hostile but relented and saved their lives. Glazunov then continued on his journey overland eventually reaching the Stony River, but his attempt to reach Cook Inlet failed. However, his effort was remarkable because of his endurance and the accurate scientific notes he took.[20]

Copper River exploration had to wait a long time after an initial attempt in 1819 by Klimowski. He had travelled as far as its junction with the Chitina and perhaps farther; the post he had established there probably did not last long in the face of the very hostile Indians in the region. The next attempt to explore the Copper River and establish a station upstream did not take place until 1847. The party of 11 men led by Serebrennikov lasted a year before being killed by Indians.

The most extensive survey of the Yukon Basin was carried out by Lieutenant Zagoskin of the Russian navy from 1841 to 1843. Ascending the Yukon, he turned off at its junction with the Koyukuk River and followed it to the Buckland-Koyukuk divide, where a "well-beaten path" used by Indians for a trade route led to Kotzebue Sound. The Russians discovered with interest that many furs found their way to Siberia over this route, robbing the company of the commerce. Zagoskin was the first Russian explorer to visit this region; his maps were the only ones known until the Overland-Telegraph surveys were made some quarter of a century later.[21]

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20. Hulley, pp. 155-56.

21. Ibid., pp. 157-58.

The term of Governor Chistiakov (1825-30) was taken up with the preparation and organization of many of these voyages of discovery and charting. In fact these were the main concern of Chistiakov. The few other notable events that occurred during his tenure included both the usual and the new. As usual food supplies were a problem for the colonies. Therefore Chistiakov, like all his predecessors, had to search about for supplies of grain and other foodstuffs by sending ships out to various ports in the Pacific. In 1829 he sent the brig Baikal, under Captain Khlelnikov, as far away as Chile to secure supplies of food.

New from Chistiakov was his suggestion to the main office that whaling operations be undertaken in Russian-America. This did not happen until 1833, under his successor Governor Wrangell.[22] Chistiakov also suggested moving the colonial headquarters back to Kodiak, a plan which the main office approved. However, the plan was later dropped when materials could not immediately be found.

When Chistiakov's tenure as governor was over and he prepared to leave Sitka, he made gallant arrangements for his creole mistress to marry another local creole and left support money (2,500 rubles) for his two natural sons, whom he left behind.[23]

The new governor, Baron Ferdinand von Wrangell, was a Baltic German and an accomplished explorer and scientist. Wrangell was an activist as governor, pressing for exploration and new sources

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22. Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Chistiakov and Wrangel," The Alaska Journal 1(Autumn 1971):39. Hereafter cited as Pierce, "Wrangel.")

23. Ibid.

of furs, tightening up the administration of the company (which his predecessor had managed in a more relaxed manner), and encouraging the improvement of schools, religious missions, and medical services.

During Wrangell's administration the heretofore imminent confrontation between the Russian-American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, the two fur-gathering giants in Northwest America, came to pass. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company had closed ranks with its chief Canadian rival, the Northwest Company, to form a united and powerful force in their westward progress through Canada. They were aided in their trading power by the might of England's commerce, which had been pushed to the European forefront by England's head start in the industrial revolution. The goods which the Hudson's Bay Company could peddle around the world were better made and cheaper than any of those of her industrial rivals. Sitka, too, was visited by English ships and partook of these newly made commercial wares. Governor Wrangell worried over this and advised headquarters in Saint Petersburg of his concerns,

> for the excellent quality and abundance of the merchandise of the English constitute an attraction to the Kolosh which we have no means to compete with, and there is no doubt whatever that if the Board of Directors does not find means to supply the colonies with merchandise of such quality and in such quantity as to be able to hold out against the Hudson Bay Company, this company will be in possession of the whole fur trade in northwestern America from Cross Sound or even from a more northern point to the south as far as the coast of California.[24]

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24. Quoted in Gibson, p. 200.

The governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was George Simpson, a Scot who rivaled Baranov in shrewdness and tenacity of purpose and surpassed him in polish and suave demeanor. Thus, foreseeing the head-on collision between the lion and the bear, Simpson had sent an unctuous message to Governor Chistiakov in 1829 urging the "promotion of each others interests" and expressing the desire "to cultivate . . . Friendship"; he was "exceedingly anxious that our proximity should not give rise to any feelings of Rivalship or Competition in Trade which could not fail of being highly injurious to the interests of both parties."[25] By 1830 Simpson's men had become more active on the Pacific coast of Canada, and it was not long until Simpson's proferred friendship was to be put to the test.

In 1832 the Hudson's Bay trader Peter Ogden founded a post at the mouth of the Nass River and went on to trade at Sitka. Though denying his intent to move up the Stikine River, which emptied into the waters of the Alexander Archipelago not far from Sitka, he nevertheless, in the following year, took the ships Lama and Vancouver 15 miles up the Stikine River to search out a site for a post to be established the following year. All this activity by the Englishmen of the Hudson's Bay Company was perfectly legal under the terms of the treaty signed between Britain and Russia in 1825, under which British ships had the right to travel in Russian coastal waters. But also by terms of that treaty, the commander of a Russian fort had the right to forbid British ships to approach it.[26] Hence, in the spring of 1834, before the English could return, Governor Wrangell hastened to dispatch a Russian ship to the mouth

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25. Ibid., p. 199.

26. Bancroft, p. 544.

of the Stikine to establish "Fort Dionysi" under the command of Captain Moskvitinov, with Lieutenant Zarembo's brig Chichigov close by to add support.[27]

The men of the English ship Dryad arrived in June of 1834 and, unaware of the Russian presence, were met by a puff of smoke from the wooded shore and a shot across the Dryad's bow. Lieutenant Zarembo from the Russian brig then boarded the Dryad and informed Captain Kipling that the river was closed to British ships and that Kipling was to turn the Dryad around and leave immediately or risk losing his men's lives and their ship. Kipling protested. There was much bluster and bluff in the Russian's actions, which Kipling undoubtedly perceived. Some negotiations were carried out, even some mutual entertainment of officers on each of the ships, but the English finally saw that there was nothing to be done and sailed away.[28]

The English protested the action to the court of Nicholas I, even demanding 20,000 pounds sterling for losses suffered. The matter then lived on in diplomatic notes for several years, failing any agreement between the parties. Finally, in 1839 Baron Von Wrangell, who had left his Sitka post three years earlier but had continued negotiations in the matter from Saint Petersburg, arranged a meeting with Simpson in Hamburg, Germany, to settle the matter. Tsar Nicholas was now seeking England as an ally in European affairs and, aggravated by the Russian-American Company's imbroglio with England over the Stikine River affair, peremptorily ordered Wrangell to accept Simpson's terms of

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27. Tompkins, p. 152.

28. Ibid., pp. 153-54.

settlement. Simpson's terms got the Hudson's Bay Company a ten-year lease of all the land the Russian-American Company claimed between Cape Spencer and 54°40' north latitude (Alaska's southern boundary today). The annual rent paid by the English to the Russian-American Company was fixed at 2,000 otter skins, a fur used for trimming Russian officers' uniforms.[29] Of greatest importance to Sitka was the agreement by the British to provide the Russian colonies with food at moderate prices: great quantities of wheat, as well as flour, peas, groats, salt beef, ham, and butter. In view of the dismal failure of Fort Ross as a Russian larder, the regularity of food supplies removed a chronic concern from the Sitka authorities. This provision also hastened the decision to sell Fort Ross and withdraw completely from California two years later. The Russians offered to sell Fort Ross to the English at this time, but the English refused. Had they accepted and gained a foothold in California prior to the gold rush, American history might have taken more arduous turns in the realization of its "manifest destiny" in the last century.[30]

While the Stikine River affair was the most explosive problem which Wrangell had to face during his five-year administration, he addressed himself to other, internal matters as well. He was annoyed by corruption in the colonies. Thus he sent the priest at Sitka, Father Frumentii Mordovskii, and the company physician, Dr. Simon, back to Siberia because of malfeasance in office.[31] Another Sitka priest, the upright but ineffectual Father Sokolov,

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29. Bancroft, p. 526, n.

30. Ibid., p. 558.

31. Pierce, "Wrangel," p. 42.

was sent to Kodiak. From Kodiak, Wrangell brought to Sitka the outstanding priest Ivan Veniaminov. Wrangell also attended to construction needs by having a new church built in 1830 in Sitka to replace Baranov's original one dating from 1817; and the sawmill which he had built at Ozerskoi Redoubt in 1833 was the second to be built on the Pacific coast, preceded only by the one built by the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia River.

Wrangell saw that excessive hunting was leading possibly to chaos in the fur market. He issued instructions restricting the kill of fur-bearing animals. The whaler that his predecessor, Governor Chistiakov, had called for in 1826 finnally arrived in 1833. An American, Barton, arrived in Sitka to commence a five-year contract with the company to teach the Aleut employees the skills of harpooning and rendering whale oil. But the experiment failed. The Aleuts preferred their traditional way of spearing the whale until dead, then waiting for the animal to be washed ashore.

Wrangell was the first governor in Sitka to bring his wife to the Russian colony in the New World. The young Baroness Elizabeth injected a lively new and gracious element into Sitka social life. The governor's house, "Baranov's Castle" was spruced up and formal dinners and fetes were given by the baroness. The tone of social relationships was elevated--some of the Russian men even began marrying their mistresses. The Baroness was beloved by all the employees. The hostile Tlingit elders even admired her. Baroness Elizabeth visited Indian women in the community, often attending to the sick, and received the wives of local chiefs; she even delighted the wife of the Chilkat clan chief, who herself possessed remarkable skills in weaving blankets and baskets, by teaching her how to embroider.[32]

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32. Ibid.

Captain of the Navy Ivan Kupreianov replaced Baron von Wrangell in 1835. Kupreianov had been active in explorations for the imperial navy since he became a midshipman at 20 years of age in 1819. In that year Kupreianov accompanied the Mirnyi and the Vostok on their notable circumnavigation of the Antarctic. After this Kupreianov made one voyage to Russian-America in the years 1822-25, but most of the rest of his time up to his appointment to Sitka in 1835 was spent in waters closer to European Russia. In August 1834 he was appointed governor. Typical of the times, it took nearly a year for Kupreianov and his wife to cross Siberia to Okhotsk, and another two months to reach Sitka aboard the ship Sitka in late October 1835.

Like Wrangell, Kupreianov visited various outposts yearly. He also furthered exploration and mapping of the unknown areas of Alaska, promoting undertakings that have already been discussed. In 1836 one of the remote Russian trading outposts, the Saint Michaels Redoubt, commanded the new governor's concern. This outpost high on the then known northern coast of Alaska interfered with the long established trade route of the Eskimos of this region. The latter had established themselves as purveyors of trade articles between the Chukchees of the Siberian mainland and other Eskimos of the Alaskan coast. When the Russians settled at Saint Michael's Redoubt and started to take trade away from their Eskimo neighbors, these Eskimos decided on revenge. A Russian hunting party was attacked, several of the men were killed, and only because one Russian slipped away to Saint Michaels to warn the establishment was a complete destruction of the Russian settlement avoided. The Eskimos then retreated, and the Russians, more wary, continued their trade.[33]

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33. Andrews, Alaska, p. 105.

In September of 1837 Kupreianov and Sitka were visited by the English ship Sulphur under the command of Capt. Edward Belcher. Belcher's Sulphur was conducting hydrographic surveys in the northern Pacific during the years 1836-42. His ship was the first foreign warship to visit Sitka. Captain Belcher anchored in Sitka and went ashore in a small boat to introduce himself. Belcher wrote that Kupreianov, "received me in the warmest manner, and tendered all the facilities which the port or arsenal could afford." He added of Governor Kupreianov that "he speaks English well, and with true English feeling acted up to all [the hospitality] he confessed; indeed his civilities were overpowering."[34]

The crew of the Sulphur tied up close to the arsenal, just below Baranov's Castle, and proceeded to set up their observation equipment on Japonski Island, where they obtained their position by midnight.

During his two-day stay in Sitka, Belcher observed much for his notebooks. He noted the latent hostility between the native Tlingits and the Russians. The fortified wall around the Russians cut off all contact with the Indians "except through a portcullis door, admitting into a railed yard those [Tlingits] bringing goods to market. This door is closely watched by two or three guards, who, upon the least noise or dispute in the market, drop the portcullis, and proceed summarily with the delinquents." Trade between the Russians and Tlingits was usually carried out by native women who went back and forth between the Indian village and the

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34. Quoted in Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Kupreianov," The Alaska Journal 2(Winter 1972):23. Hereafter cited as Pierce, "Kupreianov". Belcher's description of his Sitka visit, from his Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, 1836-42 (London, 1843) is quoted extensively in Pierce, "Kupreianov," pp. 22-24.

Russian fort. Since the Russians engaged many of the women as spies, especially those who lived with (or married Russian men, they could be forewarned of any trouble forthcoming from the Tlingits. But, as Kupreianov pointed out to Belcher, the Russians lived under constant threat of attack, and "although seven hundred [Tlingits] only were now in the neighborhood, seven thousand might arrive in a few hours." Belcher noted that some fortifications were being rebuilt and would use some 40 old ships' guns, ranging in size from 12 to 24 pounders. The arsenal was "well stored with cordage of every description and of very superior quality." He noted the number of fine craftsmen among the Russians and the high quality of their work.

Belcher saw the just-completed sawmill at Ozerskoi Redoubt and admired the local Alaska yellow cedar that was cut and processed there. The wood lent itself to decorative wood carving as well as to shipbuilding. Belcher wrote of the "very fine-grained bright yellow cypress [i.e., Alaska yellow cedar] of which they built boats, and export the plank to the Sandwich Islands. They have a building slip, protected by a house, similar to those in our dockyards, and here, I am informed, built one very fine vessel."

Although Sitka was a frontier town inhabited by rough-and-ready types, and at this time was referred to even by these hardy residents as "Krysopolis" (Ratville),[35] nevertheless Belcher found Sitka to have "comparative cleanliness and comfort and [I] found much to admire, particularly in the school and hospital." Belcher also was astonished at Saint Michaels Church (not the one built in 1849, which burned in 1966); he found the interior "splendid, quite beyond conception in a place such as this." He was also impressed by the priest, Ivan Veniaminov.

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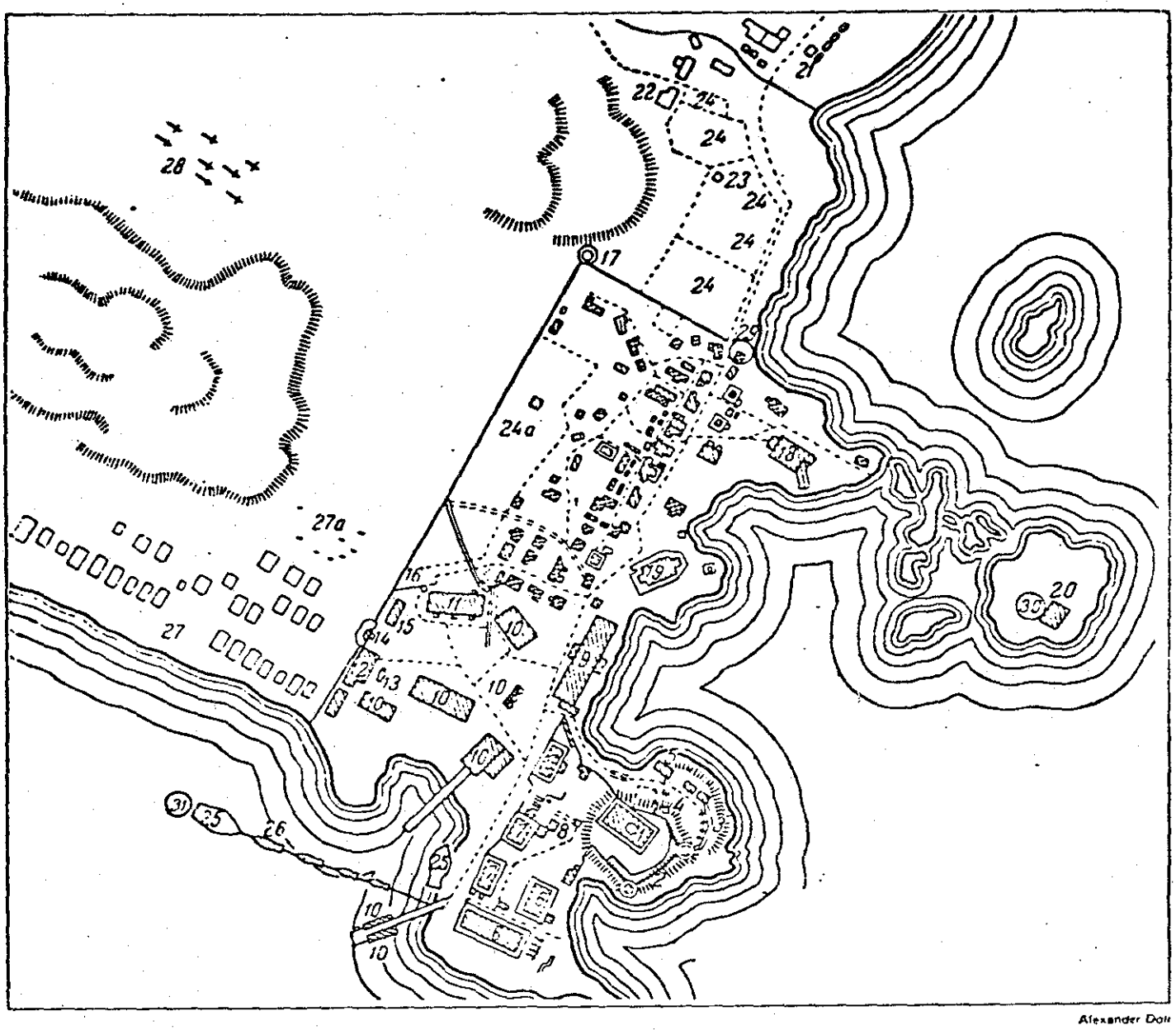
35. Pierce, "Wrangel," p. 42.



Alexander Doll

Map of the town of Sitka in 1836, by Edward Leontief Blashke, surgeon of the ship NICKOLAI. The numbered structures are: 1. House of the chief manager. 2. Fort, with watchtowers. 3. Shore battery. 4. Northern trap door (evidently an entry to the fort). 5. Bathhouse for employees. 6. Warehouses. 7. Houses for employees. 8. Arsenal. 9. Barracks for married employees and orphanage for girl orphans. 10. Admiralty buildings and shops. 11. Officers' quarters. 12. Naval school with dormitories for boys. 13. Model of a ship (perhaps used in connection with the school). 14. Battery. 15. Kitchen for employees. 16. Koloshin (Indian) marketplace. 17. Tower with guns. 18. Hospital. 19. St. Michael's Church (predecessor of the cathedral). 20. Warehouse for salted fish. 21. Shops for making rope. 22. Cattle yard. 23. Icehouse, dug into the ground. 24. Vegetable gardens, company and private. 24a. Vegetable garden of the chief manager. 25. Ship's hull used as a warehouse. 26. Warship. 27. Indian houses. 27a. Tlingit cemetery. 28. Russian cemetery. 29, 30, 31. Places from which an artist, I. G. Voznesensky, made drawings of the town. It should be noted that the town, enclosed by a stockade, did not extend very far east of the later site of St. Michael's Cathedral.

(From: Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Kupreianov," The Alaska Journal 2(Winter 1972):22.

Belcher noted also that the governor's house was the center from which social graces were trying to make headway in frontier Sitka. He felt that Sitka society showed the signs of being led and influenced by the gracious manners of Mme. Kupreianov. Evidently Mme. Kupreianov had continued what Baroness von Wrangell had started. On Sundays the Kupreianovs hosted dinners for the civil and military officers in their residence overlooking Sitka. The group assembled there at high tea, then gambled or played billiards until 11 o'clock in the evening, when supper was served.

While in Sitka, Belcher's warship aroused lively interest among the Tlingit chiefs and elders, who persisted in their solicitations until they received an invitation from her captain for 37 "of the best characters" to come aboard.

> They observed great ceremony in their approach, and were dressed in the most fantastic garb imaginable, being generally painted with scores of vermillion. . . . Some had helmets of wood, carved in imitation of frogs, seals, fish, or bird's heads. Others wore the very sensible plain conical hat without rim, which serves effectually to ward off sun or rain; and the generality wore, or carried with them, their native shawl, which is very laboriously worked into carpet figures, from the wool of some animal which I could not ascertain. One or two had cloaks of American sables, which were very handsome, but far inferior to those of Siberian. . . . The canoes were as fantastic as their occupants. They were carved in grotesque figures, and remarkably well handled. . . . [After circling the ship] singing and gesticulating as if she was to become a good prize, they at length came on board, and were severally presented by the governor."[36]

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36. Quoted in Pierce, "Kupreianov," p. 24.

The party of 37 was augmented by wives and friends, so that over a hundred Indians were feted at the tables which Captain Belcher had set up on the main deck of the Sulphur. The captain served them with rice and molasses, grog (cut with four parts of water), then a second helping of rice and molasses, more grog, more rice, and finally a third portion of diluted grog.

The Indians thanked their host by performing dances accompanied by clapping and yelling and a "musical instrument composed of three hoops with a cross in the center, the circumference being closely strung with the beads of the Alta arctica."

Governor Kupreianov gave a party for his English guests the night before the Sulphur departed in later September. The governor and his wife impressed Captain Belcher with the refinement of the creole and Indian women and others of

> the female society of Sitka. The evening passed most delightfully; and although the ladies were almost self-taught, they acquitted themselves with all the ease, and I may add elegance, communicated by European instruction. Although few could converse with their partners, they still contrived to get through the dance without the slightest difficulty. Quadrilles and waltzing were kept up; with great spirit, and I was not a little surprised to learn from our good friend and host, that many of the ladies then moving before us with easy and graceful air, had not an idea of dancing twelve months previous. I believe that the society is indebted principally to the Governor's elegant and accomplished lady for much of this polish.[37]

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37. Ibid.

During Kupreianov's administration an especially virulent smallpox epidemic broke out along the whole of the Alexander Archipelago, which included Sitka. The Indians of the region suffered the most sickness and death. Until they could be argued and cajoled into accepting vaccination, the death rate among them soared. The epidemic broke out in 1835 or 1836 in the southernmost parts of Russian-America, where it probably was brought in from the Indians farther south in British Columbia. In 1836, 250 of some 900 in Tongass died from the disease. As the disease moved north, death rates as high as 50 percent were not uncommon in many Indian villages. A large number of Tlingits in Sitka were also hit by the disease, but the promyshlenniks, who lived in conditions of filth rivaling those of the Tlingits, were somehow immune to it.[38] The German medical doctor attached to Sitka at this time, Dr. Blaschke, estimated that 3,000 natives died before vaccination could be carried out. Another year went by before any effect from the vaccinations could be noticed. Some Indian villages were abandoned, filled with bloated, decaying corpses, the living having moved off to nearby areas in the woods. The priest Ivan Veniaminov reported that half the Tlingits were killed by the disease.[39] Resistance to vaccination finally broke down among the Indians, and by 1840 the epidemic had disappeared. "It can honestly and truthfully be said that were an Indian vaccinated against his will before the epidemic, he would have torn out the flesh where the vaccine was placed," Veniaminov wrote.[40]

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38. Bancroft, p. 561.

39. A. P. Kashevaroff, "Ivan Veniaminov, Innocent, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna," Alaska Magazine (March 1927) p. 145.

40. Quoted in Kashevaroff (March 1927) p. 145.

The effect of the epidemic stayed to burden the Russian-American Company for some years to come. The company issued provisions to widows and orphans for several years. The company's governor decided to consolidate the Indian villages in an attempt to bring weakened families together so that they could aid one another in making a living; this consolidation would also simplify company aid to the Indians. The Indians resisted the company's moves violently, but by the mid-1840s the plan had turned out to be successful, at least from the company's standpoint.[41]

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41. Bancroft, p. 563.

THE CHURCH IN RUSSIAN AMERICA

The Russian Orthodox church came to America under the aegis of the Russian-American Company. Its influence in this New World had been nonexistent in the first half century of Russian exploitation of Alaska by the promyshlenniks, the period before the Russian-American Company was founded. And even after the company was founded in 1799, few churchmen accompanied the fur trappers on their expeditions. Leaders of company expeditions often acted in their stead, performing baptisms and marriages among the native population in the name of the Orthodox faith. The development of the Orthodox church in America as a proselytizing and teaching institution came only in the last decades before Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867; and then the church's imprint in America was largely the result of one uniquely gifted priest, Ivan Veniaminov, who later became Bishop Innokentii (Innocent).

By the company's second imperial charter of 1821, the company at last obligated itself in writing to do those things for the church that it had promised to do all along, but had not. The charter of 1821 called for the company to provide enough clergy to enable its employees to fulfill their obligations to the church. This meant that the company would support priests and build churches and chapels for use by company employees. Moreover, the company was to support missionary activities among the natives by providing transportation to the priests and providing them with food and supplies in their endeavors. Nevertheless, the difficult conditions of the Alaska mission precluded all but the most diligent priests from making a lasting impression on the native communities. Among those rare servants of the church who proved capable of such outstanding contributions to the church's mission, two names stand out: Father Herman and Ivan Veniaminov.

In 1794, the ship Three Saints from Okhotsk arrived in Saint Paul's Harbor, Kodiak, bearing Father Herman and nine other missionaries, the first group of Russian Orthodox clergy to sail to North America. The previous year, the Russian Holy Synod had appointed Metropolitan Gabriel of Novgorod and Saint Petersburg as vicar-general of Alaskan missions. He had summarily dispatched Father Herman and the others to institute the conversion of the Alaska natives.

For the next 30 years Father Herman was active as a teacher both of the faith and of practical skills (farming, fishing, manual skills) on Kodiak and Spruce islands. In 1823, at the age of 68, Father Herman moved permanently to Spruce Island to run his school for natives. For the next 13 years, until his death in 1836, he directed the education of the Spruce Island inhabitants and gained fame for his exemplary ascetic life devoted to religion.

Father Herman actively supported the welfare and improvement of the native Alaskans, whom he considered as children in need of protection and guidance in their dealings with the rapacious promyshlenniks. He constantly reminded the company officials of their responsibilities for the uplifting and protection of the natives. The promyshlenniks resented Father Herman's outspokenness and sometimes tried to quiet him, to no avail, with threats of bodily harm. A party of angry promyshlenniks once invaded his cabin in search of furs and money which they claimed he had stolen from natives. They ransacked his dwelling and found nothing, while Father Herman quietly looked on. One of the attackers, who was wielding an axe in his assault on the house, was warned by Father

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1. J. Lincoln Starr, "Education in Russian Alaska" (Alaska State Library Historical Monographs, no. 2, 1972), p. 3.

Herman: "My friend, you have lifted the axe in vain for by it you shall die."[2] From this and other like incidents Father Herman gained the reputation for clairvoyance; for as the monk "predicted," this promyshlennik was later axed to death by an irate native.

Many one-time enemies of Father Herman came to be his staunchest supporters. One administrator of Kodiak had reported accusations made against Father Herman to Saint Petersburg. After discovering the essential saintliness of the man, he not only corrected his reports but became a devoted supporter of Father Herman. Even Alexander Baranov, who was known for his harsh treatment of missionaries, became so devoted to this saintly monk that in his will he entrusted his children to Father Herman's care.[3]

For his services to the church and to the natives of Alaska, Father Herman was sainted by the Russian Orthodox church of North America. He was the first American missionary to be so venerated by that church.[4]

Father Herman's activities were confined to Kodiak and Spruce islands. In spite of his limited geographical area of activity, his intense commitment carried his name far. Ivan Veniaminov, on the other hand, was active throughout the Siberian, northern Pacific, and Alaskan region in the service of his church. Veniaminov and Father Herman were the two greatest churchmen the Russian Orthodox church produced in the missionary field. Of the two, Veniaminov's fame surpasses even that of Father Herman.

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2. Quoted in Michael George Kovach, "The Russian Orthodox Church in Russian America" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg 1957), p. 118.

3. Ibid., p. 113.

4. Starr, p. 6.

"The spread of the Christian faith in the most easterly regions of the Russian Empire is so connected with the fate of one man [Veniaminov] that it is impossible to separate the history of the missions in these countries from the history of his life."[5] Veniaminov's missionary work carried him to Alaska and the Aleutians, Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands, and the far reaches of eastern Siberia; this was the vast region which fostered the "greatest missionary whom the Russian Orthodox Church has ever produced."[6]

Ivan Veniaminov was born Ivan Popov in the Siberian village of Aginskoe in 1797. He was the son of a poor church sexton who died when Ivan was young. Ivan then went to live with his uncle, also a church sexton, who arranged for Ivan's acceptance into the seminary at Irkutsk when the boy was nine years old. He proved to be an excellent student in the seminary and also gifted in manual arts. As a young man he was already constructing water clocks and devising portable sundials. Toward the end of his seminary days, Ivan Popov was honored by being selected to perpetuate the name of the recently deceased and highly respected Bishop Veniaminov. Thus Ivan Veniaminov acquired the name that came to be venerated throughout Russian-America.

In 1816 Veniaminov married the daughter of a local priest. The following year he graduated from the Irkutsk seminary and was ordained a deacon. Four years later, in 1821, he was ordained a

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5. Josef Glazik, Die russisch-orthodoxe Heidenmission seit Peter dem Grossen (Muenster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1954), p. 145.

6. Ibid.

priest and joined the clerical staff of the Irkutsk church. Now settled with a wife, family, and position, his life seemed already to be laid out as a local cleric of the Irkutsk diocese. But in 1823 Veniaminov received a call that totally changed his life. The bishop of the diocese approached Veniaminov with a request to go to the Aleutian Islands as a missionary. At first, in consideration of his young family, he turned down the offer. But Veniaminov talked with a recently arrived Alaskan traveler from the Aleutians, who told him of the likable nature of the Aleut Indians and their desire for Christian instruction. These conversations apparently fired his interest in this "kind and sympathetic" people, for Veniaminov suddenly changed his mind and volunteered his services to the bishop.[7]

Veniaminov, his wife, and their young son, along with his mother and brother, left for the Aleutians in May 1823. After an arduous journey through Siberia and across the Bering Sea, the missionary family arrived on Unalaska Island in July 1824. Veniaminov found waiting for him no church, school, or even a house for himself; only a loose congregation of Aleuts barely familiar with the religion in which they had been baptized. Living in a native hut (barabara), he first undertook the construction of a house for his family.

Since the European building arts were, of course, unknown to the natives, Veniaminov used the construction of the church as a means to instruct them in the arts of carpentry, blacksmithing, and masonry. While teaching the building arts, Veniaminov was also

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7. Kashevaroff (February 1927) p. 50.

learning from his hosts. Veniaminov studied intensively Aleutian mores, customs, and language. He wished to know the people well and be able to preach to them in their own language. Conversions were to be made on a sound basis and not, as often in the past, as the result of the traditional gift of a garment from the converting priest.

Veniaminov spent ten years in the Unalaska district. His linguistic achievements, aside from his primary purpose of teaching and conversion, were considerable. He not only learned the Aleut language, but compiled a grammar of the language for the use of other priests as well. He translated into Aleut the gospel of Matthew, parts of the gospel of John, the entire Acts of the Apostles, the catechism and many prayers, and his own composition, "The Way into the Kingdom of Heaven."[8] The latter contained a simple summary of the essence of the Christian life. This pamphlet became a favorite publication throughout Russia in later years and was translated into several languages from Veniaminov's original Aleut version. By 1881 it had reached 21 editions.[9] Another important work from this period was his Notes on the Unalaska District, which contained scientific observations on the climate, flora, fauna, and other natural phenomena of the area.

From his base on Unalaska Island, Veniaminov also made missionary trips to the Alaskan mainland and to other islands in the Bering Sea. From one of these trips Veniaminov reported a remarkable encounter with a local shaman, which coming from the sober and analytical Veniaminov, makes this report of clairvoyance, communication with spirits, and foretelling of future events all the more intriguing:

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8. Ibid., p. 52.

9. Glazik, p. 149.

AN ALEUT PROPHET

In 1828, I made a bidarka journey to the island of Akoun, for the purpose of ministering to the natives there. On coming close to the beach, all the people of the village dressed in their best clothes were gathered on shore, evidently for my reception. On getting out of the bidarka I asked the meaning of this. They answered that they knew I was coming and came out to greet me, and welcome me to their island. I asked them why they were so "dressed up" and they said, "We knew that you had left Unalaska for this island and would be here today, and so to show our joy we came here to welcome you."

"And who told you that I would be here today, and how did you recognize me as Father Veniaminov?"

"Our shaman, old man Smirennikov, told us that you had started from Unalaska and would be here today, (and he told us that)--you will teach us about God and how to pray to Him."

Later I met old man Smirennikov. He was about sixty years of age. He was believed to be a shaman. The reason for this was that this man performed unexplainable manifestations. One of the most striking was this: One woman, the wife of Theodore Zharov, stepped on a set Klipts trap thereby very severely injuring her knee. The barbs on the lever of the trap, about two inches long, struck her knee cap, causing a very painful and dangerous wound. Blood poisoning set in and the woman was at death's door. In fact there did not seem to be

any hope for her recovery. The relatives of the woman appealed to Smirennikov for help. He came to see the woman and after looking at her for a short time he said, "She will be well in the morning."

To the surprise of all, the next morning this woman arose from her sick bed perfectly well, with no indication of wound or soreness in her knee. Another striking incident was the help in procuring food for the whole village. During the winter of 1825 the natives of Akoun island village were entirely out of food. Some of the more venturesome asked old man Smirennikov to give the people of Akoun a whale so that they would not die from starvation. He said "I will ask for it." Shortly afterwards he came with the information that if they would go to a certain beach on the island they would find the whale they asked for. All went to the designated spot and found a whale on the beach.

This incident of his wonderful prophetic power was borne out by his knowledge of my movements at a distance so great that he could not possibly have known about me unless he possessed occult powers.

It was my intention to visit Akoun last autumn. The people were expecting me and a bidarka was dispatched from there to bring me. Many things happened (so that I) could not visit the island; vessels came in with mail, and other things, like great storms, came. The people were expecting me. The old man forcibly maintained that I would not come that fall, but would be there next spring. The old man was correct in all his statements concerning me. There are many other events that point

to his occult powers. Like narratives, confirmed by many reputable witnesses, induced me to interrogate old man Smirennikov.

My desire was to know how he could know certain events ahead and by what means he cured sickness. Thanking me for putting these questions to him, he told me the following:

"Shortly after I was baptized by Father Makarius, first one and then two men appeared to me. They were not visible to others, but I could see them and talk to them and they spoke to me. They had white faces and were dressed in clothing similar to the paintings in church (representing Archangel Gabriel)."

These spirits told the old man that they were sent there by God to teach the people and to guard them from harm. During the course of thirty years, these spirits appeared to him almost daily. They instructed him in the tenets of the Christian religion and the mysteries of the faith. It is unnecessary here to repeat all that he said on this subject, for what he said were really the teachings of Christ.

These spirits rendered him, and through him to other people on the island, help in sickness, distress and trouble. In this connection the spirits always said that they would ask God and if He were willing to help, the help would be received. Once in so often he would acquaint the people of the events taking place in other remote parts. Seldom did he foretell coming events. In this the spirits invariably said that what they told him was not of their own power, but came from God.

> I asked him: "How do they teach you to pray? Do they want you to bow yourself to them and to pray to them?" He answered, "They teach me to pray to God alone. To pray in spirit and from pure heart. They often prayed with me during long periods."
>
> I gave him the following instruction: "I can plainly see that the spirits who visit you are good spirits and you must follow their teachings. To those who ask you for help you must say that they must ask God themselves; God is our Father, and He will help those who put their trust in Him. I do not forbid you to render help to those who are ill, but in helping them you must explain that it is not you who gives this help, but God by His mighty power."

In the study in which this report was published, Kashevaroff adds the following sequel:

> Father Veniaminov was very much interested in this wonderful manifestation. He wanted to meet the good spirits and talk with them, and the old man said "I will ask them about this, and if they are willing, I shall tell you." The next day the old man came to him and said that the spirits would see him and let him see them. Thinking this over, Father Veniaminov concluded that he wanted to see them out of curiosity and that if he did see them, it might make him proud of this honor. He decided to report the matter to his Bishop, and ask for advice, and he rendered the report we have just read.
>
> It was a year before he received a reply from the Bishop, who advised him to see the spirits. When Father

Veniaminov reached the island again, he found that the old man had died.[10]

After ten years' service in Unalaska, Veniaminov was transferred to Sitka. In 1834 Veniaminov and his wife and family, now consisting of three children, arrived in the "capital city of the Russian-American Company." At this time Veniaminov's brother returned to the Irkutsk seminary (he would later be active as a priest on the Kamchatka Peninsula). Among the Tlingit Indians of Sitka and the southeast coast of Alaska, Veniaminov continued in the same unhurried, methodical manner which he had shown in Unalaska. He set out to familiarize himself with the people he was to minister to, learn their customs, and above all, learn their language. Once again, Veniaminov eschewed rushing in to make hasty conversions to the Orthodox faith.

The delay in his missionary work proved especially fortunate. In 1836 a smallpox epidemic broke out among the Tlingits which ravaged the entire tribe. For the Indians the only recourse to combat the disease was to turn to their shamans. But their chanting, beating of drums, and dancing failed to stave off the disease, and whole Indian families were taken. On the other hand, the Russian interlopers among them were spared, being protected by vaccinations administered by the company doctor. As soon as the Tlingits perceived this they gradually allowed themselves to be vaccinated. Thus Dr. Blaschke was able finally to bring the epidemic to a halt.

The effect of this episode was to break down the distrust that the Tlingits harbored against all things Russian. Veniaminov, who

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10. Quoted in Kashevaroff (February 1927) pp. 52-55.

during the epidemic was out among the Indians attempting to comfort the sick and combat the disease, gained credibility among the Indians for his Christian cause. After the epidemic had been wiped out, his missionary activities met with more receptive ears among the Indians. Veniaminov himself felt that Providence had had a hand in the outcome. Had he been actively proselytizing and converting before the smallpox appeared, the Tlingits might well have ascribed its cause to the devils of the foreign religion. As it turned out, the Tlingits now accepted him and the religion he preached as a friend bearing a superior knowledge that could benefit them.[11]

Once the smallpox epidemic had been brought under control in the summer of 1836, Veniaminov used this respite to travel to the Russian colony at Fort Ross. From there he also visited nearby Spanish missions. The Russian visitor impressed his Spanish hosts with his vast intellectual interests and his mechanical abilities. During Veniaminov's visit the Spanish were so taken with one of his handbuilt organs that they requested him to build several for their own use.[12] Veniaminov had a workshop in Sitka where he spent much time pursuing his building hobbies. He produced many articles: furniture, desks, chairs, clocks, barometers. One visitor, the English Captain Belcher, described the priest, his church, and his workshop in 1837:

> I have visited the local church and was present there during the service. The interior of the church was magnificent, which could not be expected in a place like

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11. Kovach, p. 163.

12. Kashevaroff (April 1927) p. 219.

> this. The priest [i.e., Veniaminov] is a manly, athletic man of about forty-five years of age, six feet three inches in height and very intelligent. He made a very favorable impression on me. Having received his permission to visit his work shop, I saw there quite a good organ, a barometer and many other articles of his own construction. He was so kind as to offer his services to repair our two barometers, and repaired them very satisfactorily. In spite of the fact that he spoke in Russian only, we became very good friends.[13]

By 1838 Veniaminov had come to the conclusion that the successful Christianization of Alaska would require a unified plan and additional priests. Only four priests were then active in Russian-America, and more schools and churches were needed. In order to speed up a favorable decision from the ruling church authorities in Russia, Veniaminov obtained a furlough from the company authorities so that he could present his case personally to the Holy Synod in Moscow. Veniaminov's wife and two older children undertook the trip via the normal route through Siberia and Irkutsk. Veniaminov and his small daughter traveled the water route through the South Pacific, around Cape Horn, and through the Atlantic to Russia. After seven months, he arrived in Saint Petersburg in June 1893.

Veniaminov waited through the summer in Moscow for the fall session of the Holy Synod. Its presiding member, Metropolitan Philaret, hosted the Alaskan visitor and was won over to his cause and to the greatness of the man. Other influential Muscovites both within and without the church came to know Veniaminov and became avid supporters of his mission. The many gifts to the Sitka church

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13. Quoted in Kashevaroff (April 1927) p. 219.

(icons, utensils, etc.) donated by leading Moscow citizens date from this period. Veniaminov also used this time to have his grammars of the Aleut and Kodiak languages published.[14]

When the Holy Synod met and heard Veniaminov's report of his 15 years' service in the American colonies and his request for expansion of activities, the assembled church authorities lent him their full support. Veniaminov was elevated to the rank of archpriest.

At this time an event occurred that greatly changed Veniaminov's future. While in Moscow, he heard of the sudden unexpected death of his wife. His first impulse was to travel to Irkutsk to care for his children. At the same time, Metropolitan Philaret urged him to enter monastic orders. Because of his children, Veniaminov hesitated until Philaret arranged for their upbringing in the ecclesiastical seminary at Saint Petersburg. Veniaminov then felt free to take the vows and devote his full life to the church. In November 1840 Ivan Veniaminov was received into the order of monks and took the name Innokentii (Innocent). This act was followed shortly by an audience with Tsar Nicholas I. The tsar, impressed by the American missionary and his deeds, ordered that a new diocese of Kamchatka and Alaska be created and that the Holy Synod name Veniaminov as its first bishop. Veniaminov's title was now Bishop Innocent of Kamchatka and Alaska. His episcopal seat would be in Sitka, where a cathedral church was to be constructed.[15]

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 220.

Traveling by way of Irkutsk, where he had started his ecclesiastical career as a boy of nine, Bishop Innocent of the new diocese crossed on through Siberia and over the northern Pacific, arriving in Sitka on September 27, 1841. Thanks to the industrious Lutheran governor of Alaska, Alexander Etolin, the Orthodox church in Sitka was newly renovated and in excellent repair to receive America's first Orthodox bishop.

Veniaminov's visit to the capitals of government and the church produced the desired results. The missionary activities in North America were increased, with a commensurate increase in the number of missionaries and ecclesiastical facilities. The synod in Moscow decided to increase the number of parishes from four to six and to add other churches as the need arose. At this time the government assumed the burden of salaries of the clergy and the expenses of the proposed ecclesiastical school to be built in the colonial capital at Sitka. Under the new organization, now under Bishop Innocent, 7 priests, 1 deacon, and 14 churchmen now served in Alaska. A budget of 11,800 rubles was provided by the government to meet salaries and living and travel expenses of the missionaries. The tour of duty of missionaries was fixed at ten instead of the former five years. This measure took into account the long period of time lost in travel from the homeland as well as the detrimental effects of rapid turnover of missionaries. To make the long tour of duty more attractive, a new schedule of retirement pensions for missionaries was established. For ten years' service, a missionary received a pension equal to his salary. Thus a dean received 240 rubles per year, a priest, 180 rubles. For 15 years' service, the pension amounted to one and one-half times the salary; and for 20 years, double the salary.[16]

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16. Kovach, pp. 173-74.

The ecclesiastical school that was to be built in Sitka had the purpose of training natives for the priesthood. Such priests, by mere reason of their fluency in the languages of the region, would have more success than Russian missionaries, who had to work through interpreters. The school opened in December of 1841 with an enrollment of 23 creoles and aborigines. To obtain admission to the school, the prospective pupil had to be released from service with the Russian-American Company if he was in its employment; moreover, parents had to grant permission, and the bishop recommend admittance to the school.

In the first class, pupils learned reading, writing, and the catechism; in the second, sacred history, catechism, Russian grammar, and arithmetic. The teacher received 150 rubles per year salary; his assistant, 60 rubles. When Bishop Innocent returned to Sitka in April of 1842, he was apparently pleased with the progress of the school.[17]

Bishop Innocent also found 80 catechumens ready for baptism when he returned to Sitka. In typical fashion, he did not rush the candidates to the baptismal font. He felt that the priest of the Sitka church had not fully prepared them and recognized that many of the Indians were too swayed by the promise of gifts. As in Unalaska 20 years earlier, Bishop Innocent reaffirmed the principle that baptisms for material gain would not be tolerated.

Bishop Innocent left on another inspection tour of the distant missions in Kamchatka in May 1842. At this time Sir George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company was in Sitka and described

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17. Ibid., p. 176.

him as a man whose "appearance alone commands respect, and his humbleness, which characterizes every word and deed, invisibly turns this respect into love."[18] On his way to Kamchatka, Innocent visited his original parish at Unalaska. The natives remembered him well after ten years' absence. He preached to them in their native language, and afterwards they presented their former priest with an intricately woven grass orlets (or bishop's mat) upon which only a bishop may stand during a holy service. Innocent proceeded to Kamchatka and toured the Siberian province for over half a year, then returned to Sitka in September of 1843. On such extended tours of ecclesiastical provinces (Innocent performed three during his tenure in Sitka), he inspected the state of affairs of the church and its missions, reviewed the educational work of the priests, consecrated new churches, and performed ordinations. Innocent, though a zealous proselytizer for Christianity, was not blind to the good qualities of the pagan societies. During his inspection trip he reported that

> many so-called wild men are in moral matters much superior to the so-called educated men. In the whole diocese of Kamchatka, for instance, one can say that there exists neither thievery nor murder; at least there has never been a case in which either a Tungus, a Kamchatkan or an Aleut has ever stood before a judge on such a charge.[19]

The episcopal consistory, or administrative headquarters for the bishop's administration, was organized by Innocent when he arrived

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18. Quoted in Kovach, p. 177.

19. Quoted in Glazik, p. 154.

at his episcopal see at Sitka. With Innocent at its head, the consistory was run by two priests, an archdeacon, and a deacon. The regulations of the Orthodox church were promulgated by the consistory and also those special regulations meeting the particular needs of the diocese that were then decided upon by the local bishop. The financial and business aspects of church affairs were run by the consistory; inventories of goods, expenses, and income were audited. Statistics of births and deaths, church membership, marriage banns, records of clergy, registers of correspondence, and journals of activities were kept by the consistory.[20]

Bishop Innocent also issued regulations regarding marriages. Marriages between Russians followed normal Russian civil and church rules; those between natives not in the employ of the company were not affected by church regulations. But marriages between natives employed by the Russians, or between natives or creoles and Russians, were brought under Orthodox purview. Age requirements, for instance, were set at 18 for men and 16 for women, although Innocent and others tried to have the latter age lowered because of the early maturity of native girls and the resulting custom of early marriage. The creoles had to obtain permission to marry from the company. Those of another faith could only be married in the Orthodox church if they promised to raise all offspring in the Orthodox faith.

One of the first concerns of the new bishop in Sitka was to construct a diocesan house for the consistory headquarters. This diocesan house, or bishop's house, ranked even ahead of the promised cathedral, since a church already existed in Sitka. As noted elsewhere in this study, the bishop's house was constructed

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20. Kovach, pp. 180-81.

in 1843 and ready for occupancy and consecration of its chapel by December of that year. Innocent immediately organized a school for Christian instruction of children. Girls met on Tuesdays and boys on Wednesdays for catechism. In the 1844-45 term, 100 children received instruction in the bishop's school. Another 200 Sitka children received their instruction in other schools of the community.[21]

Immediately following the building of the bishop's house in Sitka, Innocent turned his attention to the establishment of a seminary. In 1844 construction was started on the two-story building, which was located next to the bishop's house and very similar to it in size and outside appearance. Its official opening came in November of 1845; the first classes had 54 students. The course of instruction for the seminarians, which lasted ten years, was designed by Innocent to aid the future purveyors of Christianity in clear presentation of the Gospels to non-Christian peoples. Students from the Kamchatka ecclesiastical school were transferred to the new seminary at Sitka. Innocent wrote in later years of his pleasure from the results of the seminary in Sitka:

> The Sitka Seminary had a great influence on the future of the American Mission, an influence that remains to this day and which kept Orthodox Catholicism alive among the Aleutians and and the Indians through some very trying times to the present. Its students were Aleutians, Koloshi, and members of other Alaskan Indian tribes who were to carry on the work of teaching and propagating the Orthodox Catholic Faith in America.[22]

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21. Ibid., p. 184.

22. Quoted in Starr, p. 22.

Another major construction effort during Innocent's tenure in Sitka was the Church of the Holy Trinity, or Indian church. The main motivation for construction of this church was the inability of most converted Tlingits to understand the Russian service in the old church Slavonic tongue. Innocent pressed for a church for the Indians with services to be carried out in their own language. The new church was consecrated in April of 1849 and used with great success until 1855, when it was destroyed during the Tlingit uprising. The company later had to repair the church at its own expense.[23]

The most important ecclesiastical structure of the Russian period in Alaska was Saint Michael's Cathedral in Sitka, which was built during Innocent's tenure. The stone foundation was started in April 1848, and Bishop Innocent dedicated the cathedral church of the Russian-American diocese in November 1848.

The cathedral was typically Russian and could have fit well into any rural setting in the Russian countryside. It had a stone foundation with a wooden structure built upon it. (The original wooden structure was destroyed by fire in 1966, but it has now been reconstructed.) The bell chimes in the tower had been donated to Veniaminov during his trip to Moscow in 1839. The tower clock had been constructed by Veniaminov in 1836 and transferred to the new church. The icons in the church were of great value, as were the silver plate and other church utensils, much of which had also been donated to the priest Veniaminov during his stay in the Russian governmental and ecclesiastical capitals.

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23. Ibid., p. 209.

Besides the two Orthodox churches (i.e., the cathedral and the Indian church), a small Protestant church, established by the Lutheran Governor Etolin, fulfilled the religious needs of the sparse non-Orthodox Christian community of the Russian-American capital.[24]

Conversion of the Tlingits to the Orthodox faith proved fairly successful in spite of setbacks such as occurred with the short-lived revolt of 1855. By 1860 close to 5,000 Tlingits had been converted. However, in spite of Innocent's cautious methods, many conversions were apparently not of a lasting nature. Many of the natives who took part in the fighting of 1855 were converts who nevertheless did not hesitate to break into the Indian church, use it as a fortress, and take part in its desecration and destruction. And by 1864 only some 500 Tlingits were members of the Orthodox church.

In April of 1850 Bishop Innocent was elevated to the rank of archbishop. He appointed a bishop-vicar to represent him in Sitka and left for the Siberian mainland to travel through the Asian parts of his diocese. By this time Innocent sensed that he had done all he could to establish the Orthodox faith among the natives of Alaska. New missions in Mishagak, Kwikhpakh, and Kenai were established, as were the school and seminary in Sitka, the Indian church, and the new cathedral church of Saint Michael. Innocent apparently perceived the political realities of the day: The future of the Orthodox missionary work lay in Asia, into which Russia was now expanding; the Russian hold on North America was tenuous at best.[25]

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24. Andrews, Sitka, p. 56.

25. Glazik, pp. 155-56.

In 1852 the seat of the diocese was transferred to Aian on the Kamchatka Peninsula. From here Archbishop Innocent went on to missionize the Siberian tribes. He gained more fame in the Orthodox church for his activities in Siberia and in 1868 was chosen as the successor to the highest post in the Russian Orthodox church, that of metropolitan of Moscow, in which position he continued until his death in 1879.

After the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867, the fortunes of the Orthodox church in Alaska dwindled rapidly. The Russian government continued to give financial support to the churches and schools. But the institution as such, closely tied as it was to the Russian imperial government, was robbed of its driving force when the Russians left America. In 1872 Sitka's Orthodox community was placed under the newly established consistory in San Francisco. By the late 19th century, the visiting bishop from San Francisco reported on a very low state of education and fitness among the Russian Orthodox priesthood in Sitka and other parts of Alaska.[26] Nevertheless, the active Orthodox community in Sitka today attests to the lasting values of a religion which the greatness of Ivan Veniaminov, Bishop Innocent, was able to imbue in the Russian and Indian communities of North America.

THE FINAL PERIOD OF RUSSIAN RULE, 1840-1867

In 1840 the Russian-American Company found itself in some ways at the pinnacle of its activities in the New World. Its geographic extension was at its greatest. Continued exploration was opening up more and more territories of the Alaska mainland to Russian knowledge. Dividends to the company's stockholders over the last 20-year period were double what they had been during the corresponding period of the company's first 20 years. Fort Ross, the perennial loser on the balance sheets, was about to be sold, and the food supply problem had been reassuringly settled for the Russians by their contract with the Hudson's Bay Company. The company was just going into an era of a boom in building at Sitka under the new Governor Etolin in 1840.

Still, the Russian-American Company was on shaky grounds in the New World. Its incapability to hold onto and expand its California holdings at Fort Ross pointed up its real weakness in the political arena of the New World. Moreover, the fur-bearing animals were being depleted, in spite of Wrangell's introduction of conservation efforts. The rise in the dividend value of the company's shares reflected a rise in fur prices due to scarcity on the market. Thus as the organization and outward appearance at Sitka reflected activity and prosperity in the company, the period beginning with Governor Etolin's tenure in 1840 in reality reflected not a high plateau but a peak from which the fortunes of the company could only go into descent. "In other words, in the first period of the Company's existence there was peltry but no order. In the second period, there was more order but less peltry, and, finally, in the third period, there was perfect order but the treasury was empty."[1]

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1. Okun, p. 225.

At this time the vast Russian-American "empire," extending over thousands of square miles of interior Alaska and thousands of miles of North American coastline, contained fewer than 650 Russians scattered through some 20 posts. The three most important of these were in Unalaska, Kodiak, and Sitka; in the "capital" at Sitka were come 500 of the total number of Russians in America. The town also had close to 700 creoles and some 100 Aleuts. Outside the town, in the Indian village, lived 500 Tlingits, who could erupt into hostility at any moment. Kodiak, the former administrative center until Baranov moved this function to Sitka in 1808, had 69 Russians and was the next largest contingent to Sitka. Other important settlements, or posts, included Yakutat, Wrangell, Unalakleet, Saint Michael's Redoubt, Nulato on the Yukon River, Kodiak, Minilchik Iliamna, and Kurluk.[2]

Labor shortages and the inability to build up a permanent, large population of Russian citizens from among the Russians, creoles, and natives were to haunt the Russian-American colonies till the Russians withdrew in 1867. The main reasons for this frustration were, of course, the slow deterioration of the company's resource of furs and the failure of the company and the Russian court to launch a coordinated effort to make Russian-America anything more than a few fur-hunting stations. But there were other reasons why any such effort would have been difficult.

Rezanov had already wished to attract a class of free pioneers to the New World and make them into a class of independent farmers. But the system of serfdom in Russia would not yield up men for such an undertaking. Serfs were limited by their noble owners. Thus, the company appealed to the tsar to be allowed to purchase serfs to take to America. But the tsar refused, pointing out that

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2. Hulley, p. 171.

only the nobility had the right to purchase serfs. Besides, it was feared that too many serfs would use the opportunity, once in the New World, to run away to freedom.

Other methods were turned to by the company. The second charter granted the company the right to extend the seven-year term of employment for one more term. By the third charter in 1841, the company was permitted to keep all employees until their debts were cleared with it. This gave the company a considerable lever, since the pay of the workers was low. The company used positive methods as well, urging the employees to marry native women and establish homes. Creoles were encouraged to learn skills that the company taught and needed for its future operations.[3]

But none of these attempts succeeded. The Russian mentality of government, Russian views of the state and the individual, would not allow for an "opening of the gates" of immigration because of the expectation that these released adventurers would not remain loyal to the tsar.

The man who replaced Governor Kupreianov in Sitka in 1840 was no newcomer to Russian-America. Capt. Adolf Etolin was born in Finland in 1799 (Etholen being the Finnish spelling of his name) and joined the Russian-American Company as a young cadet in 1818. Thereafter, he spent much time in America, including one ten-year stretch from 1827 to 1837. In 1839 he was appointed as Kupreianov's successor; he married his Finnish bride in June and sailed with her for America in August of that year. In May of 1840 Etolin arrived in Sitka to take over the duties.

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3. Ibid., p. 172.

Etolin was the first non-Orthodox Christian to be governor. He therefore brought with him a young Finnish Lutheran pastor and established at Sitka the first non-Orthodox church in Russian-America. This was done not only for himself and his wife but also for the growing number of Finnish workmen now entering the ranks of the company.

At the time Etolin was getting himself established in Sitka, the Imperial Council in Saint Petersburg was weighing the request for a new charter for the company. After much deliberation the council recommended, and the tsar granted, the company's third 20-year charter on March 5, 1841. In reviewing their recommendation to the tsar, the councillors commented on their perception of the company at that time:

> In the variety and extent of its operations no other company can compare with it. In addition to a commercial and industrial monopoly, the government has invested it with a portion of its own powers in governing the vast and distant territory over which it now holds control. A change in this system would now be of doubtful benefit. To open our ports to all hunters promiscuously would be a death blow to the fur trade while the government, having transferred to the company the control of the colonies, could not now resume it without great expense and trouble, and would have to create new financial resources for such a purpose.[4]

The charter was basically the same as the one granted 20 years earlier. The boundary claims were different since the treaties of

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4. Quoted in Bancroft, p. 458.

1824 and 1825 with the Americans and British. Otherwise none of the company's rights were changed, except that it gained the right to ship tea directly from Shanghai to Saint Petersburg and the right to trade with other Chinese ports. The new charter set up a colonial council, made up of the deputy governor and four naval officers, which had jurisdiction in all but capital cases. Military and civil officers were granted the inducement of receiving credit for double time while in its service. It was still prohibited to sell firearms, ammunition, or spiritous liquors to the Indians. And to the great consternation of many, the new charter put a prohibition on all liquor in the colonies for Russians as well. Russian-America was to go dry![5] Gone were the days of Baranov, who would set out a kettle brimming full with grog and shout to his men, "Drink!"

In May of 1842 Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who had worked out the agreement with Wrangell over Fort Sitkeen in 1839, arrived in Sitka to negotiate the continuing complaints between traders of the two nations. In the four days that Simpson spent in Sitka, where, he reported, "we experienced the utmost kindness and hospitality," he and Etolin could come to agreement on only one matter. "With a view to the well being of the Indian population on the coast, and to guard as much as possible even against the semblance of competition, I suggested to Governor Etholine that the use of spiritous liquors should be discontinued by both parties [in trade with the Indians] . . . and I have much satisfaction in saying that he readily assented to this agreement."[6]

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5. Ibid., p. 569. It is reported that when this order was read to the workmen, some of them broke into tears.

6. Glyndivr Williams, ed., London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-42 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973), p. 71.

The need to control liquor sales to the Indians was nowhere more apparent than in Sitka itself. Simpson noted this among his other observations of Sitka:

> Some reformation certainly was wanted in this respect, for of all the drunken as well as of all the dirty places that I had visited, New Archangel was the worst. On the holidays in particular, of which, Sundays included, there are one hundred and sixty five in the year, men, women and even children were to be seen staggering about in all directions. The common houses are nothing but wooden hovels huddled together without order or design in nasty alleys, the hot-beds of such odors as are themselves sufficient, independently of any other cause, to breed all sorts of fevers. In a word, while the inhabitants do all they can to poison the atmosphere, the place itself appears to have been planned for the express purpose of checking ventilation.

Describing conditions further, Simpson wrote:

> For the amount of business done, the men, as well as the officers, appear to be unnecessarily numerous, amounting this season to nearly five hundred, who, with their families, make about 1,200 souls as the population of the establishment. Among the servants are some excellent tradesmen, such as engineers, armorers, tin-smiths, cabin-makers, jewellers, watchmakers, tailors, cobblers, builders, etc., receiving generally about 350 rubles a year; they have come originally on engagements of seven years; but most of them, by drinking or indulging in

> some other extravagance, contrive to be so regularly in debt as to become fixtures for life.[7]

To relieve the tedium of Sitka's narrowly circumscribed social life, Etolin established a social club in his first year there for officers and higher officials. This club provided reading, billiards, cards, and supper rooms. The officers could entertain visitors, and Etolin himself occasionally entertained officers here. The club brought a modicum of refined entertainment to the men and was, until the Russians left, a "benefit to the colony, save, perhaps, in the cause of temperance--a virtue which the Russians were loathe to practice."[8]

Under Etolin, building was encouraged in the colonies. A trading post was constructed on the Unalakleet River on Norton Sound; the post at Nulato was rebuilt, and also the fort on the Kuskokvim. The brickyard at Kenai was enlarged, and a tannery built at Sitka.[9] At Sitka, besides the Lutheran church, he also had built the two-story bishop's residence with private chapel and the two-story seminary next door, constructed in 1843 and 1845, respectively.[10] The hospitals in Kodiak and Sitka were clean and

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7. Quoted in Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Etholen and Tebenkov," The Alaska Journal, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring 1972), p. 22-23. Hereafter cited as Pierce, "Etholen."

8. Bancroft, p. 675; Etolin's banishment of alcohol did not, apparently, extend to officers of the company.

9. Pierce, "Etholen," p. 22.

10. Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Hereafter cited as Church Records.

well maintained, the latter, according to Sir George Simpson, being an institution which "would be no disgrace to England."[11]

Explorations continued under Etolin. He himself surveyed the Aian River and Bay in 1845 in Siberia. Lieutenant Zagoskin performed the most notable explorations of Etolin's period. He was given the mission of extending the Russian trading limit further up the Yukon River valley, for rumors had it that the Hudson's Bay Company was moving into that area. Zagoskin sailed from Saint Michaels Redoubt in 1842 to the Unalakleet River, where he established a post from which his party could go by portage to the Yukon basin. In the winter Zagoskin then traveled by dog sled to Nulato, arriving January 15. He attempted unsuccessfully to go up the Koyukuk River but returned to the Nulato post. In June of 1843 he built a bidarka and went up the Yukon River about 100 miles, or to the mouth of the Kowikakat River. He then returned down the Yukon, crossed over to the Kuskokvim River at Iskogmut and went on to the Kolmakov Redoubt.[12] Zagoskin's expedition was one of the best recorded of its kind thanks to Zagoskin's meticulous notes on the land, peoples, and languages of the areas he surveyed.

Under Etolin's successor, Gov. Mikhail Tebenkov, explorations were continued on the Yukon River. In 1846 Tebenkov sent a party up the Yukon in an attempt to expand on the work of Zagoskin. Another party was sent up the Copper River in 1847 in an attempt to reach the Yukon River. This party met with death at the hands of Indians.[13]

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11. Quoted in Andrews, Alaska, p. 111.

12. Ibid., p. 107.

13. Pierce, "Etholen," p. 25

As had become custom by now, Governor Tebenkov was an officer in the imperial navy. Tebenkov, too, had already had years of experience in Russian-America before he and his wife arrived in Sitka in September of 1845 to take over as governor and first lady of the colonies.

One of the first things Tebenkov turned his attention to was construction activities, especially in and around Sitka. The flour and saw mill at the Ozerskoi Redoubt, which had been constructed in 1832, was already in bad condition. Since it was located a considerable distance from Sitka, Tebenkov decided on building a new mill nearer town. Therefore a new flour and saw mill was built at the mouth of Saw Mill Creek. A dam on the creek 15 feet high drove the mill. Another flour mill was built on the Malyshovka River issuing from Swan Lake. These two flour mills could meet the grain-grinding needs of Sitka and the rest of the Russian-American posts and also those of the new port of Aian in Siberia and the Kamchatka Peninsula. Ship repairing continued in the port, including repair of foreign whalers from Germany and the United States.[14]

The most important structure in Sitka, from both aesthetic and historical perspectives, was Saint Michael's Cathedral. Tebenkov approved construction of the cathedral church for Russian-America in 1847, and it was finished and consecrated by Bishop Innocent in 1849.[15] The church was in the shape of the cross, the most ancient and revered Christian symbol. The twelve icons used in the iconostasis contained over 50 pounds of solid silver. One of the icons, that of the church's patron Saint Michael, had an

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14. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

15. As previously noted, this church burned in 1966 and has since been reconstructed.

interesting story behind it. The icon had reportedly been aboard the ship Neva, which upon entering Sitka Bay in January 1813 on her way from Okhotsk, bringing a replacement for Chief Administrator Baranov, sank off Mount Edgecumbe, losing almost all her men and casting her cargo to the sea. "Miraculously" the icon of Saint Michael was later cast on the shore and recovered.[16]

Under Tebenkov commercial relations with the Hawaiian Islands first became profitable. The brig Baikal returned to Sitka from there in 1846, after delivering a cargo of sealskins, whale bone, walrus tusks, iron, and timber in return for a cargo of salt, sugar, molasses, and coffee, and a profit of 4,000 rubles. Several of her voyages after this produced similar profits.[17]

Around this time it became a custom in Sitka for the Indians to stage an annual potlatch in the vicinity. Indians numering up to 1,500 gathered here for ceremonial festivals of eating, giftgiving, games, and dancing. Unfortunately from the Russian viewpoint, the free Indians who came in an attempt to prove their wealth and importance sometimes ended these affairs by destroying property (their own) and killing Indian slaves. Tebenkov intervened in 1847, after hearing that eight women had thus been killed, and rescued some others designated for sacrifice by ransoming them and sending them to other islands for safety. Ransoming intended victims become a practice of the company thereafter.[18]

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16. "The Russian Orthodox Church of the Archangel Michael at Sitka," The Russian Orthodox Messenger 3(May 15-27, 1899):284. Hereafter cited as "Russian Orthodox Messenger."

17. Pierce, "Etholen," p. 24.

18. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

The gold rush in California provided a short-lived boom for Sitka as well. In December 1848 Tebenkov loaded every supply and item which lay unused in Sitka onto the Prince Menshikov and sent them to San Francisco to sell them at inflated prices in the flourishing gold-rush market there. He also sent a group of five Russians and six Tlingits to pan for gold. In a little under two months the group had panned more than 11 pounds of gold. The profits from this enterprise allowed Lieutenant Rudakov to buy a German ship, rechristen it the Shelikhov, and return with it to Sitka. Another ship from Sitka sold its supplies well the next year in California, but by 1850 the market in San Francisco was oversupplied and prices fell. Sitka's short ancillary boom came to an end.[19]

The gold rush took away California's exports of foods to Sitka. Sitka's other sources of supplies dried up about this time too. In 1849 the Hudson's Bay Company refused to renew their ten-year contract to supply the Russian colonies with food. Thus the company now looked to the Finns. Finnish ships were put under contract to bring European grain to Sitka and return with company furs and other goods.[20]

At the close of Tebenkov's governorship, another Russian attempt was made to capitalize on the whaling grounds of the northern Pacific, this time not by the Russian-American Company but by the Russian-Finland Whaling Company, formed in Finland. The Russian-American Company, as has been noted, had earlier hired an American master of a whaler to come to Sitka and teach the Aleuts the Yankee method of whaling from large ships. This attempt by

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19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

Kupreianov in 1836 had failed, but the success of foreign (mainly Yankee) whalers had been obvious to the Russians. For a period of some 20 years, from the mid-1830s on, each year had seen some 250 ships return from the northern Pacific laden with whale bone and oil. The first "sortie" by the Russian-Finland Company, the voyage of the Suomi in 1852-53, would be successful. But the next would come back with just one whale. By 1854 the Crimean War would cause Russia to withdraw its effort, bringing its belated hopes of entering this lucrative field to a sudden halt. The affair pointed up the growing fragility of official Russian will to launch and sustain Russian commercial efforts in the northern Pacific.[21]

Capt. Nikolai Rosenberg succeeded Governor Tebenkov in October of 1850. Rosenberg had served in the colonies for eight years, from 1831 to 1839, as ship captain for vessels plying the northwest American coastal waters and the route to Okhotsk. Rosenberg's tenure proved to be shorter than usual. By the turn of the year 1851-52, he was asking to be relieved at Sitka for health and personal reasons. He finally left in June of 1853.[22]

Rosenberg's short term was mainly one of expanded commerce and the purchase of ships to carry this commercial activity from Alaskan waters to other ports. The 596-ton Imperator Nicholas I was built in New York in 1850 and acquired that year by the Russian-American Company. Other ships added around this time were the 650-ton Tsarevich, from Hamburg; the 500-ton Kadiak, from Luebeck; a new 270-ton brig, the Shelikhov, to replace its wrecked namesake which had been bought in San Francisco in 1849

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21. Andrews, Alaska, pp. 113-14.

22. Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Rosenberg, Rudakov, Voevodskii," The Alaska Journal 2(Summer 1972):41. Hereafter cited as Pierce, "Voevodskii."

with the aid of the 11 pounds of gold panned by the Russians; and the "pride of the fleet," the 1,200-ton Sitka, from Hamburg.

At this time a commercial enterprise arose between Sitka and San Francisco that was to last well into the American period of Alaskan history: the ice trade. In 1852, 250 tons of ice from Swan Lake (not far from where Sitka is located) were sent to San Francisco for $75 a ton. In the year before, the new company formed in San Francisco to carry out this trade, the American-Russian Commercial Company, had contracted for three years to buy much larger amounts (at least 1,000 tons of ice annually) at $35 per ton.[23] The new business required new construction in Sitka to store the ice: in 1852 a warehouse 100 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 17 feet high; and in the following year, one 118 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 20 feet high. Besides these warehouses, a two-story house for employees and a stone barn for salting fish were built.[24]

In 1852 the British sloop-of-war Enterprise visited Sitka. Her captain, Collinson, left some interesting entries in his diary concerning the Russians and Sitka, including observations on both the Russian and native communities and interactions between the two.[25]

The relations between Russians and Tlingits had deteriorated since the days of Etolin. The diminution of respect for the Russians showed both in the increase in fighting among the Kwan Indians and between Indians and Russians. In 1853 a group of Stikine

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23. Howard I. Kushner, "Seward's Folly? American Commerce in Russian America and the Alaska Purchase," California Historical Quarterly, 54(Spring 1975):7-8. Hereafter cited as Kushner, "Commerce."

24. Pierce, "Voevodskii," p. 42.

25. See appendix B.

Indians from Wrangell visited Sitka's Indian village to attend a potlatch held by a wealthy Tlingit. While there, a feud erupted and the Stikines were slaughtered by the Tlingits. Their bodies were loaded into a canoe and taken to Japonski Island, where the canoe grounded and broke, casting the bodies onto shore. The bones of the corpses were supposedly visible in the undergrowth along the shore as late as the 1920s. The feud thus created between the Tlingits of Sitka and the Stikines of Wrangell reportedly went on until 1918, when the Kwans finally made a peace treaty, coincidentally, on Armistice Day.[26]

When England and Russia entered into armed conflict in the Crimean War (1854-56), the Hudson's Bay Company officials met with a delegation from the Russian-American Company to discuss ways of remaining aloof from the struggle their respective countries were engaged in. The result was the two companies' petition for neutrality in northwestern America, to which England and Russia agreed. Trade was allowed between the two companies, but both agreed not to supply warships of their mother countries. Nevertheless, England would send ships to the northern Pacific, and although they would adhere to the letter of the agreement and not molest Russian-America, they would bombard and pillage Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka in 1855. The Russian settlement on Urup Island in the Kuriles would also be laid waste by the English, and the Union Jack and the Tricolor would be raised over the destroyed community, the Tricolor in honor of England's French allies in the Crimean struggle.

During the Crimean War, supplies to the Russian colonies became especially questionable. Hard pressed, the Russian-American Company agreed to a new and less favorable contract with the

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26. Andrews, Sitka, p. 50.

American-Russian Commercial Company for ice shipments to California. In return the San Francisco company agreed to supply Sitka and her colonies with the necessities of life. The new contract was negotiated by a representative of the San Francisco Company, Sanders, who traveled to Saint Petersburg in 1854 and drove a hard bargain. The board of directors in Saint Petersburg had to agree to a 20-year contract that extended the Americans' trading privileges to exclusive rights to trade in coal, fish, timber, and ice with the Russian possessions in the northern Pacific. The tsar was displeased to be forced into signing an agreement that extended considerably beyond the expiration date of the company's third 20-year charter, which ended in 1862.[27] Capt. Stepan Voievodskii arrived in Sitka in April 1854 to take over the duties as governor from the prematurely retired Rosenberg. (In the interim year Captain Rudakov had acted as governor.) Shortly after Voievodskii's arrival the first Russian soldiers to serve in the colonies, 100 men of the Siberian line, were sent to Sitka to strengthen its defenses against feared English intervention during the early part of the Crimean War. Their presence in Sitka might have added to the Tlingits' unrest, which would explode into the Tlingit revolt to Sitka the next year as reinforcements.[28]

A short-lived coal mining operation on the Kenai Peninsula was undertaken during Voievodskii's term. A site near English Bay showed signs of a rich coal deposit. In 1854 a large crew was sent there, a shaft dug, and the necessary pumps and equipment installed. The village that grew up alongside the operation contained several hundred people. During four years of operation

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27. Kushner, "Commerce," pp. 8-9.

28. Pierce, "Voevodskii," p. 48.

2,700 tons of coal were mined, which brought the company 46,000 rubles. But the coal was inferior quality and failed to compete with better grade coal from California's mines. The operation proved to be a net loss and lasted only a few years.[29]

While in Sitka, Voievodskii directed some of the last construction to be achieved under Russian administration. In 1854 and 1855 a new sawmill, barracks for 200 men, and a two-story fur-processing building were erected. The cupola of Saint Michael's Church received a zinc sheathing, and a two-story stone building with tile roof was put up to serve as a company office and as employee quarters.[30]

In 1855 a major battle erupted between the Indians living outside the palisades at Sitka and the Russians. This battle turned out to be the most costly confrontation between natives and Russians since the retaking of Sitka a half-century earlier by Baranov.

The affair started when a Russian who was guarding the woodpiles was attacked and wounded by two Indians. The Russians demanded that the guilty Indians be turned over to them, but they were refused. Then the Russians fired warning shots from their cannon overlooking the Indian settlement, which lay along the shore of the bay just below the purview of Baranov's Castle. The angered Indians made a rush for the Russian fort, storming the pallisade in an unsuccessful attempt to breach its timbers. Firing from both sides became heavy. Women and children inside the fort rushed into Baranov's Castle for protection. The Tlingits occupied

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29. Bancroft, p. 694.

30. Pierce, "Voevodskii," p. 48.

the church built for them on the line of the palisade, which could be entered from both the Russian and the Indian side, and used this point to fire on the Russians. The battle raged for two hours before a truce was called. The Indians might have repeated the complete extermination of the foreigners had they possessed cannons. As it was, they found continued fighting fruitless. Two Russians were killed in the battle and 19 wounded. The number of Tlingits reported killed and wounded ranged from 60 to 100.[31] This was the last major Tlingit revolt against the Russians.

Johan Furuhjelm, a Finn with a Swedish name, became governor of the Russian-American Company on June 22, 1859. He had served in Sitka for almost two years, in 1851-53, closing out his duty as chief of the port before leaving for several years' sea duty. While in Sitka, Furuhjelm had been critical of Governor Rosenberg. In 1851 he had written that Rosenberg's administration had created indescribable anarchy; in all Sitka there were "no wheelbarrows, pulleys, or even the tools a peasant would need to make a doghouse." He also had issued rare, acid criticism of Archbishop Innocent, who was otherwise universally admired as a good and holy man. Furuhjelm described him as a "power hungry and sly man, who mixes himself in worldly affairs and exerts a considerable influence."[32] Furuhjelm's knowledge of the archbishop must have been second-hand since Innocent had left Sitka the previous year.

The Russian-American Company stood on an increasingly shaky basis in these years. Fur seals were actually on the increase now

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30. Pierce, "Voevodskii," p. 48.

31. Bancroft, p. 575.

32. Quoted in Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Johan Hampus Furuhjelm," The Alaska Journal 2(Autumn 1972):21. Hereafter cited as Pierce, "Furuhjelm."

in the Pribilof Islands, thanks to conservation measures of Governor Wrangell, but Russia perceived growing hostility from Americans--both private and within the government--toward Russia's presence in the New World. The third charter was due to expire in 1862; the contract with the Hudson's Bay Company for their lease of the Stikine River territories was about to end, as was the contract with the American-Russian Commercial Company. One bright spot was the continued modest success of ice shipments to San Francisco.[33]

In November 1859 two men assigned by the Russian government to inspect the affairs of the colonies arrived in Sitka. They were Capt. P. N. Golovin and State Counsellor Sergei Kostlivtsev. Their mission was to determine for Saint Petersburg the advisability of the renewal of the charter. Another implicit duty at this time was to help determine whether Russia should try to hold onto its North American possessions. Their negative reactions to Sitka and the company's affairs helped move the Russian court toward eventual sale of Alaska to the United States.

Golovin's reports present an interesting view of Sitka's development and contemporary conditions.[33] Golovin found much to criticize. There were not enough doctors in Sitka; unhealthy conditions reigned; the climate was miserable; Sitka's main street remained a continual sea of mud. The company store exploited the employees, he said, and the Indians continually threatened war--the same Indians the Russians relied on for much of their food. Golovin and Kostlivtsev toured outlying areas of Russian-America, then departed for home with their negative views in May 1860.

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33. Ibid., p. 22.

34. See appendix D for extracts from his report.

Furuhjelm attempted to improve relations with the Indians, to return them to what they had been under his "model," Governor Etolin. He proceeded with simple methods of friendship and trust. He entertained Tlingit chiefs at his residence in Baranov's Castle. He visited them in their villages in the accompaniment of only a native interpreter and oarsman. He kept out of their affairs except to save those threatened with murder by their own kinsmen.[35]

The last governor of the Russian-American Company was Prince Dmitrii Petrovich Maksutov. He arrived in Sitka in May 1864 to relieve Furuhjelm of his duties. Maksutov, too, was no stranger to the colonies. He had spent four years in Sitka as Furuhjelm's deputy, from 1859 to 1863. Maksutov's first wife had died in Sitka in December of 1862 and was buried in the Lutheran cemetery along side the niece of Furuhjelm, who had accompanied the Maksutovs to Sitka in 1859 and died there in 1861. Maksutov had returned to Saint Petersburg after his wife's death. While there he was appointed to succeed Furuhjelm. Maksutov had remarried there before returning to Sitka to assume his duties.[36]

Maksutov's tenure lasted a little over three years, until the sale of Alaska to the United States was consummated in the fall of 1867. Necessarily, most of his activities as governor were connected with the sale. Less attention was given to the traditional duties connected with running the Russian-American Company's business affairs. Nevertheless, his instructions on his appointment as governor called for him to attend to certain aspects of normal company business: to encourage the export of timber and fish, explore the Copper River for copper, and try to increase trade

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35. Pierce, "Furuhjelm," p. 24.

36. Ibid.

with the Hudson's Bay Company and with California. Also, more attention was to be given to the welfare of the native population. Marriage between Russian men and native women was to be discouraged, since too often the Russians would abandon their wives when they returned to Russia, a practice that threw the care of these women onto the company. Foreigners were not to be hired, and Sitka was to be "cleaned up" of useless elements in the population. Finally, the education of children in the orphanages was to be watched over, more books for the library were to be provided, and a doctor and more shipbuilders were to be sent to Sitka. Maksutov was also to attempt to provide mail delivery at least every three months to Sitka via San Francisco and Victoria.[37]

Governor Maksutov's main concerns, as stated above, turned out to be those connected with the transfer of Alaska from Russia to the United States. The company operated at a deficit in its last few years before the sale and remained financially solvent only by government subsidies. Maksutov's role as governor must therefore be looked at in the light of those politic and economic circumstances which surrounded the company's activities and ultimately led to Russia's withdrawal from the Western Hemisphere.

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37. Richard A. Pierce, "Alaska's Russian Governors: Prince D. P. Maksutov," The Alaska Journal, 3(Winter 1973):23. Hereafter cited as Pierce, "Maksutov."

RUSSIAN-AMERICA BECOMES AMERICAN-ALASKA

Long-range trends and events in international affairs in the Far East were assuming patterns during the two decades from 1840 to 1860 that would make the Russian withdrawal from Alaska probable. These international trends joined with internal weakness of the Russian-American Company to make withdrawal inevitable.

British presence in the China trade had already led to a conflict between Great Britain and the Chinese Empire. Until 1840 the Chinese had seemed to the western powers to be a monolith of power which was militarily incontestable. Outside influences had been zealously kept out of China by her emperors, in spite of growing trade contact with western nations since the 16th century. Russia had been allowed an insignificant overland trade from Siberia, while the western nations had been allowed maritime trade only at Canton, and this only at the arbitrary times dictated by China. Moreover, up to about 1800 the trade balance had been in China's favor: She sold tea, silk, and porcelains to the west, taking silver in exchange, not goods. But the first decades of the 19th century had seen this balance dip the other way as westerners found the illicit trade in opium ever more profitable. By the 1830s China, upset by the economic disadvantage of the opium trade and the effects the drug had on her population, had attempted to right the situation by militarily closing out the British. The ensuing Opium War (1839-42) with England ended disastrously for China. The peace made with England opened up even more contacts with the west. More importantly, China was exposed as a morbidly weakened giant, waiting to be pounced on by her surprised adversaries.[1]

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1. Charles O. Hucker, China's Imperial Past: An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture. (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 301.

Russia was ready to move in on this new situation. Russia had been wary of China's supposed strength ever since she had agreed to the 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk, which excluded Russia from the Amur Valley. Now the Russian governor-general of Siberia, Nikolai Muraviev, combined the needed diplomatic and military skills to take advantage of the new opportunities open to Russia. By 1852 Muraviev had occupied the valley and the mouth of the Amur River, thereby cancelling the Treaty of Nerchinsk and successfully defying the Chinese to retaliate. He then increased Russia's occupation of foreign territory by taking coastal regions down to the Korean border, and he founded the city of Vladivostok.[2]

Russia's defeat in the Crimean War (1854-56) exposed to herself and other nations her own internal weaknesses, which though not so totally debilitating as those of the Chinese Empire, were serious enough to give pause to her leaders. Internal reforms followed, starting with liberation of the serfs in 1861 and ultimately leading to partial democratization of the government in the early 20th century. In foreign affairs, real power and attainable goals had to be rethought. Regarding Russia's possessions in the New World, Muraviev offered sober but prophetic judgment on this subject as early as 1853:

> Twenty years ago the Russian-American Company approached the [Russian] government with a request for the occupation of California, which at that time hardly belonged to anyone; at this time [the company] communicated their fears that, within a short time, the region would become a prize for the American United

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2. Hulley, p. 193.

> States. In St. Petersburg they did not share this fear and maintained that it would take a hundred years; and yet for the past year, California has been in the Union. It was impossible not to foresee the swift expansion of the United States power in North America; it was impossible not to foresee that these states, having once secured a footing on the shores of the Pacific, would soon surpass all other maritime powers and would acquire the whole northwest coast of America. The supremacy of the North American states throughout North America is so inevitable that we need have no regrets that we did not establish ourselves in California twenty years ago--sooner or later we should have lost it; by yielding peacefully, we might have been able to secure in exchange other advantages from the United States. Now more than ever, with the invention and development, of railroads, we ought to be convinced that the United States are bound to spread over the whole of North America, and it is impossible not to keep in mind that sooner or later we shall have to surrender our North American possessions.[3]

Muraviev was convinced that the future of Russia lay in Asia, not in the Western Hemisphere where strong American rivalry would have to be faced. Better to turn American rivalry into American alliance against Britain and France, Muraviev suggested.

After Tsar Nicholas I died in 1855 and was succeeded by Alexander II, changes in official thinking toward the Russian-American Company occurred. Its monopoly status was attacked on two fronts: first because it was a partial exception to the otherwise all

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3. Quoted in Tompkins, p. 174.

inclusive, autocratic state authority exercised over commerce at home in Russia; and second because monopoly status went against the increasing move in Russia's economy toward laissez-faire. Added to these changes in attitude was Muraviev's great personal influence on the new tsar.

In 1858 the Russian minister in Washington, Edouard de Stoeckl, began to feel out American statesmen and politicians on the possible willingness of Russia to sell Alaska. As early as 1854 Senator Gwin of California had approached Stoeckl on Russia's willingness to sell her North American colonies but received from him a firm negative reply. Now, with Stoeckl making overtures, Gwin again suggested a sale, this time specifying a price of $5 million. Stoeckl recommended acceptance of the offer to the tsar.[4] But before anything could come of these initial feelers, the American Civil War broke out and effectively shelved discussion of the matter until its conclusion in 1865.

By 1865 events had given Russian-American relations an air of cordiality, of seeming unity against the other European powers. While some superficial similarities might have been noted between the two countries--such as their size, self-sufficiency, multiethnic makeup, insurrections successfully quelled in the 1860s, and finally, their freeing of enslaved classes of their populations--the actual reason for their cooperation in these years was more simply the absence of issues over which disagreement could develop. Aside from the minor irritation to Saint Petersburg (though major to Sitka) of Yankee interlopers in the trade of the Russian Pacific waters, no areas of hostile contact existed between the two countries. "The Russian and American people have no injuries to forget or remember," Tsar Alexander noted in 1866.[5]

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4. Kushner, "Commerce," p. 21.

5. Quoted in Hulley, p. 199.

The binding cement for their mutual esteem was more likely their mutual dislike of Great Britain. Russia still smarted from her defeat by the British in the Crimean War, and the intervention of the British on the Confederate side during the Civil War was fresh in Washinton's mind. If Russian-America was to be sold, for the tsar the choice of purchaser had to be the United States, the nation which could best apply pressure to British expansion by pinching off Britain's movement toward the Pacific Ocean. And Russia was still interested in being the dominating force in the northern Pacific, even if her base of operations was removed to its Asiatic shore.[6]

An overt show of friendship between the two countries had come in 1863 when the Russian Baltic fleet had sailed from Kronstadt across the Atlantic as a show of force against the British. This fleet had arrived in New York Harbor in October 1863 to the tumultuous welcome of a beleaguered populace, who thought it was there to protect Union shipping in case Britain and France actively joined the Confederate side. The Russian's bluff (with six ships, two of them leaky) was actually a response to Britain's threat to intervene in the Polish uprising against the tsar, although it was not known to the Americans at the time, nor was it broadcast by the Russians. Quite accidentally, another Russian squadron from eastern waters happened to arrive at this time in San Francisco, a coincidence which increased the Union's euphoria and gave false rumor of an impending Russian-American alliance against Britain and France.[7]

Thus after conclusion of the hostilities of the Civil War, the stage was set for the consummation of Alaska's sale to the United States.

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6. Ibid.

7. Tompkins, pp, 179-80.

The motivation on both sides was self-interest, Realpolitik; the thin veneer of good feelings at this time between the United States and Russia merely assured that the inevitable transaction would be carried out with cordiality.

Stoeckl returned to Saint Petersburg in 1866 with the intent of retiring. Instead, he returned the following year to Washington with the firm decision of the tsar to negotiate an offer for Alaska from the United States. In March of 1867, Secretary of State Seward informed Stoeckl of President Johnson's offer of $5 million. The Russians had fixed the value of the colonies at $6-$6½ million, a price which would pay off the debts of the Russian-American Company and provide perhaps a slight profit. Stoeckl held out. On March 25, Seward raised his bid to $7 million. He then insisted that the payment be made in New York, not London, and ameliorated this stipulation by adding on $200,000 to the offer. Stoeckl agreed to the offer the same day. Seward, fearing the momentary adjournment of Congress, urged Stoeckl to cable for permission from the tsar to close the transactions.[8] This permission was cabled through, arriving late in the night of March 29, 1867. Working through the night, Stoeckl and Seward initialed the final treaty draft the next morning. The U.S. Senate ratified the treaty April 9; Tsar Alexander ratified it May 10, 1867.[9]

Though the treaty was ratified by the Senate, the appropriation for purchase still had to be passed by the House of Representatives. When the bill reached the House, active opposition to Alaska's purchase had already developed. Seward's agile and quick feat,

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8. The transatlantic cable was finished only the previous summer; it was used throughout the negotiations between Saint Petersburg and Washington.

9. Tompkins, pp. 187-88.

made in an effort to bolster President Johnson's reputation in foreign policy and to satisfy Seward's own expansionist proclivities, was not accompanied by the support of public opinion. Seward's "dark deed done in the night" met with scorn; the press trumpeted derision for Alaska's "hyperborean solitudes and walrus-covered icebergs"; the epithets "Walrussia" and, of course, "Seward's Folly" sprang up.[10]

Stoeckl became so alarmed that the deal would fall through that he even suggested to the tsar that he give the territories to the United States outright and wait for the Congress to come to its senses to pay the agreed upon price.[11]

It was not until July 14, 1868, that the House finally appropriated the $7,200,000 for the purchase of Alaska, almost a year after the Russian possessions had been formally turned over to the United States in a ceremony at Sitka. That bribery was one of the chief methods of persuasion of certain House members is now a commonly accepted fact.[12] It is known that the full purchase price of Alaska never reached Saint Petersburg, and the difference was not to be accounted for by allowance for high deductions in the exchange rate. Seward and Stoeckl most probably used the difference for "broadening" and changing the views of certain House members.[13]

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10. That the outcry against Alaska was universal or even voiced by a majority of the press has been cast in doubt by later investigations. See Peter M. Buzanski, "Alaska and Nineteenth Century American Diplomacy," Journal of the West, (July 1967):454.

11. Hulley, p. 202.

12. Tompkins, p. 188.

13. Ibid.

The Russian governor in Sitka, Maksutov, did not learn of the sale until May or possibly June of 1867, some two months after Seward's and Stoeckl's agreement took place in Washington. Maksutov was angered by the sale. His patriotism made him regret that generations of Russian effort could be turned over to the United States so easily.[14] A more minor aggravation for him was the surprise of the sale; Maksutov felt his loyalty to the company was misplaced when it could not keep him abreast of the negotiations prior to the sale over the preceding two years. Only his sense of responsibility to the colony kept him from resigning forthwith.[15]

On the morning of October 18, 1867, the U.S.S. Ossipee arrived in Sitka Harbor from San Francisco. Aboard were the American General Rousseau and the Russian Captains Peshchurov and Kiskul, representing the United States, Russia, and the Russian-American Company, respectively. They had come to formally implement the Treaty of Cession. The U.S.S. John L. Stevens had arrived ten days earlier, carrying 250 U.S. soldiers who had been assigned to duty in Sitka once the transfer took place and who were growing restive in their cramped quarters.

The American and Russian representatives went to Baranov's Castle to confer with Governor Maksutov. They decided to proceed immediately with the transfer ceremony, and it was set for three o'clock that afternoon. At the appointed hour, the best of Russian drummers accompanied 180 Siberian soldiers and 90 sailors onto the parade ground in front of Baranov's Castle. They were followed by Generals Rousseau and Davis with a company of Davis's men. The hastily arranged ceremony had called for the simultaneous lowering

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14. Pierce, "Maksutov," p. 24.

15. Chevigny, Russian American, p. 253.

of the Russian flag and the raising of the American flag, to be accompanied by alternating salutes from the guns of the American Ossippee in the harbor and those surrounding Baranov's Castle. The ceremony went momentarily awry, however, when the Russian flag caught up in its ropes. A Russian soldier had to climb the pole to cut it loose before the proceedings could continue. This was an emotion-charged atmosphere for the few Russians present, and Governor Maksutov's wife fainted. Most Russians in Sitka had preferred to stay away. The onlookers were mainly American businessmen from San Francisco, eager to take advantage of any business to be made.[16]

The American flag was finally raised. Only very brief words of exchange were spoken between Peshchurov and Rousseau. Russian-America had become American-Alaska.

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16. Ibid., pp. 257-58.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From the standpoint of interpretation needs of the park, no more research is needed for the bishop's house. Secondary source material now exists which adequately covers the Russians in America, their church and schools, and the business of the Russian-American Company, as well as the traditional larger aspects of political and diplomatic history. Indian history has also received considerable attention, especially by anthropologists working in the areas of Indians of the northwest coast.

APPENDIX A: IMPERIAL UKASE OF 1799[1]

"By the grace of a merciful God, we, Paul the First, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, etc. To the Russian American Company under our highest protection. The benefits and advantages resulting to our empire from the hunting and trading carried on by our loyal subjects in the north-eastern seas and along the coasts of America have attracted our royal attention and consideration; therefore, having taken under our immediate protection a company organized for the above-named purpose of carrying on hunting and trading, we allow it to assume the appellation of "Russian American Company under our highest protection;" and for the purpose of aiding the company in its enterprises, we allow the commanders of our land and sea forces to employ said forces in the company's aid if occasion requires it, while for further relief and assistance of said company, and having examined their rules and regulations, we hereby declare it to be our highest imperial will to grant to this company for a period of 20 years the following rights and privileges:

"1. By the right of discovery in past times, by Russian navigators of the north-eastern part of America, beginning from the 55th degree of north latitude and of the chain of islands extending from Kamchatka to the north to America, and southward to Japan, and by right of possession of the same by Russia, we most graciously permit the company to have the use of all hunting-grounds and establishments now existing on the

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1. Quoted in Bancroft, pp. 380-81.

north-eastern [sic. This blunder is made all through the document.] coast of America, from the above mentioned 55th degree to Bering Strait, and on the same also on Aleutian, Kurile, and other islands situated in the north-eastern ocean.

"II. To make new discoveries not only north of the 55th degree of north latitude, but farther to the south, and to occupy the new lands discovered, as Russian possessions, according to prescribed rules, if they have not been previously occupied by any other nation, or been dependent on another nation.

"III. To use and profit by everything which has been or shall be discovered in those localities, on the surface and in the bosom of the earth, without any competition by others.

"IV. We most graciously permit this company to establish settlements in future times, wherever they are wanted, according to their best knowledge and belief, and fortify them to insure the safety of the inhabitants, and to send ships to those shores with goods and hunters, without any obstacles on the part of the government.

"V. To extend their navigation to all adjoining nations and hold business intercourse with all surrounding powers, upon obtaining their free consent for the purpose, and under our highest protection, to enable them to prosecute their enterprises with greater force and advantage.

"VI. To employ for navigation, hunting, and all other business, free and unsuspected people, having no illegal views or intentions. In consideration of the distance of the localities where they will be sent, the provincial authorities will grant to all persons sent out as settlers, hunters, and in other capacities, passports for seven years. Serfs and house-servants will only be employed by

the company with the consent of their landholders, and government taxes will be paid for all serfs thus employed.

"VII. Though it is forbidden by our highest order to cut government timber anywhere without the permission of the college of admiralty, this company is hereby permitted, on account of the distance of the admiralty from Okhotsk, when it needs timber for repairs, and occasionally for the construction of new ships, to use freely such timber as is required.

"VIII. For shooting animals, for marine signals, and on all unexpected emergencies on the mainland of America and on the islands, the company is permitted to buy for cash, at cost price, from the government atrillery magazine at Irkutsk yearly 40 or 50 pouds of powder, and from the Nertchinsk mine 200 pounds of lead.

"IX. If one of the partners of the company becomes indebted to the government or to private persons, and is not in a condition to pay them from any other property except what he holds in the company, such property cannot be seized for the satisfaction of such debts, but the debtor shall not be permitted to use anything but the interest or dividends of such property until the term of the company's privileges expires, when it will be at his or his creditors' disposal.

"X. The exclusive right most graciously granted to the company for a period of 20 years, to use and enjoy, in the above-described extent of country and islands, all profits and advantages derived from hunting, trade, industries, and discovery of new lands, prohibiting the enjoyment of these profits and advantages not only to those who would wish to sail to those countries on their own account, but to all former hunters and trappers who have been engaged in this trade, and have their

vessels and furs at those places; and other companies which may have been formed will not be allowed to continue their business unless they unite with the present company with their free consent; but such private companies or traders as have their vessels in those regions can either sell their property, or, with the company's consent, remain until they have obtained a cargo, but no longer than is required for the loading and return of their vessel; and after that nobody will have any privileges but this one company, which will be protected in the enjoyment of all the advantages mentioned.

"XI. Under our highest protection, the Russian American Company will have full control over all above-mentioned localities, and exercise judicial powers in minor cases. The company will also be permitted to use all local facilities for fortifications in the defence of the country under their control against foreign attacks. Only partners of the company shall be employed in the administration of the new possessions in charge of the company.

"In conclusion of this our most gracious order for the benefit of the Russian American Company under highest protection, we enjoin all our military and civil authorities in the above-mentioned localities not only not to prevent them from enjoying to the fullest extent the privileges granted by us, but in case of need to protect them will all their power from loss or injury, and to render them, upon application of the company's authorities, all necessary aid, assistance, and protection. To give effect to this our most gracious order, we subscribe it with our own hand and give orders to confirm it with our imperial seal. Given at St Petersburg, in the year after the birth of Christ 1799, the 27th day of December, in the fourth year of our reign.

"Paul."

APPENDIX B: COLLINSON JOURNAL[1]

"November 1st.--At 4:15 a.m., being by our reckoning well in with the shore, we hove to until daylight, and at 6 bore up, catching a glimpse of the land through the haze. . . . We soon had the satisfaction to see the mists roll away, and discover that (perhaps) most beautiful of all landmarks, Mount Edgcumbe. At noon the Cape bore S.86 degrees W., and soon after getting sight of the lighthouse at Sitka, we hoisted the Pilot Jack. Knowing by experience the difficulty of getting into the harbour, I was very glad to see two kayaks, paddled by two men, each with a center hole for a passenger, one of which was occupied, coming out. They were soon alongside, when it became apparent why two were required to carry one person; for, laying their paddles across, they formed a steady platform, and enabled the pilot to effect his release, and get up our side. They are so ticklish in the water, that it is almost impossible for a person to get out; but at the same time they are not only remarkably swift, but also very safe in a seaway, and often put out when boats dare not venture. The pilot told us that the Governor had ordered the steamboat out to our aid, and she soon making her appearance, towed us up through the middle entrance to the lower part of the harbour, where we anchored at a quarter-past 4, and were compelled to remain until the tide would admit of our crossing the ledge. It was some satisfaction to find ourselves in smooth water inside, instead of beating about among the rocks and shoals which abound in this bay. The long swell which rolls home to the bottom of it, combined with the violent squalls, which frequently take a vessel flat aback, must always render the place difficult of access.

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1. Quoted in Pierce, "Voevodskii," pp. 42-6.

"On landing, I was immediately conducted to the Governor, to whom I stated the object which had induced me to call at Sitka, and my anxiety to obtain some refreshment for our crew. He at once ordered a supply of rice, calavance (a kind of bean), potatoes and butter to be sent on board; but I learned with regret, that the salmon fishing having failed this year, we could not expect a supply of what I had hoped to obtain in abundance. Deer might occasionally be purchased from the Indians in the market, and some canoes with potatoes were daily expected. As for fresh beef, there were only four bullocks in the colony, but a vessel was daily expected from Kodiak, and she most likely would bring some, when he would do all he could to supply our wants.

"Our arrival, I found, had occasioned great disappointment, as the annual vessel from the north, with a valuable collection of furs, had not yet arrived, although the period of her usual return was long passed; and being in great fear for her safety, our appearance in the morning was hailed as that of the expected vessel.

"In the course of the evening, the late Governor, Captain Tebenkorf, came in. He had been relieved by Captain Rosenberg a short time previous, and was now anxiously awaiting the arriving of the northern ship, in order to return to Europe by way of Cape Horn. His detention, however, proved very fortunate for me, as he had been employed the greater portion of his life in these seas, and was the officer who had originally selected Michaelowski as a trading post, and consequently was well acquainted with the country, and kindly assented to afford me all the information in his power. I had also the pleasure to renew my acquaintance with Mrs. Rosenberg, who was here when I visited the place in the Sulphur, thirteen years previously. The Governor very kindly promised to send the steam vessel in the morning to tow us up to the Fort, and

I took my leave much gratified with the kind reception I had met with.

"As I returned on board, I called alongside the Hudson Bay Company's steam vessel Beaver, Captain Dodd. She had put in here to undergo some repairs, and I was glad to learn that by her I should have an early opportunity of communicating with Sir George Simpson.

"November 3rd.--This morning we were visited by the commandant of the Fort, to whom I explained by inability to salute the Russian flag, as our guns only amounted to two; and at 12:30 the steam vessel took us in tow, and brought us up abreast of the settlement, where we made fast to a buoy. The Beaver, on our arrival, saluted the Queen's pendant. The Governor very kindly waited dinner for me, and at his table I met eight or ten of the Russian officers, and spent a very agreeable evening. All appeared to take a very great interest in our proceedings, and to be desirous of affording all the assistance in their power. We had most pressing invitations to dinner every day at 1 o'clock, when the principal officers assemble, and meet the Governor in a very handsome suite of rooms set apart for that purpose in Government House. Intimacy was immediately established among the officers notwithstanding the difficulty of communication.

"The long period we had been at sea had worn out a great portion of our running rigging, and I gladly availed myself of the dockyard instead of having recourse to our whale lines, which we should have been compelled to reeve, had we not obtained a supply of rope. The Governor ordered one of his four bullocks to be killed for our use; permitted us to make a selection of such spars and planks as we required, and take what firewood we pleased. Not doubting but that we should pay for all we received, I made my

demands without reserve; but on the day of settlement I found that he would not permit anything to be charged that was the produce of the colony, and only accepted payment for such articles as had been imported from Europe. It is impossible to say enough in favour of the kindness and hospitality we received on every hand; it left an impression which I am sure will never be effaced from the memory of any officer in the Enterprise.

"Captain Tebenkorf also showed me all the charts and discoveries which had recently been made under his administration; and in a most handsome manner presented me, for the use of the expedition, with a map of the Russian dominions both in Asia and America, which he had just completed, and had engraved at Sitka.

"Captain Rosenberg, I found, in anticipation that some assistance would be required by the expeditions in search of the Erebus and Terror, had directed that eighteen natives of the Aleutian Islands and twenty kayaks should be assembled in readiness to proceed to the north; and pointed out the advantage these men possess over Europeans, in speaking a dialect of the same language, and living upon the same food as the Esquimaux. Besides being good hunters, and armed with muskets, they manage these kayaks with such dexterity that the principal portions of the researches of the Russians to the north had been carried on through their means.

"On the 8th November, we swung the ship to ascertain the local attraction of the compasses, and being a day behind the Russian calendar, we omitted the 9th, so as to make our Sunday agree with that of the garrison.

"The governor honoured us with a grand entertainment on the 10th, upwards of forty officers being assembled for the purpose.

On Her Majesty's health being drank, the fort saluted with thirty-one guns. The same complement was then paid to the Emperor, and the governor then proposed 'Success to the expeditions in search of Sir J. Franklin,' taking the opportunity to express that he was not only ordered by the Emperor, and authorised by the company, to afford all the aid in his power, yet he also felt assured that it was the feeling not only of himself but every person under his command, to do their utmost to promote the success of our undertaking. The fort then fired another salute of twenty-one guns.

"November 14th.--The steam vessel took us in tow at 8 a.m., the governor and all the officers coming on board to take their leave; and we parted with so strong an impression, not only of the attention which had shown in supplying our wants, but also of the personal kindness we had received, that I am sure the recollection of it will remain for every engraven on our memories. Nor was the governor's generosity confined to the officers, but the ship's company, beside the bullocks, received a quantity of rice, calavances and butter, as well as a ton of potatoes, which enabled me, notwithstanding the long time we had been at sea, to look upon the passage across the Pacific without fear of scurvy.

"The Indians have lost a great many of their native habits, and becoming more civilised, are rapidly losing that bold and fearless character which rendered the greatest caution necessary when entering into an intercourse with them. They are, however, still confined to the beach north of the fort, and opposite the village an old vessel with a formidable row of carronades [sic] is still moored, in order to assist the guns of the garrison should they prove unruly. The huts are miserable affairs and abominably dirty, yet one or two boasted windows, and occasional articles of furniture. The hideous lip ornament has almost entirely

disappeared, and the hunting coat of skin given way to a dirty blanket, which deprives the savage of his outward characteristic, and at once proclaims the superiority of the white man.

Occasionally sixty or seventy canoes arrive with furs for barter, and there are still a good many furs collected in the neighbourhood. The half-breeds are now numerous, and have proved themselves useful artizans. One, in particular, has perfected himself not only in the management but also the construction of the steam-engine, and is now head engineer to the establishment. In the cathedral, also, I was shown some paintings executed by them, evincing not only considerable skill, but ability.

"The buildings of the settlement, being composed entirely of wood, soon acquired a dinginess from the constant rain, so that it loses much of its picturesque appearance from the sea on a closer inspection. Besides the new Government House, which was in progress on my last visit, a new cathedral and jetty have been built. The houses are spacious and comfortable, but being fitted with double windows and warmed by stoves, there is a want of ventilation, to which I am inclined to attribute the great mortality which has taken place among the children. The incessant rain renders out-of-door exercise almost impracticable; in fact there are no walks except the public garden, which is tastefully laid out; but nothing will flourish here apparently, notwithstanding all the care bestowed upon it, except the fir, which grows in a most luxurious manner, clothing the steep sides of the surrounding hills to their very summit, while every little rock or islet boats of its clump of trees. On a former occasion I had thought it the most picturesque place I had ever seen: it has all charms of a fjord, with the grandeur of Alpine scenery. The peaks outvie whose of Rio Janeiro in their rugged outline, and like them, are clothed with a forest to their summit. The most extraordinary thing is that there is no

soil, the incessant rains and abrupt declivity of the mountains have left nothing but pebbles behind; all attempts at clearing or cultivation have failed; and the garrison are as completely isolated by the forest as if they were on an island.

"The establishment, besides the governor, who is usually a captain in the Navy, consists of two or three lieutenants, besides other naval officers, who having married in the colony, have resigned their commissions in the Imperial Service, and taken situations under the company. These, as occasion requires, take command of the different vessels by which the governor maintans the communication with Kodiak, the nothern ports, and the Sea of Okhotsk, where they receive their communciations from St. Petersburg, while others are sent occasionally to the Sandwich Islands and California; and an attempt was made this year to open a trade with the northern ports of China. Annually a vessel belonging to the company leaves Russia early in the spring, laden with flour and stores; and having called in the Thames for the principal portion of their hardware and trading articles, reaches Sitka in the autumn; and then embarking the furs that had been collected during the previous year, returns by the same route, viz., Cape Horn. We had an opportunity of seeing part of the cargo ready for embarkation, and feasted our eyes on silver fox, sea otter, and other rich furs, the amazing value of which surprised us.

"Among the suite attached to the governor was a medical officer of the Imperial Guards, who had recently returned from an inspection of the Aleutian Islands, and an officer of Engineers, who was occupied on a mineralogical survey of the country. From the latter we obtained a very favourable testimony as to the quantity of gold ore in British Columbia.

"The lieutenant-governor of the Russian Dominions in America resides at Kodiak, and there, although to the northward of Sitka, the climate being more favourable, and the soil in some measure adapted, potatoes and other vegetables are raised; and they have besides 200 head of cattle.

"We went to sea by the southern passage; and the steam vessel having towed us out into the middle of the bay, we availed ourselves of a fair wind on our long voyage to Hong Kong."

APPENDIX C: EXCERPTS FROM BLASCHKE DISSERTATION[1]

"On the Population of Sitka

"The estimates on the population, mortality, and the number of births and marriages must be reconstructed. Because of the discussion they should be followed by any physician as they are of such great importance. I have used the very incomplete books deposited in the cupboard of the merchant's hall and the reports on New Archangel which the Chief Factor of the Society has kindly communicated to me. They begin from the year 1821, but neither the age of the dead nor the type of disease is accurately indicated. Sometimes, however, if the diseases are designated, this is always done with a generic name, without detail, as catarrh, phthisis, infant disease, etc. Furthermore, the number of inhabitants undergoes significant changes annually, consequently the total number of births is dubious. For a great number of individuals from Europe, Asia and various parts of the colonies arrive and depart from here, one group being greater than the other. In relation to the number of residents of New Archangel, naval personnel depart sometimes in a fortnight or so, and in the summer when the whole navy departs, a quarter of all inhabitants or half of the men leave. Although the tables appended to the end of this small treatise may be inadequate and defective, however from them, as much as I can, I shall deduce arguments.

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1. Edward Blaschke, "The Medical Topography of the Port of New Archangel, the Capital of the Russian Colonies in North America," trans. J.B. Saunders M.D. (M.D. dissertation, Imperial Medico-Chirurgical Academy of Saint Petersburg. Petropoli, K. Weinhoeberi et filii, 1842).

"The number of inhabitants in New Archangel on January 1, 1841, was 986. Of these 680 were adults, 482 men and 198 women, and 306 infants, 146 males and 160 females.

"As for origin, all are divided into Russian*, Jacutae, Creoles, Aleuts and Koloschi. The number of Russians, as many in business and teaching as differ among themselves in the provinces, is 401; Jacutae around 20; Creoles, a name by which all offspring of the Russian with a female Aleut or Koloschi are undeservedly called, 493; Aleuts, inhabitants of Kodiak and other islands of the Aleutian subdivision, 51; and finally Koloschi, 18. From the year 1822 to 1829 the number of inhabitants gradually declined from 795 to 595 and from the latter year to 1841 it increased again to 986, but changed in form as the number of men decreased a little and the women and infants increased by more than double. The share of Russians approaches a quarter, the Aleuts decreased fivefold, hence all the movement was on the part of the Creoles, legitimate citizens of the colonies, and their number doubled, (2.62). The women everywhere commonly exceed the men in number, they make up a ratio of 1:3, (1:2.44), a proportion which is exceedingly uneven.

"In exactly twenty years, there were 162 marriages; 156 males and 138 by females for the first time, and 6 by males and 24 by females for the second time. To the year 1838, there were joined in matrimony, (here you restore the 13 widowers and widows), and there were only thirty-five unmarried women.

"The average population during eighteen years, (from 1824 to 1841), equaled 825.56. In less then twenty years, (from 1821 to

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*In our colonies they call by the name Russian not only Russians proper, but also Finns, Poles, Germans and those born in the Baltic states.

1841), 529 were born, of whom 266 were boys, (213 legitimate and 53 illegitimate), and 263 girls, (213 legitimate and 50 illegitimate). Hence of the legitimate of both sexes there were 426, of illegitimate 103. The average number of births per annum was 26.45, maximum 38, minimum 17. In this entire interval of time twins were born only four times, a very small number in relation to the number of births. The ratio of legitimate to illegitimate births was 4, (4.13), to 1. The months with the majority of births in sequence: January, August, May, November, September, December, October, July, February, March, June, April. Therefore the most births occur in January and the fewest in April; but most conceptions are in May and fewest in August, and mortality has the same maximum and minimum. The average number of births per couple equals 2.63 for the legitimate, and 0.64 for the illegitimate, and 3.26 for both.

"The total number of deaths in twenty years amounts to 622, which very significantly exceeds the number of births by a seventh. The origin of this disparity with mortality, apart from epidemic causes, must be sought as follows: (1) in the state of health of immigrants and emigrants; the sick workmen, some of advanced age and infirm, do not leave the colony but remain in it and are supported at the cost of the Society. So many joyfully depart in good health, men who came here, often not only in advanced age and infirm but more frequently ill, exhausted by the long journey and by having passed a dissolute life at the time because they, known everywhere under the name Kamchats, have been condemned to Siberia so that they cannot enter a hospital in the entire country. But they are provided by the Society with warm clothing and good food for the journey. (2) Annually from the various colonial territories a more or less large number of sick arrive at Sitka, although it is the capital. They have chronic diseases, often incurable, from many years of detention. (3) Although ships undertaking longer voyages nowadays have a

surgeon, those dedicated to shorter journeys are provided with simple medical preparations and instructions with which any cases may be treated in some manner. However, partly from difficulties in the treatment of the sick connected with naval life, and partly from ignorance in the cure of disease and from lack of assistance, often the sick, deprived of all hope, are returned here, which is going to increase the mortality. (4) A significant number of sudden deaths from various accidents are observed, drownings from fishing and occasionally others, those killed from various labors, chiefly naval, and also deaths from apoplexy due to the abuse of spirits. (5) There is the extreme laziness in health normal women and their contempt for remedies and advice of those with a debilitated constitution and phthisical habit. And finally, (6) there are the diseases of infants as opposed to those originating from unsuitable management and defective nursing which interfere with the rearing of infants and sometimes their preservation is impossible if a mother is not allowed to suckle because of disease or is carried off by death. The average mortality per year equals 31.1, the maximum 59, and minimum 17.

"From the tables appended to the end of this work it is apparent from a comparison, (from 1823 to 1841, an interval of eighteen years), that among 30.96 inhabitants the subsequent births are 38.39 legitimate, 159.78 illegitimate; from 25.53 deaths, one* (out of 34.71 males one; out of 24.15 females, one; out of 14.74 boys, one; out of 17.37 girls, one): out of 100.40, one marriage.

If the number of births is taken on the average to be one out of 25 inhabitants,[1] it is very small, since more should be expected

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*In Hollandia 24 die, in a temperate climate in general 32 to 35. Dict. des sciences medicales, Art. longevite by Virey, pages 41 and 44.

1. Ibid., Art. fecondite by Virey, pag. 488.

from the climate[2] and type of life.[3] The cause of this parsimony must be examined: (1) in relation to the total inhabitants the number of females is small; (2) in the lymphatic constitution of the females, the tendency to uterine haemorrhage and abortion from relaxation of the genitalia; (3) in the defective and intemperate moral upbringing; (4) in the abuse of tea[4] by the women and of tea and spirits[5] by the men, which last the women sometimes use in no small quantity.

"The very large number of illegitimate births equals that of the principal cities of Europe[6] for 4.13 of the births are illegitimate. This occurs generally in all places where there is a great amount of celibacy and from the Colonial privilege which allows celibates to enter into temporary marriages with female indigenes. This custom remains enjoyed by all although it does not answer to a stricter ethic, however it serves to guard against many other worse evils. From a single marriage are produced 2.63 legitimate births, but with 3.26 illegitimate, the small difference in proportion of which has now been explained above.

"It is to be regretted that, owing to the incompleteness of the baptismal records, the average span of life which the inhabitants achieve and the principal diseases from which they die cannot be more accurately defined. With this aim I have used observations

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2. Ibid., page 491.

4. Ibid., page 495.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., Art. mortalite by Friedlander, p. 361, and Schmidt's Jahrbucher, Jahrgang, 1835, Bd. 7, Heft 2, S 254.

personally extracted from the same records and writings, although the conclusions deduced from them of necessity being obscure, may be doubtful. This refers chiefly to the two epidemics, variolous and catarrhal, (confluent smallpox), and ulcerous malignant angina of the tonsils, (diphtheria), having built up the characteristics of an epidemic which pursued their turbulent downward course. In the space of four years, from 1836 to 1840, deaths crept up to 187, of which 113 were male and 76 of the other sex, to which must be added 41 infants under one year, for the most part premature or born debilitated, who a few days post-partum died. Having excluded these, the average length of life of men and women is 28.68 years, but with them, (the above infants), in fact 22.42 years; of the males without them, (the infants), it is 31.44 years and with them 25.65; on the contrary of the females without them there were born 130, hence almost a third part of them died in the first year of life, (2.17); however, this maximum number cannot in general be admitted because a variolous epidemic, (smallpox), not only produces many premature births, delaying their deaths after it, but also many children being deprived of maternal milk must then be supplied with artificial nourishment so that many infants will always perish. With the exception of deaths of infants who have not yet completed the first year of life, the age suffering the maximum mortality was 30 to 35 years; the minimum between 10 and 15 years.

"It is clear from tables V and VI with what disease, at what age and sex, Russians, Creoles, Aleuts, Jacutae and Koloschi perished. The most lethal diseases of infants were: acute hydrocephalus of boys, (cerebro-spinal meningitis), membranous angina, (diphtheria), more frequent in boys, equally infant wasting, (marasmus), pituitous spastic asthma, (croup), chiefly in girls, equally malignant ulcerous angina of the tonsils, (severe diphtheria); besides many infants die from immaturity and debility.

"Most adults die of tuberculous phthisis, (especially the Creoles), of smallpox, (the Aleuts), of hydrothorax and generalized dropsy, (Russians and Jacutae), of various internal inflammations, principally pneumonia, and paralysis, [stroke]. Only three died a natural death, of senile wasting, and fourteen sudden deaths, eight by drowning, three with apoplexy, one comminuted fracture of the bones of the skull from a fall in naval work, one from a subcranial extravasation of blood from a fall while drunk, and one infant discovered dead beside the sleeping mother, (overlaying).

"The number of inhabitants according to their various positions, whatever they happened to be, on 17th March, 1838, was as follows:

"The Chief Factor of the Russian Colonies in America
The Assistant Chief Factor
11 Naval captains--Imperial class
14 Naval captains--ordinary
10 Assistant quartermasters, the greater part Creoles
Secretary to the Chief Factor
4 Clerks [to the Chief Factor]

In the secretariat of merchant's hall:

Manager
Accountant
Assistant Accountant
2 Registrars
5 Scribes
5 Caretakers of grain
15 Caretakers of naval supplies

"In the Church:

Priest
2 Ministers

"In the school:

Teacher
Superintendent of school children

"In the port:

2 Caretakers
Steward

"In the arsenal:

2 Sergeants, (decuriones), of artillery and Creoles
20 Naval quartermasters
27 Marines
3 Interpreters
2 Naval architects
Maker of mathematical instruments
Maker of machines, (steam boxes)
5 Box masters, [keepers of records]
2 Turners
5 Ironworkers
2 Fabri sclopetarii, [?]
8 Sawyers
5 Brassworkers
3 Coopers
Ropemaker

Drawer of candles [candle maker]
Soapmaker
2 Painters, [illustrators]
3 Furnace-makers
2 Tailors
2 Furriers
4 Shoemakers
40 Carpenters
5 Caulkers
117 Russian, Finnish, Jacuticae and other workmen
47 Creole and Aleut workmen
6 Cooks and bakers serving the school and hospital
2 Herdsmen
36 Servants engaged in defense and as guides

"In the Fort Oserskojensi:

Factor
28 Workmen

[Total: 464]

"Those enumerated under the name workmen are employed in heavy labor, as watchmen, in voyages to forts, by fishing, in cutting beams and wood, and engaged in defending ships.

"From this, as far as position, work and other occupations the differences are clear what type of disease above others any inhabitant will be liable; thus: in mariners are those diseases occurring from the sea due to storms and climatic severity, excepting various external lesions, the degree of temperature, wind and rain, humidity, corrupt and confined air, heavy labor, type of food and other causes; makers of beams, porters, watchmen,

messengers and those occupied in fishing, passing weeks in the woods, are greatly afflicted by external lesions, catarrhal diseases, severe rheumatism, and debilitating inflammations; scribes employed in the fort, diseases arising from a sedantary life, from stasis, congestion of the blood in the chest and head, haemorrhoids and other conditions; and finally artisans will be liable to various diseases proper to their occupations and these will vary."

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*Medecine navale by G. Forget, vol. I, part II, Chap. 1 and following.

"On the Life of the Inhabitants of New Archangel [Sitka]

"From the survey of the number of inhabitants in which mention has already been made of their origin and different position, obviously neither the physical appearance nor general manner of any of them could be discussed.

"The Russian workers, known by the name promuischlenniki ++ [trappers?], are men gathered from all parts of Russia attracted to service by hopes of profit or by monetary rewards and so happen to have lived a regular and temperate life, or are themselves depraved individuals who would not change their habits and have been deprived in Russia of all assistance for the support of life. From this, therefore, it cannot be assumed that no excellent men are present among them, although many are immodest, quarrelsome, and of bad morals, who may hold positions but ought to receive vigorous, severe military discipline. Not many married come from Russia, (principally they leave from Siberia), and it must be very sad for such wives, although dignified by energy and assiduity, to be served by drunkenness and the most evil dissolute life exemplified by the women of the indigenes.

"The Creoles are a type of man very large in stature, gracefully and handsomely tall, notable for a strikingly phthisical habit and although sometimes distinguished by breadth of shoulder, deep chest, a sonorous and grave voice, however, like the

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++ [Bancroft defines promyshlenniki as an advance guard of the Cossacks who were uncontrolled freebooters who hunted on their own account at their own risk. They penetrated Siberia where they made many original geographical discoveries. Bancroft, H. H., History of Alaska, 1730-1885, San Francisco, 1886, p. 18, J.B.S.]

vegetation itself in this place, a deceitful species. In body habit they are lymphatic with the venous system especially evolved, the cellular covering commonly loose and often with a leucophlegmatic habit.++ In temperament they are phlegmatico-melancholic, (according to Berthold),[1] few in words, stubborn, more capable in mechanical occupations than in metalwork, strong in sustained labor and adversity, in himself and kin slow, often lazy, especially the females who wear all day long a skin coat, (parka), they settle down alone, and lastly many are given to the abuse of spirits.

"The Aleuts are divided into the inhabitants of Kodiak island and those from other islands of the Aleutians, differing very much among themselves in origin, language, and mental faculties. The first, in my judgement, must be included among the Eskimo race. They constitute a notable people of medium height, in body constitution, although from their leucophlegmatic habit at first glance sufficiently robust, they are actually debilitated. But the second group, who must be included among the Mongol type, therefore in height large, and in constitution strong of body, and rarely provided with a phthisical disposition. But as to the temperament and character of the Creole they are quite similar.[2] Those living in New Archangel are accustomed to various luxuries, as the use of tea and liquor, which in no way contribute to the conservation of health, but those who come here from other parts of the Colony at the beginning frequently become ill from the water and change in manner of living.

++ [A lymphatic and/or leucophlegmatic habit or constitution of the body are types of rather flaccid and fatty appearance who are thought to be especially prone to dropsical conditions. J.B.S.]

1. A. A. Berthold, Lehrbuch der Physiologie, 1829, Vol. I, p. 151.

"The number of married Koloschi in the Castle is scarcely four, of women 14, and those living outside it by no means the same. In type, they comprise a people more accustomed to labor, more vigorous, toughter and healthier than Aleuts.

"Although the difference in origin of the inhabitants, of their bodily constitution and mental disposition is quite great, nonetheless the type of life is very withdrawn.

"The course of life of the garrison in the town of New Archangel can be said to be very uniform and changes of great moment occur when they come and go in the ships. This uniformity under an occupation in which tedium will not disappear compells a regular calm life and without doubt exercises a beneficial force in the conservation of health. The garrison, except for those who are married, reside at all times in the city, are invited to supper by the Chief Factor, and besides gather in his house on free and feast days when they are pleasantly received and entertained. The common games of cards are played, they are provided with billard tables, and at times engage in dances.

"On all working days the workmen should complete in ten hours their labor for the Society in their various skills and crafts. They begin work in the summer, after an hour of instructions, from six to eleven and in the afternoon from one to six; but in the winter from six-thirty to eleven-thirty in the morning, and after lunch from twelve to five-thirty. The remaining time they employ for the completion of their own work. The reason for this division

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2. K.E. von Baer, Beitrage zur Kenntriss des Russischen Reiches, vol. 1, pp. 177-225. The description of Bishop Innocent on the character of the Aleutian islanders, (of their slyness), when he happened to live with me for the whole summer of 1839, is the best and most accurate investigation of their character that can be furnished.

of time is so that whenever the first light appears he takes breakfast, lunch and supper in the evening, and at night he takes himself to bed. Because the interval of time appointed for lunch is quite short, a significant number of single workers more easily follow the arrangement by preferentially adopting communal subsistence at the common kitchens and bakeries where food and bread is prepared for all workers at the cost of the Society. On this account public cooks and bakers are appointed and, by the labor of women, much time is saved. Although for this reason they get up in the morning, this applies only to the men, for a number of women often sleep for nine or ten hours, paying little attention to the cleanliness of the home or children though urged to it in the city barracks of the Society. Having been raised here, they sit down to drink tea or remain completely inactive or, when corrected, they go to the marketplace for fish, berries or shellfish and spend many hours there in transactions although being in the open air they are rained upon. They rarely walk abroad in the winter unless visiting one another to drink tea, but in the summertime, especially on feast days and in good weather, the men and women promenade in large numbers to the river Koloschenka and adjacent region and there drink tea.

"As for victuals, their procurement is often very difficult and nearly limited to fish. Owing to the very grave problem of transportation, and to avoid want, goods are ordered by contract but, being beyond their salary, are not available to workmen so they are sold with circumspection. The chief are:

"Produce: Rye brought from Russia is now very scarce,[1] but wheat is used in the community, purchased annually from

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1. Owing to a shortage of wheat in 1836, rye flour was purchased from Ochotzkio. Many of the inhabitants, unaccustomed to its use, suffered diarrhoea and colic from this source.

California* as grain or from Chile or Mexico also as grain or flour, and in the first case it is ground at Fort Oserskojensi. Ships of the Republic of North America bring in barrels the best wheat flour, which they call Bostonian, white bread, biscuit and rice. The quantity of flour defined for workmen consists of forty pounds of wheat flour per month, the allowance for any unmarried person is emended to 20 pounds; further, for the married there is an additional 10 pounds for the wife and five for any child over two years. For the school children, of whom around forty dwell together, 25 pounds is issued in any month to each and every one; for the Aleuts attached to the Society the same quantity, but for those not in service, only sometimes working privately on orders from the administrators at merchant's hall, ten pounds or more, except for the customary victuals from the Society. Three pounds of rice in each month to whoever purchases.

"Fish: Fish is to be had fresh or salted. The fishing for the Society can be divided in the winter for halibut, in the spring for herring, and in summer for salmon appearing periodically. Halibut is made use of chiefly at the hospital and school, in the common kitchen of which they employ daily almost 320 pounds. Herring, which are fished in great quantity, are distributed to the inhabitants and also employed in the communal kitchen. A small quantity is salted because they can not be preserved every day as they would be less able to satisfy the food needs of the inhabitants. Fish of the salmon family at the time of migration are

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*It has very recently been halted as the Russian Colony in California Soeletas has been relinquished. By the English pact all things necessary for the support of the Colonies are transported, chiefly bread, [parre for pane. J.B.S.], salt meat, butter and other things.

distributed to all, being sufficiently copious. Although used for daily food, fifty thousand are salted at Fort Oserskojensi and fifteen thousand in the town, (from 15 to 10 fish in 40 pounds). The fish are cleaned by the women for remuneration and the remaining heads are collected by them and all the inhabitants because they are a very tasty part. They use salt fish from October to April and daily consume from 440 to 400 pounds. Besides, they import dried fish from Kodiak island and they are prepared here by the inhabitants in their own way. The greatest part of that which comes here is distributed among the Aleuts.

"Salt meat: Except for a small quantity imported from Ochotzk and Kodiak, from 32,000 to 48,000 pounds of meat is salted in California and is chiefly consumed by the sailors, the garrison, and the servants to whom a various quantity is issued. But on feast days they employ daily some 32 pounds in the communal kitchen and a pound is distributed to the single workmen and three pounds to the married. The meat of seals, [sea elephant and sea lion], is still salted in the Pribilof islands and a variable amount is sometimes cooked as a complete change from fish. The dried meat brought from California which on feast days is provided in place of salt meat and when fresh food is lacking, but is quite rearely eaten, is also used in the hospital and is bought by the workmen.

"Butter and fat:* Butter is brought here from Jakutzkio and partly from California and Kodiak island. Two pounds of butter are sold to the unmarried, three to the married, each month, besides two of beef fat to the first and five pounds to the second.

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*Beef fat, in California called Montequa, [manteca], is obtained chiefly from the subcutaneous fat and can be used in the preparation of food as a substitute for butter. [Subcutaneous fat is less saturated and has a lower boiling point than lard or hard fat. So it must be rendered down at much lower temperatures to avoid burning. It was shipped in casks. J.B.S.]

"Vegetables: Potatoes and cabbage although large, are not present in quantity but are made available to all so that their nourishing principle may effect all the inhabitants. Fermented cabbage, [sauerkraut], is used by most and this form serves well in place of acid cabbage. In the spring cabbage is supplied with common food but potatoes, which the ships accumulate for voyages, as far as amount, is in variable quantity. Of wild plants in general used by the inhabitants, in spring and summer are only smilax, cowparsnip, [also known as allheal], hemlock parsley, and leaves of the raspberry. Cowparsnips chiefly are brought raw from the country in large quantity and I have observed that from their abuse gastric fevers and febrile hydroa, [urticaria], arises. They use the abundance of growing berries raw and in winter store great quantities. Raspberry seeds, when they aggregate in the rectum, mechanically produce very obstinate obstructions of the bowel and the patient must be relieved by emollient clysters. Onions are brought from Kodiak island to serve as a condiment for food. They use them with salt fish, and sometimes in the hospital, and with grapes, and with peas and beans from California, (which are known there by the Spanish names frijoles), and mustard which everyone buys in varying amounts.

"Besides these principal types of nutriment there are many others here such as pork and sucklings, rarely used unless called for on the more important feast days. Chicken and eggs are more rare here, but the eggs of marine birds are brought by the Koloschi and in summer are quite abundant. Then there are edible seaurchins, cockles, mussels, chitons, Kamchatkan quahogs, cuttlefish, raw and cooked they are held to be great delicacies by the indigenes and Aleuts. I have observed no diseases to have origin from their use, except for an overloading of the stomach. The cockle principally supplies nutriment, although difficult of digestion but most agreeable in flavor. Deer, different species of

tetraonus, and marine birds, (various species of ducks and geese), for the greater part of the winter are sold so rarely that they are insufficient for the supper of the Chief Factor, but in summer they are not lacking anywhere.

"The principal and almost the one and only drink of the inhabitants, with the exception of the garrison, is tea, an unheard of quantity, though very dilute, being taken by the workmen three or five times a day at random. They often add to the infusion of tea butter, fat, kitchen salt, bread, so that it becomes unlike an infusion and it is eaten with a spoon from a platter with salt fish. One pound of tea each month is sold to the unmarried, three pounds of unrefined sugar, two to four jugs of molassas to the married, according to the number in the family. Pure water for drinking is little used.

"The best brand of whiskey is brought by American ships, containing more than a half part of wine spirits, (five-eights). It is excessively strong, [100 proof], which is used by the workmen indiscriminately at full strength so that some of them consume two bottles in twenty-four hours, producing a most conspicuous effect. Whiskey is distributed in moderation to the workmen but only on more important feast days, and less than two measures, [cups], so that drunkenness is never seen if anyone consumes the rationed quantity themselves. However, partly from the garrison who are allowed to buy six to twelve bottles a month and who pay wages of whiskey for the support of various work to tailors, shoemakers, lotricibus, [?], and others, and partly themselves mutually buying sufficient to satisfy the value of their services--often the large quantities they acquire are excessive and in rejecting all advice they injure their own health, so that commonly one may always see on feast days drunkards, and in the town camp uproar is heard and brawling observed.

"I am personally convinced that the moderate use of whiskey in view of the climate, the type and way of life, is not at all hurtful. All agree that it is beneficial for the augmentation of digestion, the circulation of blood and all secretions. Sometimes the garrison uses juniper spirits, (gin), taking a small glass after breakfast or before supper. Wine is carried here by American ships, though it is stronger, it spoils the less. Wine from the island of Madeira, that is to say that called Xeres, [sherry], and the red wine from Spain, (port), are considered far and away the best. They are used in moderation, for the most part after supper, unless they are sold to the garrison and very rarely in large amount. Workmen may buy one or two bottles on birthdays, baptisms and the like.

"Tobacco, principally as cigars, is very frequently used but is not harmful.[1]

"Naval food for the open sea is prepared beforehand according to instructions for each man for a month, that is to say: ship's bread freshly cooked, annually thirty-seven and a half pounds, salt meat fifteen pounds, husked grain, peas, butter or, when unavailable, eight pounds of fat for each, whiskey five measures, (cups), necessary quantity of salt. Furthermore, according to instructions of the Chief Factor, an extra quantity of whiskey so that the captain of the ship can assign a daily measure to any sailor in raging storm or for very heavy labor; to this is added tea, molasses, lemon juice and potatoes.

"The dress of the workmen remaining for long periods in the open air corresponds very much to the climate. For the most part

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1. C. L. Klose, Grundsatze der Allgemeinen Diaetestik, 1825, p. 289.

it consists of a wollen undershirt, a tunic and trousers, both made of fur or wool, and a jacket not dissimilar to a woolen English blanket which does not interfere with free movement while at labor. In storms, rain, and especially on the open sea, they put on an overshirt, (a shirt made from intestines of the sea lion), favoring health, protective of clothing and waterproof.

"The dress of the women consists of a more elegant vest of cotton or a garment of double thread linen, a silk scarf which they tie around the head, and a shirt from the skin of a sperm wale which they always wear over all, very warm but the temperature of the body is distributed in an unequal manner because they often go abroad with bare feet. The sort of women who love showy refinement are the equal in domestic life to all other inhabitants but especially in external matters are immodest and lacking in thrift as they may be seen going out dressed in silk to their exceedingly disgraceful labors.

"The baths are frequented often and, except for some private, two are communal, (belonging to the Society), one for the use of the garrison and the other for the workmen and the school children which is made hot once each week.

"As for sexual functions, in view of the climate the females reach puberty precociously and menstruation appears by the thirteenth or fourteenth year. They soon age, and more swiftly than one would expect. They easily complete a pregnancy although they condemn all examination while in this state and are liable to abortion and premature birth. Even if phthisical at the time of parturition, as happens elsewhere, they regard themselves as better.++ The birth itself is completed easily and swiftly because

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++ [This is known as the spes phthysica, or phthisical hope, in which tuberculous patients develop a euphoria, believing they are better when in fact they are rapidly progressing downhill. J.B.S.]

there is no deformity of pelvic conformation and the habit of the body is relaxed or lymphatic. After the birth they often neglect their diet, from which they produce in themselves serious diseases. The condition of the breasts is very favorable for lactation but ulceration of them commonly makes it difficult and painful. Their milk is copious in quantity but somewhat watery in quality. The infants are suckled for a long time, from a half to throughout two years, under the pretense that they cannot feed the infant in any other manner whereas in reality they avoid a new conception by feeding it for a longer time.

"The physical management of infants after birth corresponds in general. They are bathed often. They are suitably wrapped in a bundle and laid in a cot suspended by an elastic rod, as though they employ great attentiveness and cleanliness in this matter, but they very frequently make errors in attending to their diet. The infants are fed soon after birth a pap made from Boston biscuits with tea, arrowroot, sago and honey cake, and ground pepper, which is rarely prepared with the necessary cleanliness and in consequence causes various diseases aroused by the disordered digestion.

"At present a harmful custom not yet entirely given up, which principally affects infants who are not well, is taking them out to mass without consideration of the state of the weather. Then on the one hand the laziness of mothers is harmful to the infants, paying no attention to their crying by shutting them up to sleep, neglecting to suckle entirely or neglecting their breasts after feeding because of mental conditions or of abusing spirits. On the other hand it follows from these attitudes that with the onset of disease, although the mothers have nothing wrong with themselves, they go to the doctor. As is often the case, when questioned, the doctor can ascertain nothing from them other than a statement that

the infant is crying. Therefore it is left to the doctor, and not without difficulty, to determine from external signs, from the state of various parts of the body, from the incidence of various diseases and other evidence, the symptomatology and seat of the disease.

"From the lack of milk another difficulty arises in the weaning of infants which involves the choice of nourishment. For the most part they are fed with a soup of tea, bread and butter. They conduct a minor cure at the beginning of an infant's illness as follows: they rush out without preparation, half clothed, into the mists and rain, return with wet clothes and go back to bed. From the often corrupt air in bed, the type of feeding, the hereditary lymphatic or rather scrofulous constitution and the phthisical disposition, we add a great force for the conversion of conditions lying latent within them into their own diseases. The majority of the children suffer from neglect of their physical upbringing and correction of their faults. Deprived of all good example, they become stubborn and obstinate on maturity. Even though puberty has not yet been reached, on the approach of the sexes, they yield to masturbation. Without doubt this is due to the daily use of fish and marine animals[1] more than anything else. This has been proved from the use of fish in the first degree of putrefaction which contains a large quantity of phosphorus[2] and which is preferred, that is to say, by the Aleuts and Creoles. Once full physical development has been reached, the innate phthisical disposition frequently grows into phthisis itself unless it becomes venereal. Many diseases are derived from this cause.

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1. Virey, Article Ichthyophagie, [on the eating of fish], Dictionnaire des sciences medicales, p. 367.

2. One may commonly see fish, chiefly cod, hanging nearly all the time in the dark of the porches or entrances giving out a great deal of phosphorescent light.

"As for public entertainments, they are quite trifling and in the summer they consist of walks to the river Koloschenka and its neighborhood, boat trips to adjacent islands and to the hay fields taking tea things with them. At Christmastime pregnant women, everywhere loved by the inhabitants, although wearing clothing too light for the weather, rampage along in groups marching from house to house. Warm from dancing in the small rooms, they become overheated and often develop catarrhal and inflammatory diseases. With vigils and fasting, a mountain of ice is constructed on Lake Swan, (Lebiaschje),++ but with the Paschal feast they rejoice by winding around the construction of the Aleutian town camp,++ both of which, and with greatest pleasure, they love to visit.

"Because of the presence and prompt help of physicians, they do not give popular remedies with the onset of disease, except for the following: in any pain of the head, chest, abdomen, any of which may be due to natural causes, they tie up the affected part with clothing or rags which, in accidents and congestions of blood, brings some alleviation for a time; in infants suffering from constipation of the bowels they insert suppositories of soap; formerly to move forward labor and facilitate birth they pulled the ear of the pregnant women monthly and gave them a little powered pear with water, wine or whiskey added, often as much as a cyathus; today nobody uses these remedies very widely. Repeated bloodlettings, (three to six in the space of a single year), were

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++[The place, on the southwest side of Lake Swan, where this ice mountain was constructed is shown on the author's map. J.B.S.]

++[This lies to the east of Sitka and was called the Kaschim. See map. J.B.S.]

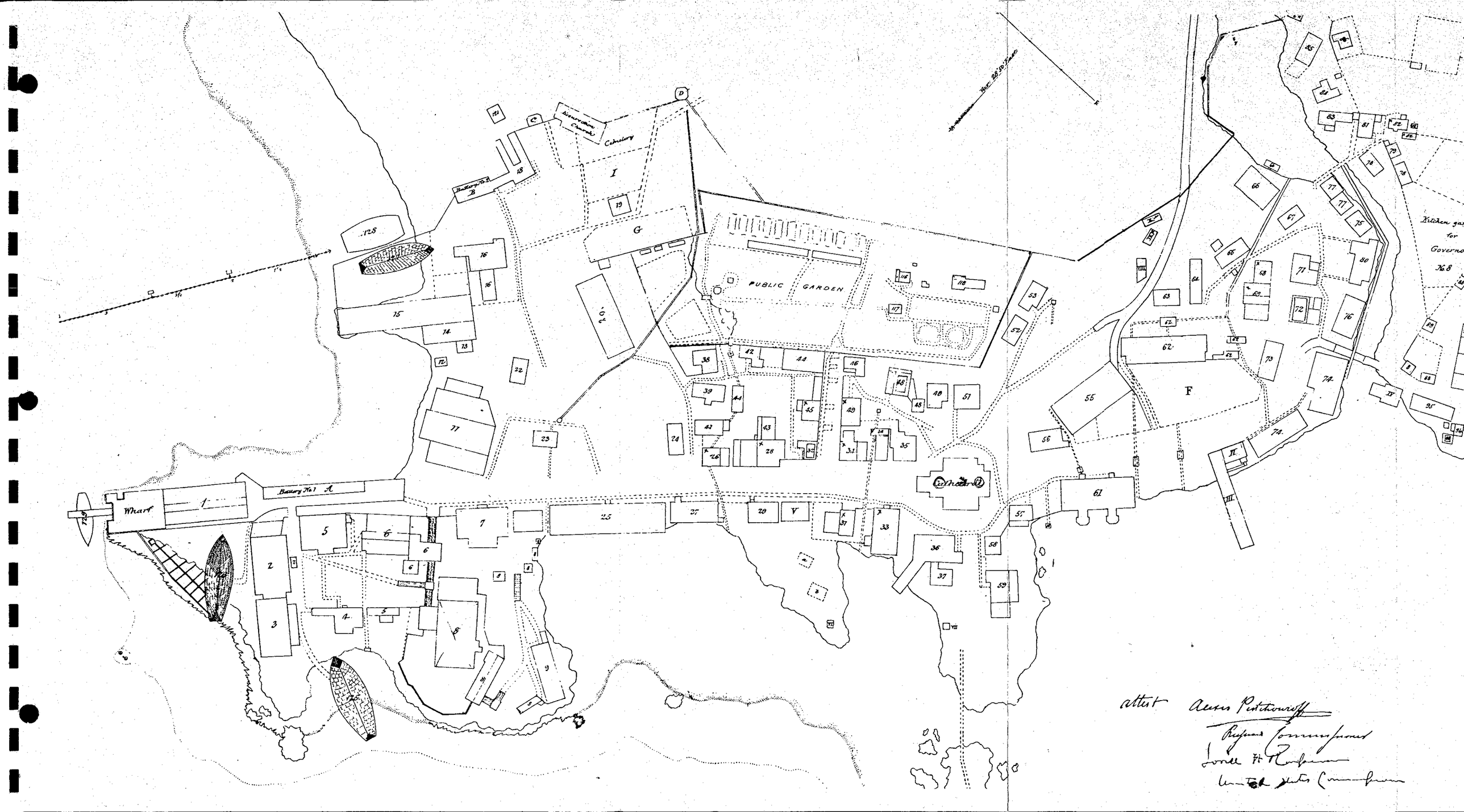
[A cyathus was a wineglass and in classical times used as a measure amounting to approximately 1½ ozs. However the measure varies considerably, often being as much as 2 ozs., which of over 100 proof whiskey or 140 to 150 proof, is quite a dose. J.B.S.]

freely used remedies to which all, often without necessity, had recourse. Owing to the weakness and postponement of venesection from the withdrawal of so large a quantity of blood, the practice could be avoided so that today rarely more than once a year is blood let.

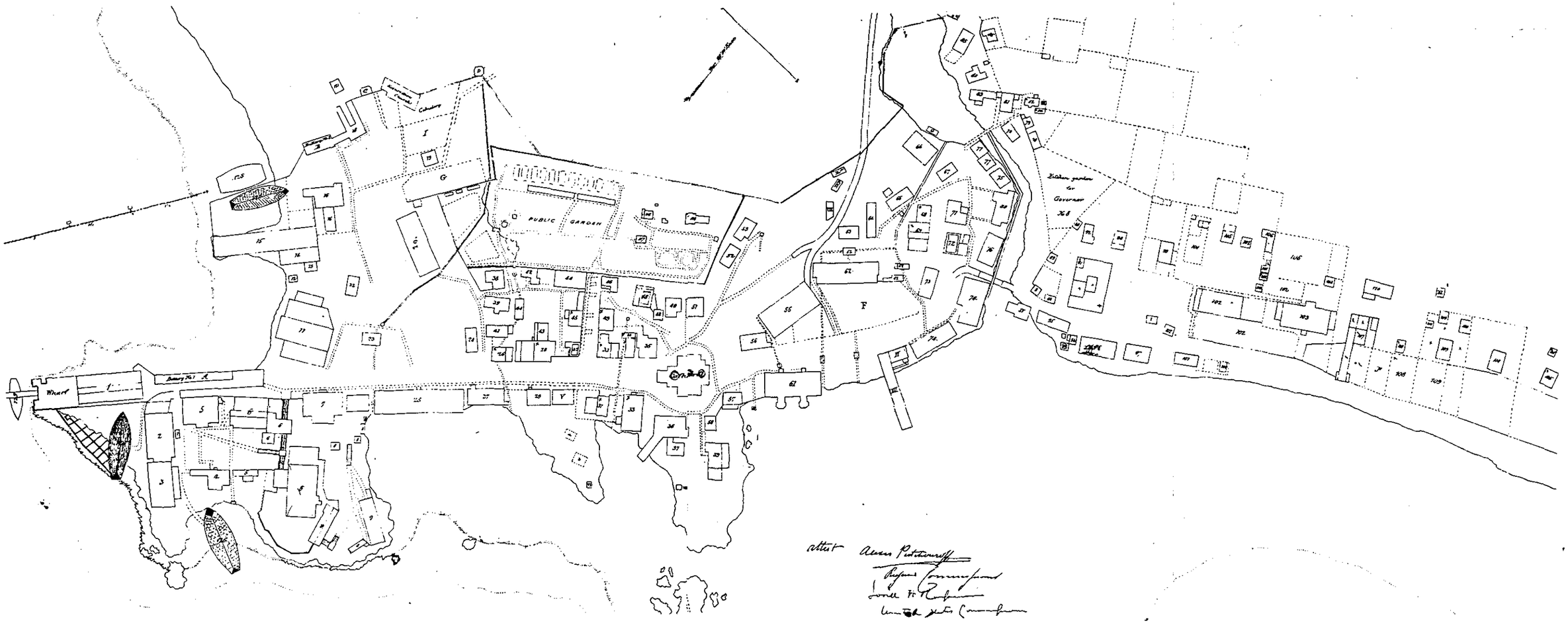
"For the most part they ask for medical assistance at the proper time, although, as I have said above, not unless the orders have been often and repeatedly explained to them, very rarely are instructions strictly carried out and completed, as may be seen when, seeing at first no alleviation from the doses of the remedies offered, it is later observed that they do not take it and on another day the prescribed medicines are found intact. Once they have been freed from a grave disease and it has been cured, they avoid any further compliance.

"The differences in the condition and occupation of the inhabitants has already been discussed in the chapter on population, and likewise the influences on their health. It is clear from a consideration of the type of food that derives primarily from the various varieties of fish, that the condition of the inhabitants relates in the strictest sense to fish eating. In other regions of the world the greatest part of cure is effected by attention to the diet, and there the more correct advice generally would be to exercise limitations by the prohibition of rotten salt or smoked fish, or in the special use of one or another type. However, it is impossible to prohibit entirely their use as there is no other type of food. The use of fish in the various localities is chiefly responsible for the already mentioned lymphatic habit, the venous condition of the blood due to the formation of abundant mucus, the families of intestinal worms, the slow circulation of the humors, their stagnation and similar things, and from fish which have reached a certain level of putrefaction, the asthenic diseases with their

nervous and putrid character. The very great influence of habit is proved again, but more rarely, by the appearance of predicted diseases from this, [nervous and putrid], character. Without doubt these diseases can often by averted at the beginning to make them innocuous, as with other conditions they drag behind them very serious consequences and often provoke death itself."


PUBLIC GARDEN
Wharf
Battery No. 1 A
Battery No. 2 B
Cemetery
Kitchen gar
for
Governo
No. 8
attest Alexis Pistchouroff
Russian Commissioner
Lovell H. Rousseau
United States Commissioner

PUBLIC GARDEN
Kitchen garden for Governor No. 8
F
attest Alexis Pistchouroff
Russian Commissioner
Lovell H. Rousseau


PUBLIC GARDEN
Wharf
Kitchen garden for Governor
attest Alexis Pestchouroff
Russian Commissioner
Lovell H. Rousseau
United States Commissioner

INVENTORY "A"

Letters or numbers on the plan.

A. Battery No. 1
B. Battery No. 2, Vraloskian Battery
C. Block House No. 1
D. Block House No. 2
E. Block House No. 3
3. Subsistence Storehouse
6. Barracks, 3 stories
7. Office Building, 2 stories
8. Governors House
9. Wash and Bath House
11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, & 23. Dock yard & building pertaining thereto
16. School Building
18. Market for Indians
20. Unfinished Barracks
61. Officers Lodgings, 2 stories
76. Unfinished Bath House
103. Hospital, 2 stories
116.)
) Arbors on Public Garden
117.)
118. Powder Magazine
121. School Building for Indians, outside of stockade
122. Observatory, on Japonsky Island
123. House for Observer, wharf, garden, hot-beds, anchors, buildings at Hot Springs

INVENTORY "B"

Inventory of property belonging to the Greco Russian Church, with numbers and letters indicating situation of buildings and lots of ground.

The Cathedral of St. Michaels, situated in the center of the City, The Church of the Resurrection, commonly called the Kaloshian Church, situated near Battery NO/2, at the Palisades, separating the city from the Indian Village,

102. 2 story building for Bishops House, with outbuildings, appurtenances and grounds,
35. A house for church warden,
98. A house for the Decon,
104.)
105.) Three houses with their appurtenances and outbuildings for
114.) lodgings of priests,
F.)
G.) Four lots of ground belonging to the parsonages,
H.)
I.)
A. The place commemorative of the old church,
B. A tomb.
Three Cemeteries, two outside the palisades, and one by the Church of the Resurrection,

INVENTORY "C"

List of the names of persons holding property in fee simple in the City of New Archangel (Sitka), who have been furnished with certificates of the same,

NAMES

26. Adoph Lindfors, (Martins Chinaman)
28. William Ivanoff, (Pat Corcoran)
31. Elisabeth Bollman, (Sam Millitich)
34. John Kilkousky, (Cohen's corner house)
45. Nathalia Kashavaroff, (her heirs)
49. Artemy Larentieff,
68. John Kaistky,
82. Nadeska Timofejeff,
91. Kusma Tarentriaff,
106. John Makaroff,
107. William Vickstroom,
108. Simon Sokoloff,
109. Jacob Laroubins,
115. John Ponomarkoff,
X. Michael Buldakoff,
87b. Gabrial Lyloff,
87a. Andrew Ziazeff,
33. The Congregation of the Lutheran Church, In Kodiak, Bazil Pavioff,
69a. John Peterson,
IX. Mathew Ivanoff,

INVENTORY "D"

Inventory of private property in the City of New Archangel (Sitka) with the numbers and letters indicating the situation of dwelling houses, establishments, and lots of ground as marked on the plan of the city attached to the protocol of transfer.

NO. 1. Warehouse,
2. Shop and Store house,
4. Tannery for furs,
5. Dwelling house with outbuildings,
19. Lime Kiln,
24. Dwelling house,
25. Bakery, joiner, and other shops,
26. Dwelling house,
27. Kitchen Shed,
28. Dwelling house and outbuildings,
29. Dwelling house,
31. do
32. do
34. do
36. do
37. do
38. do
39. do
41. do
42. Dwelling House
43. Dwelling house
45. do
46. do
47. do

INVENTORY "D" Continued:

48. do
49. do
51. do
52. do
53. do
55. Sea house,
56. Dwelling house and outbuildings,
57. Dwelling house,
58. do
59. do
62. do
63. Kitchen shed,
64. Shed,
65. Dwelling house
66. Laundry,
67. Dwelling house,
68. do
69. Shed,
71. Dwelling house,
72. do
73. Foundry,
74. Saw-mill with a shed attached,
75. Tannery,
77. Water Flour mill, with outbuildings dam etc,
78. Two old tannery sheds,
70. Dwelling house,
80. Old bath building,
81. Dwelling house,
82. Dwelling house with outbuildings,
83. Dwelling house,
84. do

INVENTORY "D" Continued:

85. do
86. do
87a.) Two dwelling houses adjoining each other,
87b.)
88b.) Two sheds for vegetables,
89. Dwelling houses,
91. Dwelling houses with two outbuildings,
92. Dwelling houses,
93. do
94. do
95. Ropery,
96. Aleutian Dwelling Houses,
97. Hay lofts,
99. Dwelling house with out buildings,
100. Dwelling house,
101. Stables
106. Dwelling house with outbuildings,
107. do
108. Dwelling house,
109. do with outbuildings,
110. do
115. do do
119. Fish store with three outbuildings
124. Coal shed, wharf etc.
125.)
126.) Three old hulks aground, occupied as stores,
127.)
128. Floating steam sawing shop aground,
129. Hulk and movable bridge,

I. Dwelling house,
II.) do & Bowling Alley,

INVENTORY "D" Continued:

III.) do do
IV. do
V. Store
VI. Shed,
VII. Shed,
VIII. Dwelling house,
IX. do
X. do
XI. do
44. do
J. Lots of ground cultivated as vegetable gardens by the different citizens of the town,

INVENTORY "E"

Forts and public buildings on the Island of Kodiak,

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HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT: THE BISHOP'S HOUSE

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INTRODUCTION

In the year George Washington was born, 1732, the first Russians visited America. The Russian navigator Gvozdev rode at anchor off the coast of "the great land," as the Russians called Prince of Wales Island. Russian interest in the "Eastern Sea" had preceded this first Russian sighting of America by some time. Before 1732 Russians had already pondered over the foggy, uncharted northern reaches of the Pacific Ocean and wondered whether the Asian and American landmasses joined. This question remained unanswered for Gvozdev in 1732 and for other expeditions in the coming decades.

One of these later expeditions, that of Bering and Chirikov, opened the way in 1741 for Russian fur hunters from Kamchatka to travel to America via the Aleutian Islands. Sailing in separate ships, Chirikov and Bering lost track of one another. Bering's ship sailed on alone and approached land where he could see the peaks of the Saint Elias Mountains. He also sighted Kodiak Island. On the expedition Bering took sick and died. He was buried on Komandorsky Island, which was renamed Bering Island in his honor. Chirikov made his way back to Kamchatka and led further expeditions, for instance to Attu, in later years.

The Kamchatka-Aleutian trade route opened up by Bering and Chirikov became one of the busiest sea-lanes of the time as the word got out of the area's rich sources of fur. The Russian promyshlenniks, or fur hunters, would stay in the Aleutians for several years at a time, obtaining their furs mostly by barter with the natives--or by robbing them--and occasionally by trapping the animals themselves.[1] By the end of the 1750s Russian fur traders

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1. S. B. Okun, The Russian-American Company, trans. Carl Ginsburg (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 9.

had stripped the Aleutians of pelts and had to look further afield for furs.

After the Empress Catherine the Great came to the throne (1762) she showed an interest in the "Eastern Ocean" by issuing secret instructions to the Board of Admiralty to reconnoiter the northern Pacific for "hitherto unknown islands." Expeditions thus reached Unalaska and Unimak islands in 1768.

Catherine's instructions for exploration exemplified the direction of political and economic thinking among many of Europe's rulers at the time. Several moments of force in the thought of the day, any one of which might have directed the Russians' interest toward Siberia and the northern Pacific, coalesced in the later 18th century to propel them toward Alaska. In political terms these forces went under the name of imperialism; in economic terms, mercantilism. Completing the triad of forces was a class of landed gentry in Russia which was burdened by a social code that frowned upon its members' taking part in the acquisitive, entrepreneurial activities of Russia's nascent bourgeoisie. At this point, mercantilist thought of the French school came to the aid of the Russian landed gentry. According to this school, foreign trade, as contrasted with domestic commerce, was a "state" activity. This view lent status to an activity that otherwise was demeaning to a Russian nobleman, an affair for petty shopkeepers.[2] Thus this version of mercantilism closely identified foreign trade with the majesty of the imperial state, and the Russian nobleman could engage in commerce without damaging his social prestige.

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2. Ibid., p. 12.

The path of least resistance for Russia's expansion lay to the east across Siberia to the northern Pacific. The lack of a political entity in Siberia that could block the way, growing interest in chinoiserie and trade with China, and the promise of rich fur-hunting grounds in the northern Pacific combined to make this path the obvious choice of Russian rulers for territorial expansion. But this area was not entirely clear and free of competition. Once on the Pacific, the Russians met up with the British and Spanish, who were penetrating into the area from the opposite direction. Captain Cook's voyages in 1776-79 so disturbed Catherine the Great that as soon as his journals started to appear in 1784, she had them translated into Russian in order to better know her rival's moves in the area. And as a result of this knowledge, by 1787 Russian trappers heading out for Alaska from Kamchatka were instructed to raise a Russian flag where Englishmen were known to have been. Moreover, they were given iron tablets to bury in the ground with copper letters declaring it to be "Land Under Russian Domain."[3]

Eighty years later, in 1867, the Russians retired from the contest of expansion on the American continent by selling their Alaskan holdings to the United States. The reason for this withdrawal was Russia's realization that colonization of Alaska had overextended her military resources: She was not capable of securing the area against Anglo-Saxon expansion. Reinforcing this realization was the diminishing economic yield of the American colony. Fur seal herds were becoming depleted. Larger and larger subventions would be required to keep Alaska's quasi-govenmental administrative body, the Russian-American Company, afloat. So with the sale of Alaska, Russia withdrew to the more manageable limits of a Eurasian empire and concentrated on developing Siberia as the farthest extension of her colonization.

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3. Ibid., p. 14.

Within these eight decades of activity, however, the Russian government directed the construction of whole settlements for the nurturing of Russian workers, it oversaw the exploitation of the fur resources of the northern Pacific, and it underwrote missionary work among native Alaskans by the Russian Orthodox church. In 1799 the government decided on one monopolistic joint-stock company to manage its affairs in America. Hence the Russian-American Company, a forced amalgamation of several smaller fur-trading companies in the northern Pacific region, was created as an instrument of government policy but with the appearance of a private company.[4]

Among the obligations to the church outlined in the charter of the company was one providing for priests' salaries, dwellings, churches, and other expenses. The church was closely allied with the monarchy in Russia, so such provision seemed a natural obligation to the company officials. The first Russian church in America, built in 1795 at Kodiak, even preceded the first charter of the company by four years. It was soon followed by churches at Unalaska and the first church at Sitka (1817), which later burned down and was replaced in 1848.

By the 1840s, when the Episcopal residence, or bishop's house, was built, the Russian-American Company had already constructed numerous buildings in Sitka. These included "Baranov's Castle," the original Russian church (which had burned down in the 1830s), docking facilities, warehouses, barracks, schoolhouse, trading house, etc., and even a Lutheran church. The latter had been built at the special behest of the chief administrator of the

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4. U.S., Congress, Senate, Russian Administration of Alaska and the Status of the Alaska Natives, by Vladimir Gsovski, S. Doc. 152, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., 1950, p. 9.

company, Adolf Etolin, who was a Finnish Lutheran and catered to the needs of the small Lutheran community in Sitka. During Etolin's tenure (1840-45) relations between the Orthodox church and the company were at their best, as exemplified by his enthusiastic support for the construction of Bishop Innocent's residence.

OWNERSHIP OF THE BISHOP'S HOUSE

The Russian Orthodox church in America owned the bishop's house for more than 100 years. From November 1, 1867, the date the mission was transferred to the possession of the Russian Orthodox church in America, until 1973, the bishop's house remained in the uninterrupted ownership of the Russian church. By means of Public Law 92-501 (92nd Congress, 5.1497), approved October 18, 1972, funds were appropriated for purchase of the bishop's house and other properties as an addition to Sitka National Historical Park. Shortly after this date the U.S. government completed the purchase, and the house came into the possession of the National Park Service.

From the time of its construction in 1843 to 1867, the bishop's house belonged to the Russian-American Company. During its whole period of possession of the northwest coast of America, the Russian-American Company operated under the explicit imperial injunction to further the interest of the church and aid it in building churches and converting the natives. Under the directorship of Adolf Etolin (1840-45) when the house was built, this aid was especially cordial; so cordial, in fact, that a misunderstanding arose for a short while over who owned the house after Etolin's tenure as chief administrator ended in 1845. In the mid-1840s letters on this point went back and forth between Bishop Innocent in the consistory and General Administrator Tebenkov of the Russian-American Company.

Apparently one of the first things Tebenkov tried to clear up was the ownership of the house. In a letter written September 20, 1845, he pointed out to Bishop Innocent that the company had

agreed to build apartments for him and the cathedral clergy and servants and to provide them with heat and light. But the house did not belong to the church. If the church wanted the whole house, he pointed out, then it must pay the company the price it cost to build it, viz. 25,000 rubles.[5]

From here the discussion shifted to the subject of control over management of the house. At first Tebenkov felt that the building should be managed like any other company building in the colonies. That is, the company would decide when to do repairs, alterations, etc., and would pay for them. This did not set well with the bishop. On the one hand, the church apparatus was wholly dependent on the workmen of the company for any and all services, and the bishop was glad to avail himself of this sole source of trained artisans in the colonies. But on the other hand, the matter of company control of the building still bothered him. Moreover, the bishop was adamant that possession of and control over the domestic chapel itself, with its consecrated altar and other holy paraphernalia, remain in the hands of the church. Thus Bishop Innocent turned to the director of the Holy Synod himself, Pratasov, for aid and advice on those matters. Likewise, the company's manager, Tebenkov, turned to higher authorities in Saint Petersburg for a resolution of the disagreement.

The mater was resolved, presumably after some discussion took place in Saint Petersburg between church and company authorities. Bishop Innocent received two letters in September 1846. The chief of the Holy Synod in Saint Petersburg relayed no less than an imperial ukase from Nicholas I, whereby Bishop Innocent was

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5. Tebenkov to Innocent, 20 December 1845, Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America, Records, 1772-1936, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. Hearafter cited as Church Records.

advised that the "house which you are now occupying remains the property of the Russian-American Company."[6] However, effective management of the house and minor repairs and changes were left up to the bishop's good judgment. What the company could not pay for the bishop could pay for out of church funds.

Tebenkov also received word of the agreement reached between the company and the church. For he wrote to the bishop at this time confirming that the house was to be under the bishop's complete control and was always "to remain completely for your purposes." However, the house was to remain the possession of the Russian-American Company.

In 1867, at the time of the sale of Alaska to the United States, all such bickering had ceased to exist. The company, at the urging of Bishop Innocent, was mindful of its obligation to the church that it would no longer support. The company therefore made arrangements to turn over all church buildings to the outright possession of the church. By the terms of the treaty of transfer, the United States government recognized the Russian Orthodox church as sole possessor of such properties in Alaska and granted the church the right to continue its missionary activities there. Thus on November 1, 1867, the official date of the ecclesiastical transfer, the bishop's house, along with other properties, came into the official possession of the church and was so indicated on the official transfer map.[7]

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7. Michael George Kovach, "The Russian Orthodox Church in North America" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1957), p. 262.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE BISHOP'S HOUSE

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Russian-American Company laid the cornerstone of the bishop's house in "New Archangel" (Sitka) sometime in 1842. By December 8, 1843, the house was ready for occupation, although certain details of interior finishing work and the permanent iron roof were not yet completed. The relative speed with which the Russian-American Company workmen finished the building was a source of pleasure for Bishop Innocent, who along with his retinue of cathedral priests and church auxiliaries was to inhabit the building. Writing to Adolf Etolin, the chief administrator in America of the Russian-American Company, whose headquarters were also in New Archangel, Bishop Innocent expressed his "unceasing gratitude for the rapid and solid construction of the house, especially for all the possible comforts . . . in the planning of the rooms."[8] In another letter, this time to the church consistory in Russia, Innocent's enthusiasm for the house remained high. "[The house] is in its architecture one of the best, most solid and most beautiful structures in New Archangel."[9]

Relations between Bishop Innocent and Chief Administrator Etolin were unusually cordial. Etolin took a personal interest in the construction activities of the Russian-American Company and displayed more than the required willingness in the company's obligations to support church activities in Russia's American colonies. Innocent commented on this willingness to Count N. A.

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8. Innocent to Etolin, 23 December 1843, Church Records.

9. Innocent to Church Synod, 20 January 1844, Church Records.

Pratasov, the chief procuror for the Russian Orthodox church. Four months after moving into the bishop's house, Innocent wrote Pratasov in Moscow:

> (1) . . . The Chief Administration [in Saint Petersburg] instructed [Etolin] to build for me a small house, and he built, so to speak, a mansion; [moreover he was told] to build after the Company work was all finished, but he built [the house] in the midst of [company] work. (2) I of course have no right to demand of the Company heat and light and servants; but I am enjoying the use of all these things and, of course, by his direction. (3) Finally, though I must admit this somewhat shamefacedly, for my own support here I received very much from his own provisions. In view of all this it would be unjust of me not to mention the outstanding treatment shown me by Mr. Etolin.[10]

The structure has apparently undergone no major change in its basic plan since it was built. However, some of the original fabric has been changed. It was a two-story wood structure, built on a stone foundation, with a hip roof. There appears to have been a discrepancy in the original measurements of the building. The dimensions given in contemporary church documents are 63 feet long by 42 feet wide (9 sazhens, or Russian fathoms, by 6 sazhens, 1 sazhen equalling 7 English feet). However, using the scale drawings included in those same documents, the outside dimensions of the building measure out to 65 feet by 43 feet 6 inches. Finally,

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10. Innocent to Pratasov, 25 April 1844, in Innokentii, Pis'ma Innokentiia, ed. Ivan Barsukov, 3 vols. (Moscow: Sinodalnaia Tipografia, Moscow 1897-1901), 1:117.

actual field measurements show the dimensions of the building today to be 64 feet by 43 feet 3 inches.[11]

The two side-galleries, both in two stories and housing enclosed stairways, have undergone more change than the core of the building. Originally, the west gallery was approximately 13 feet wide and 31 feet 9 inches deep. It was set back from the front line of the house some 2 feet. Added on to the back of this was another structure, only one story high, 7 feet 6 inches by 12 feet 9 inches, with a doorway from the back side leading to two partitioned rooms separated by a hallway; the western room (outside) served as a latrine, the eastern room as a storeroom.

On the other side of the house, the east gallery measured 14 feet by 40 feet 6 inches and was also set back from the facade 2 feet. This gallery was set in from the line of the back wall 1 foot. The gallery also narrowed down from 14 feet to 10 feet 8 inches wide at a point 5 feet 9 inches from its back wall. Unlike the gallery on the other (west) end of the house, the two rooms in the back portion of this gallery each had an internal doorway into the rest of the gallery.

In 1887, the two side-galleries were demolished and replaced with the present ones. The new east and west galleries of 1887 (which are the present ones) were built to have common front and back wall lines with the rest of the house; they are 6 feet wide. (The structural revisions of 1887 are discussed below in detail.)

The wood used throughout the structure came from the local forests. Sitka spruce, a strong construction lumber, was used for

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11. Personal communication from Gary Higgins, Historical Architect, National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

the structural members and the siding. Alaska yellow cedar, which is noted for its workability, was used in some decorative refinements in the interior. The stones and large timbers used in the foundation came, of course, from the vicinity. And the Russian practice of filling in between ceiling and roof joists with sand for insulation purposes was carried out in this and other Russian buildings in Sitka. This device caused problems in later decades because the moisture-burdened sand crashed through ceilings when the ceiling joists rotted.

The windows in the main building were of two standard sizes. In the second story, they were ca. 2½ feet wide by 6 feet high, with nine in the front (south) and nine in the back (north). On the lower floor, an equal number of windows in front and back measured ca. 2½ feet wide by 4 feet high. The upper floor windows were of double-sash construction, which added to their insulating value. Of the 18 windows on the lower floor, 14 were outfitted with shutters. Which of the latter had no shutters, and for what reason, cannot be determined from the documents. Field investigation by the architects will perhaps determine which windows were without shutters.

A typically Russian feature of the window construction in the bishop's house was the use of the small, opening vetilation window (the fortochka). This item is given only scant mention in the documents on the building, but photographic evidence suggests that one existed on the second story of the east gallery, and undoubtedly there were more. The exact locations can only be guessed. Perhaps they were built into the top section of the double windows, a section which was hung independently of the lower part, as photographs indicate.

Attic vetilation was provided by small slots located at the roofline. Two are shown in the east end of the facade; five are indicated on the back wall, evenly spaced along the length of the building at the roofline.

The first inventory of the building, which was carried out in March 1844 and provides us with much of the above information, also shows that 50 doors were used in the building, 18 described as being of "fine workmanship" and the other 32, of "common woodwork." A total of 55 doorways existed in the two floors and galleries of the house, according to the original plan. The 18 doors of "fine workmanship" were most probably used in the upper floor, especially in and around the chapel (particularly the four doors of the bishop's quarters). The "common" doors were probably used for the exterior entries and throughout the lower floor. Five of the passageways had no doors. Onsite architectural investigation and intelligent guesswork can possibly reveal which passageways these were. For instance, the passageways shown on the historical plan of the west gallery that linked the north and south ends on both the ground and second floors may have had no doors; or the passageway leading to the stairs on the second floor of the west gallery may also have had no door; and there are other possibilities.

The original plan shows 14 heating units in the house. One was the large stove/oven combination in the southwest corner of the kitchen. This measured ca. 5 by 6½ feet, contained two ovens and had a large (28 by 42 inches) cook area on the surface. The other 13 heating devices were probably of two basic types (the symbols for these are half-shaded circles and rectangles in the original plan). One type was the normal masonry fireplace (represented by the half-shaded rectangles). There were five of these on the second floor: one each in the east and west walls of the bishop's

parlor, which were constructed such that they also served the two rooms adjoining those walls (the layman's room and the dining room); one on either side of the partition wall between the guest room and the bedroom; and the fifth in the chapel. The last symbol on the second floor for a "fire box" indicates the spot in the sanctuary of the chapel where fire for lighting candles for church services was kept. The vent stacks for these fireplaces on the second floor were either directly in line with, and part of, the main masonry chimneys or were tied to the latter in the attic by metal vent pipes.

On the lower floor, besides the large oven/stove unit in the kitchen, eight heating units (half shaded circles) are drawn on the original plan. These heating units were probably of the same design and construction as the historical Russian stove from this period that is on display at the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka (see illustration 1). Two circumference sizes of the stoves are indicated on the plan; the larger stove was in the classroom, the seven smaller ones were in other rooms on the first floor.

Although not indicated on the plan, architectural investigation has revealed that masonry vent stacks were built on brackets mounted high on the walls of the lower floor. There are present traces of these at the heating units shown on the historical plan in rooms 1 and 2. The heating units in rooms 4 and 5 were situated next to the masonry flue in room 7 (the kitchen), and probably tied into this flue by means of a flue pipe. No flue traces have been found as yet for the heating units in rooms 4, 5, and 6. For room 6, a fine line on the original plan perhaps indicates that a metal flue pipe ran to the masonry stack in the kitchen. Similarly, vent pipes probably ran from the units in rooms 4 and 5 to the masonry stack originating on wall brackets in room 1.

Russian Stoves
Sheldon Jackson
Museum Sitka

The cylindrical stoves used in the lower floor were made of sheet iron and were lined with a firebrick material. They measured 6½ feet in height and ca. 18 inches in diameter. The one depicted in room 5 is drawn larger, i.e., ca. 2 feet in diameter. As can be seen in the illustration, two separate openings with iron doors were constructed in the stoves. The larger opening at the bottom may have been the firebox, while the upper one served perhaps as a damper opening. But this remains conjectural.

Architectural investigation has revealed that these cylindrical heating ovens sat on round wooden platforms, or discs. When the fireplace was used the wooden disc may also have had a layer of firebrick serving as insulation between the stove and the wooden floor.

The fireplaces on the upper floor were of a more familiar type. These had masonry fireboxs that either had their own brick stacks serving as chimney flues or were connected to such brick chimneys in the attic area by means of a metal pipe. The faces of these fireplaces, however, unlike most American fireplaces, were covered with brass and/or wrought iron doors. Brick hearth areas in front of the fireplaces may have extended into the rooms. One of these fireplaces (probably in the bishop's living room) may have been constructed such that a low masonry bench extended into the room on which there was space for sitting. Such a heated "sitting stove" is mentioned in one document.[12]

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12. Church Records.

THE HISTORICAL PLAN OF THE BISHOP'S HOUSE

The Lower Floor

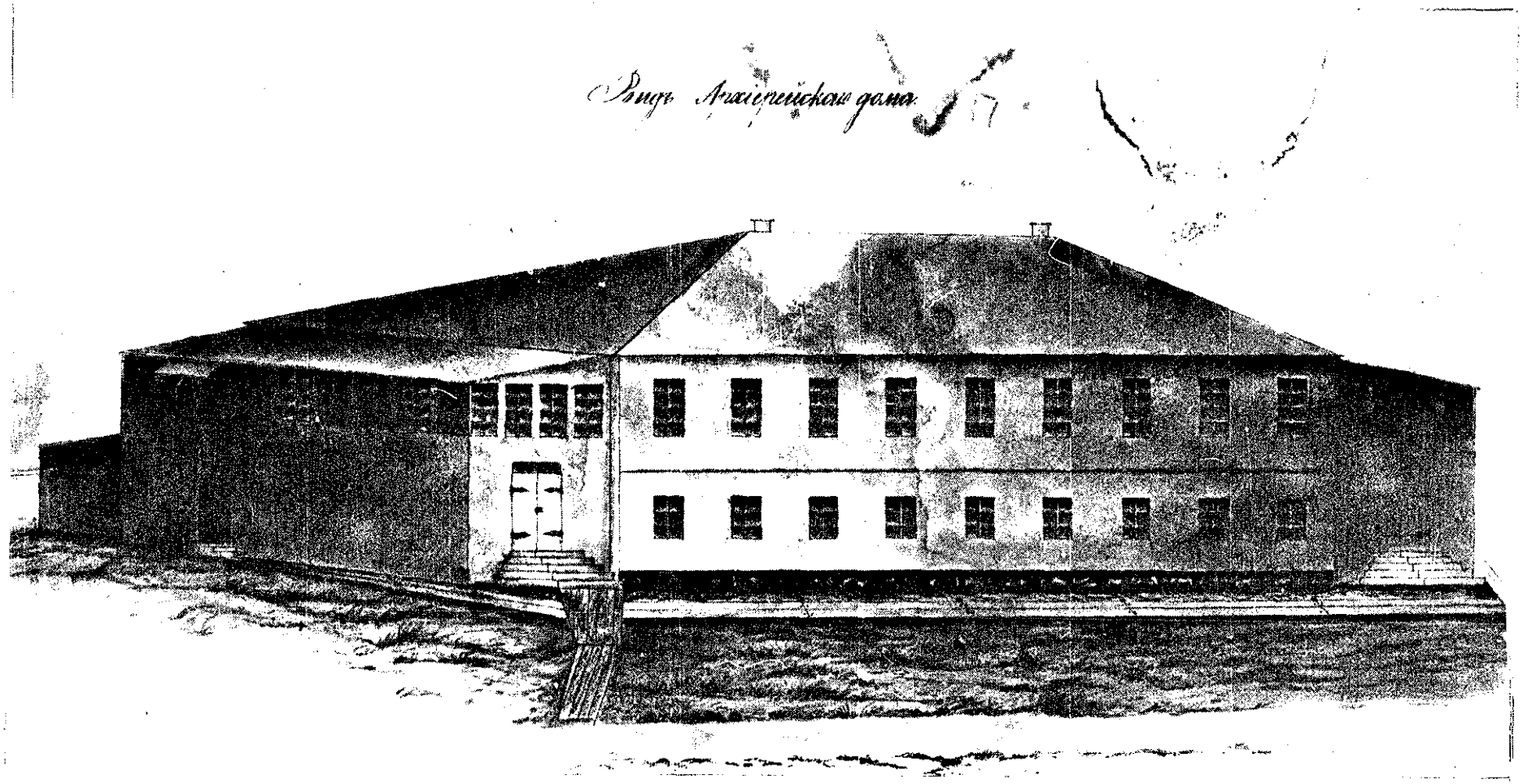
The lower floor in the main part of the house (i.e., excluding the galleries on the east and west sides of the house) continued 15 rooms. These rooms were used for priests' housing, seminary classrooms, offices of the consistory of the North American bishopric, and the kitchen and other spaces necessary for the running of the house itself. The following description of the rooms refers to the numbering system of the original plans reproduced in succeeding pages of this report. The larger room marked 1 on the historic plan measured 20 feet by 13 feet 2 inches. It was the living quarters of the resident priest of the church in Sitka (who is not to be confused with the bishop). The plan indicates a closed-entry vestibule into his room that measured ca. 2½ by 5 feet. Two windows in this room looked out toward the front of the residence and Sitka Bay. These and all others in the building were double-framed insulating windows of a type common to Russian and north European construction methods. The smaller room marked 1 (probably for storage) shows very thin (perhaps temporary) partition walls.

The three rooms marked 2 on the historic floor plan were used for the North American consistory, or the church headquarters so to speak. These were located on the northwest corner of the building on the back (north) side, and had four double-glazed windows facing north, or inland. The two larger rooms so marked were probably the main offices of the consistory, one undoubtely occupied by the bishop of North America, who in the historic period of restoration was the famous Bishop Innocent. These rooms measured ca. 13 by 15 feet, and 13 by 20 feet, respectively. The corner room contained a separate archive (3 on the plan), reducing

its total size accordingly (ca. 4 by 5 feet); and the interior room of the consistory contained the watchman's small quarters (9 on the floor plan), reducing its size by ca. 6 by 8 feet. Serving as an entry to the consistorial rooms was a hallway (ca. 5 by 13 feet) leading from the west gallery. Though not clearly marked on the historic plan, a passage between the two main rooms seems to be indicated ca. 2 feet from the north wall.

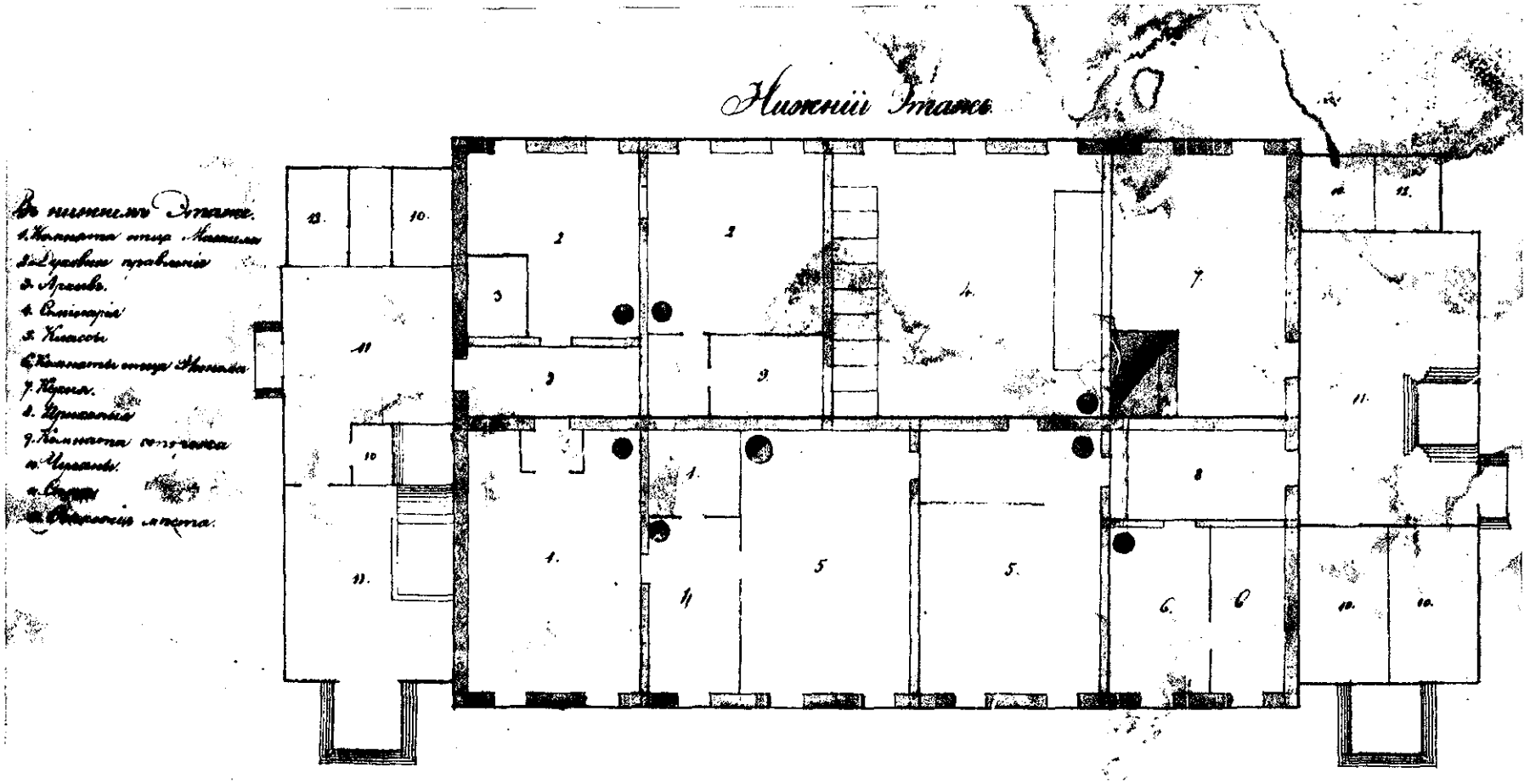
Room 3, the archive (record room, library), probably was used for the official correspondence between Sitka and Saint Petersburg. As noted above, it was ca. 4 by 5 feet, with no windows to the outside, since a side gallery was outside this wall. The plan indicates that the partition walls for the archive were thinner than for other interior rooms.

The two rooms marked 4 were used as the instruction and probably the sleeping rooms for the seminarians who were recruited from the local population of "creoles," as the Russians called those who had Russian fathers and native mothers. The smaller of the rooms, measuring ca. 6½ by 3 feet, was probably used for storage. The larger, ca. 20 by 20 feet, was a classroom by day and, since a dozen or more seminarians lived in the house, a sleeping room by night. The areas marked off on the east and west walls of the room in the plan may indicate built-in storage space for the students. One might assume that they indicate sleeping cots, even though the scale drawings for these would be wrong in the generally accurate draftsmanship of the plan. However, since there are occasional lapses in the accuracy of the draftsmanship, such as in the representation of the west gallery stairs, or in the exterior steps leading to that gallery, it is possible that these symbols do indicate built-in sleeping cots. Three windows, double-sash like all the others in the building, faced to the north from this room.



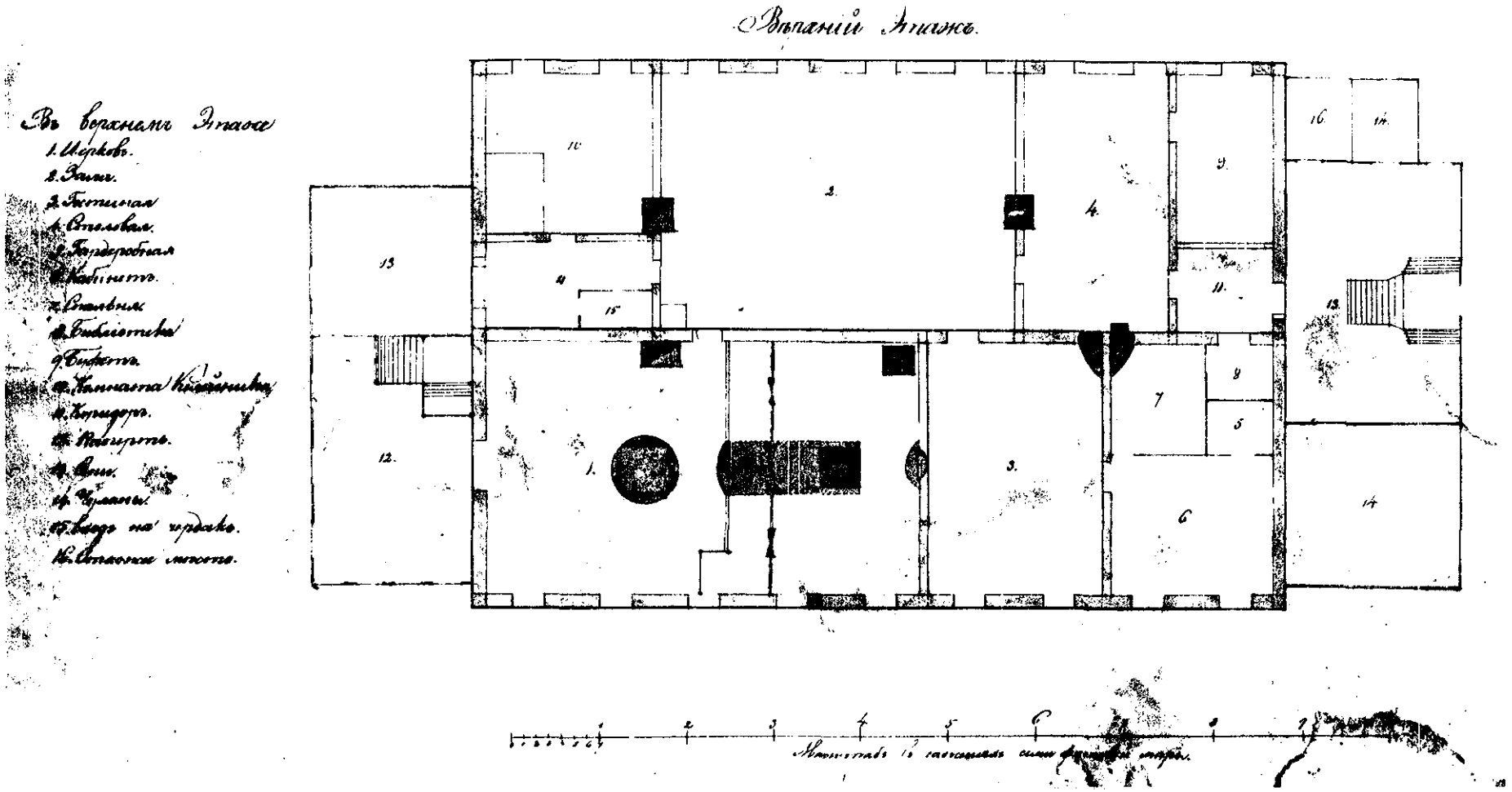
View of the Bishop's House

Lower Floor



1. Room of Father Michael
2. Consitory
3. Archive
4. Seminary
5. Classrooms
6. Rooms of steward
7. Kitchen
8. Entrance
9. Watchman's room
10. Storage rooms
11. Passage
12. Latrines

Upper Floor



1. Chapel
2. Reception room
3. Guest room
4. Dining room
5. Cloak room
6. Study (room)
7. Sleeping room
8. Library
9. Pantry
10. Layman's room
11. Corridor
12. Narthex (church-porch)
13. Passage
14. Storage rooms
15. Entrance to garret
16. Latrine

The two classrooms (5 on the historic plan) were joined by a passageway which was ca. 2 feet in from the center wall; each room measured ca. 13½ by 20 feet. These classrooms were used by the creole seminary students. Each had two windows facing the front of the building. In the classroom to the east, a thinner partition wall is indicated on the plan. This started ca. 6 feet in from the north wall of the room and extended into the room ca. 10 feet.

The rooms marked 6 on the plan were designated for the priest who managed the building, the "father steward." The west room measured ca. 13 feet 6 inches by 7 feet. It had one window facing the front and a passageway into the entry hall of the building (8 on the plan). The other room belonging to the steward was approximately 13 feet 6 inches by 6½ feet. It was divided from the other room by a thin partition wall with a passageway between the two rooms approximately 4 feet from the outside (south) wall. The window in this room faced south.

The room marked 7 on the plan was the kitchen. This measured ca. 13½ by 20 feet. Two windows faced to the back (north) of the building. Entry to the kitchen was from the passageway in the east gallery.

Number 8 was an entry hall, ca. 13 feet 6 inches by 6½ feet. This entry was probably used normally by the servants and pupils. The entry hall from the opposite gallery (west) was probably used more by the bishop, higher clergy, and official visitors, since it was closer to the consistory offices and marked (2) as belonging to them.

Room 9 on the plan was a small area reserved for the house watchman. It was ca. 6 by 8 feet and was divided from the consistory apparently by thin partition walls. The passage from

this room led into another small area divided from the consistory by a thin partition with an entry into the consistory. This latter area is unmarked on the plan. It may have served as storage for the consistory.

The four rooms marked 10 were located in the side galleries of the building, three in the east side and one in the west. The two on the south end of the east gallery were each ca. 13 feet 5 inches by 6 feet in size. No windows are shown. Entry to each room was from the interior entry hall of the gallery. Although the elevation view in the original plans shows exterior doors to these rooms on the south side, the floor plan does not show them. And a photograph from ca. 1885 does not show a doorway there at that time. But an 1867 photograph, though indistinct, does seem to indicate an entry here as the plan shows. Apparently the entry was built and then boarded up later for some unknown reason. At the opposite end of the east gallery was another storage room, ca. 4½ by 5 feet in size. Passage was into the entry hall of the gallery. No window is shown. The last storage room on the ground floor was at the north end of the west gallery. It measured ca. 7½ by 4 feet in size. Entry was from the back (north) of the building, outside. This room and the adjoining toilet (12) were both served by a central passageway running the length of the rooms and ca. 2½ feet wide. Rooms 10 and 12 at the north end of this gallery were covered by a slope roof, so that this portion of the building alone was one story, as indicated by the historic elevation drawing of the bishop's house. No windows were built in this storage room.

Those areas marked 11 in the plan are designated as passageways and are located in the east and west galleries. In the east gallery, this passage area measured 13 feet 5 inches by 22 feet 5 inches. Passages to the kitchen and the entry hall and also to the three

storage rooms and toilet led off from this area. On the east (outside) wall in this gallery a landing area with steps is indicated. This stairwell was roughly 6 feet square. Four or five steps (the drawing is not clear) on both the north and south sides led to a landing from which the remaining stairs ran westward to the second floor. In the west gallery the area marked 11 measured ca. 13 by 31½ feet. Passages to the exterior from this area were on the south (double doors) and west (single door) sides of the building. The area was also divided by a partition wall in the middle, running east-west, with a passage ca. 2 feet from the west wall. This area also contained a stairway to the second floor. One step led to a landing, ca. 4 by 5 feet, then five or six more steps going north led to another landing, ca. 4 by 4 feet, then the remaining steps to the second floor went up in a westerly direction. Under this stairway's upper portion was a small storage room (ca. 3 by 4 feet) with a doorway.

The two areas on the lower floor marked 12 were latrines. In the east gallery, at the northeast corner, the latrine measured ca. 5 by 6 feet, with entry from the central passage area. No windows are indicated here. In the west gallery, on the northwest corner, the latrine measured ca. 7½ by 4½ feet. Entry was from an exterior passage which led to a door on the north (back) of the building. This latrine, the adjoining passageway, and storage area on the north end of this gallery were only one story, being covered by a roof sloping away from the gallery to the north. None of the available documentation indicates what kind of latrine was used on the lower floor. Presumably, the latrines were constructed as "outhouses" over a pit in the ground.

The original plan shows four outside entrances to the building. Two were located in each gallery, one on the side (east and west, respectively) and one on the facade (south side). The south

entrance in the west gallery served as the main entrance. This had double doors leading out to a wooden landing, ca. 6 by 6 feet, then down five wooden or log steps to a boardwalk. Above it was a window with five glass panes. Also in this gallery in the west side, ca. 5 feet from the back wall, was a smaller, single-door entrance; above it was a glass window with three panes. This led out to a wooden landing, ca. 3 by 5 feet, with three wooden or log steps leading to a boardwalk. An awning-like covering was over this entrance at the second-story roof line, from which hung three bells. At the opposite end of the facade, in the east gallery, another entrance is shown in the plan like the one in the west gallery's facade. As pointed out above, however, it is conjectural whether this was ever actually built, and if so, how long it existed. As noted, the 1867 photograph (though unclear) does not seem to show any opening in the wall of this gallery. On the east side of the east gallery an entry is shown of the same size as the corresponding one in the west gallery, although in this case just past the midpoint, ca. 14 feet from the front of the building. Since the original elevation-view of the building does not show the east face of this eastern gallery, one can only assume that the general appearance of the doorway, door, landing, and steps was the same as its counterpart in the west gallery; for instance one can assume that there were windows above the doorway as there were in the west gallery.

Two stairways, one in each gallery, led to the second floor. In the east gallery, on the outside wall, two sets of steps--from the north and south of a midpoint in the passage area of the gallery--ran up to a landing, apparently halfway to the second story. From this landing, one set of steps running north led the rest of the way to the upper story.

In the west gallery the stairway was located on the interior wall. The plan shows that one step led to a landing, ca. 5 by 6 feet. From this landing on the interior (east) wall, steps led northward up to another landing, ca. 5 by 5 feet, from which the last steps led westward up to the second story.

The Upper Floor

The upper floor belonged primarily to the bishop--his private chapel and living and eating quarters.

The room marked 1 was the domestic chapel of the bishop. The room measured ca. 34 by 20 feet. The room was divided ca. 11 feet from the east wall by a special partition. This wall, the iconostasis, or screen, is an integral part of the Greek Orthodox church plan. It had four doors, one each on the right and left and double doors in the middle, leading to the high altar in the eastern portion of the chapel. The entrance to the chapel was at the western end, off the gallery, a portion of which served as the church parvis (porch, entry hall). Another doorway on the north wall, just west of the iconostasis, led to the parlor (2). Five windows, all ca. 2½ by 6 feet, faced onto the front (south) side of the building.

Room 2 on the second floor was the bishop's parlor (living room). This spacious room measured ca. 28 by 20 feet. Four windows, 2½ by 6 feet, looked out on the back of the building. Four doorways were in the room. One on the west wall in the southwest corner led onto a passageway to the west gallery. A second, on the south wall of the southeast corner, led to the guest room (3) in the south half of the building. A third doorway, in the northeast corner of the room but on the east wall, led to the dining room, which was the room east of the parlor. A fourth door led to the chapel.

Room 3, the guest room, measured ca. 20 by 13½ feet. Two windows in this room (2½ by 6 feet) looked onto the front of the building and Sitka Bay. One entry in this room, on the north wall in the northwest corner, led to the parlor, as described above. Another door in the middle of the east wall led to the bishop's study.

The dining room (4) measured ca. 11½ by 20 feet. Two windows (2½ by 6 feet) faced the north. Three doorways were in this room: one on the west wall to the parlor; one on the east wall to the pantry, which was in the northeast corner of the building; and another on the east wall, in the southeast corner, to a passageway to the east gallery.

Room 5 was a closet, ca. 4 by 5 feet. No windows were in this room. The doorway to the closet, in the center of the south wall, was from the bishop's study (6).

The bishop's study (6) was located in the southeast corner of the main building. It measured ca. 12½ by 11 feet. Two windows (2½ by 6 feet) faced the front of the building. Three doors in this room entered the guest room to the west and the closet to the east (described above); the third door, in the northwest corner of the room on the north wall, led to a bedroom (7).

This bedroom (7), the only room marked as such, measured ca. 8½ by 7½ feet. Being an internal room with no exterior walls, there were no windows located in this room. Doorways led to the bishop's study on the south wall and to the small library room to the east (8).

The library, (8) was the same size as the closet it abutted on the south, ca. 4 by 5 feet. No windows were in this room. Besides the doorway on the west wall to the bedroom, another doorway on

its north wall (center wall of the house) led to a passageway to the east gallery.

Room 9 was the pantry, or buffet. Located in the northeast corner of the main core of the building, this pantry had one window facing north. Like all others in the second story of the main building, this window measured 2½ by 6 feet. One entry to the pantry, on the west wall, led to the dining room.

Room 10 was designated for the lay brother(s). Situated in the northwest corner of the building, it measured roughly 13 feet square. Two windows faced north. One entry to this room was in the center of the south wall and led to the passageway to the west gallery. In the southwest corner of this room a smaller area was partitioned off. It measured ca. 8 by 4 feet and had a passageway on its east wall. Its use is not labelled on the original plan. Perhaps it was for storage.

The two separate areas marked 11 were used as corridors. They were at the east and west ends of the building, on the north side of the center wall. They were the main entries from the side gallery stairs and passageways to the core of the building. On the east side, the corridor measured ca. 6½ by 7½ feet, had no windows, and had doorways to the library, dining room, and the east gallery. In the west end of the building, the corridor extended 13 feet eastward from the west gallery wall; at a distance of 7½ feet from this wall it narrowed from ca. 7 feet to 4 feet wide to accommodate the passage to the garret. This corridor had four doorways leading to the layman's room, the parlor, the garret passage, and the west gallery. No windows were in this corridor.

Room 12 was the narthex (entry-hall, porch) of the chapel. It measured ca. 12½ by 19 feet, less the space for the stairwell in the

northeast corner of the parvis. Two windows are indicated on the plan for the west wall of the west gallery, one ca. 2 feet from the south corner of the gallery and the other ca. 3 feet from the partition wall in the north end. The width of the windows appears to be ca. 3 feet; the height is not indicated on the plan, but the earliest known photograph (ca. 1885) indicates that these windows in the west gallery were approximately 5 feet high. These were apparently fixed, nonopening windows. Four more windows in the parvis faced the front (south) of the building. These were narrower than the others, ca. 1 foot wide and 3 feet high according to later photographic evidence. Three exits led from this room: one down the stairway; the second through the north wall into the passage area of the west gallery (13); and the third from ca. 3 feet south of the stairwell, the entrance into the chapel. This doorway was wide, ca. 5 feet, and probably was hung with double doors of fine workmanship, befitting the entry to the bishop's domestic chapel.

Rooms marked 13 were passages in the north end of the west gallery and the central portion of the east gallery. In the west gallery, this area measured 12 by 12½ feet. One window faced west and, like its counterparts in this gallery, was probably nonopening and measured ca. 3 feet wide and 5 feet high. Exits from this room were in the south wall to the church parvis and in the east wall to the corridor leading to the parlor. In the east gallery, the passageway measured ca. 20 by 14 feet, including the stairwell on the east wall. No windows are shown here. However, a presumably nonopening window, about 3 by 3 feet, is shown in photographs of the stairway landing. Doorways from this area led to the corridor (11) in the main part of the house, storage areas (14) to the north and south, the latrine (16) on the north, and the stairway.

There were two storage rooms (14) in the east gallery. The larger, at the south end, measured ca. 13½ by 14 feet. There were no windows in this room; one exit led to the passageway. The smaller storage room, ca. 5 by 6 feet, was at the north end of this gallery. It had no windows and was entered from the central passageway.

The small (ca. 3 by 5½ feet) area marked 15 housed an entry to the attic. A permanently attached ladder on one of the walls probably served as the stairway.

The latrine (16) measured ca. 5 by 6 feet, was entered from the main passageway of the east gallery, and had no windows. Plumbing was neither indicated in the building plan nor likely at this time and place; hence the technology of this latrine probably relied on a device similar to the chamber pot.

POST-1844 DOCUMENTATION AND LATER STRUCTURAL CHANGES

Later descriptions and official documentation by the resident priests of the mission give more information on the completion of the structure as originally planned and also on structural repairs and changes in later years.

1849

In the fall of 1849 the side galleries were roofed with sheet iron. This was called for in the original plan. A question arises as to the roofing material used up to this time, i.e., for the first six years of the building's existence. This was perhaps a grooved, lapped wooden sheathing of the type used at Fort Ross. In any

event, the materials list of November 15, 1849, calls for ca. 1,200 pounds of sheet iron to cover ca. 900 square feet of roof area. (This is ca. 22 or 24 gauge in modern terms.) Four gallons of drying oil were used in the preparation. The sheet iron was nailed down with copper nails (6 pounds). The roof was painted red (30 pounds of red ochre used in the mix).

1851

The side galleries were not the only portions of the house for which the final roofing was postponed from the initial construction period in 1843. In April 1851, one and a half years after the side galleries were roofed, Innocent's successors in Sitka requested funds for the permanent metal roofing on the main building. Moreover, other major repairs were required due to the presence of moisture in the house. Like the side galleries, the main building had apparently been temporarily roofed with boards or even with roofing paper. At least some roofing paper had been used for repairs in 1847.

At the close of his tenure in Sitka, Bishop Innocent wrote to the cathedral priest, Litvintsiev, summarizing the structural needs of the house:

> Above all it is necessary to cover the roof, then dismantle all the stoves except in the church; remove the siding on the south wall [i.e., the facade]; remove the jambs from the doors and the windows so that the house will contract; then inspect the floors; rearrange or change the division of the rooms below [i.e., on the first floor]; assemble the stoves; cover the house again with siding; repair or replace the wallpaper; and paint the floors.

> Without a doubt, there is no possibility of doing all this without a good number of workers, and for this reason the upper floor can stay as it is. . . . The consistory can be moved upstairs; for it two windows can be partitioned off from the living room; downstairs there will remain a small area for the archbishop in the kitchen and the pantry, and otherwise all [rooms] are for the quarters of the church clergy and employees, so that there is no sleeping room near the altar and so that the entrances to my rooms will be separated, where possible, from the priests.[13]

This work on the house commenced in April 1851 and was finished, presumably, in the summer of that year. The total cost of the repairs, some 5,400 rubles (one-fifth the original cost of the house) indicates that the repairs were quite extensive.

The final materials list for these repairs indicates that the original siding was completely replaced on all four sides of the building (5,259 square feet of siding, more than enough for all exterior surfaces).

The partitioning of the living room in order to accommodate the consistory office was temporary. As soon as the repairs were done, the consistory presumably was moved again to its rooms downstairs, since no permanent architectural traces of the area remain upstairs in the living room.

The materials list also shows that the repairs required the use of some 400 pounds of "Kolosh clay." This clay was probably used for the caulking (chinking) of the exposed logs after the siding had been removed.

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13. Church Records.

Either the "17 lbs. of wax" or the "1/2 b [barrel?] of resin" listed among the materials used, or both, might have been used with the 42 "quires of wrapping paper" as an underlayment for the metal roofing.

(See the Appendix for the complete materials list for the 1851 repairs.)

1867

Sometime after 1867 a small porch was made over the roof of the main entry (west) landing on the facade of the building. A door was cut through the gallery, and a bannister railing was constructed on the shed roof over the main door. This feature appears on an 1885 photograph but is not evident in the earliest known (1867) photograph of the building. This porch disappeared with the rest of the gallery in 1887.

1887

In 1887, the most extensive structural revision that the house experienced was undertaken by the church authorities. The original side galleries were demolished, and new ones of different dimensions erected in their place.

Planning for the construction started early in 1886. In those days of slow communication, months went by waiting for approval for the project from the Saint Petersburg synod. In October 1886 the synod in Russia speeded things up by wiring Saint Petersburg's approval of the funds for the changes in the mission. Wetchtomoff

in San Francisco received the wire: "Repair cathedral house instantly . . . go yourself Sitka November."[14]

The church warden, Kostrometinov, had already let bids before Wetchtomoff arrived, and Bishop Wetchtomoff in San Francisco helped to sign a contract with a Mr. Prout, who had submitted a low bid of $2,621.50 for the combined work on the mission house and the former cathedral church. But by the time Wetchtomoff arrived in Sitka from San Francisco in November 1886, Mr. Prout was no longer in town. Thus another bidder, Peter Callsen, received the contract for $3,200 "in gold coin." (Two other bids came in at ca. $4,500.)

As stated, the main project to be accomplished was the construction of new side galleries on the mission building. Other major repairs included removing the sheet iron roof, replacing it with cedar shingles, and replacing some of the decayed logs of the foundation with new ones "of sufficient thickness." The following is the final contract of December 28, 1886, outlining the repairs "to be completed on or before the 30th of May, 1887":

Repairs[15]

In and on the Bishop's House and Cathedral Church of Sitka Alaska.

The Bishop's House requires:

1), The iron roof to be taken off and replaced by a shingle roof.

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14. Church Records.

15. Church Records.

2), The decayed logs in the foundation of the building removed, and new ones of sufficient thickness placed in their stead.

3), The additional buildings on both sides of the house taken down, and in their stead place new ones erected on both sides of the house, corresponding to the width of the building, according to the plan and drawing.

4), The windows in all the house repaired. The decayed window frames and also the missing winter frames of the windows replaced by new ones with glasses.

5), The weather-boarding of the facade of the house removed, and the house weather-boarded on all sides with new boards.

6), Tin eave-troughs fastened to the roof and from which six water pipes are to lead downwards. A ditch dug around the house not less than three feet deep and four and a half feet wide with its outlet on the beach. The whole of the ditch covered with a pavement of boards that will serve as a path.

7), The door leading to the church (chapel) of the house, and also a door in one of the kitchens entirely closed up with timber, and in their stead new ones made in the same walls, but different places. In the rear of the house two water-closets built; each closet having two apartments. A reservoir or basin underneath the seat.

8), The ceilings, doors, walls, fire-places and floors of the house, where necessary, to be repaired. In one of the kitchens a new floor made, and in place of the destroyed furnace in this kitchen a brick chimney built for an iron stove.

9), The canvas on the ceilings and walls of this house cleaned, and in places, if necessary, replaced by new canvas.

10), The exterior of the house and roof, the floors of the upper story, and all the windows, sashes, and doors of the whole house painted in two coats of oil-paint.

Peter Callsen finished the work on May 20, 1887, slightly ahead of the deadline of May 30th. The final report on the work actually done, prepared by the clerical staff in October of that year, noted that the work was done "satisfactorily." Part of article No. 6 of the original contract, i.e., the digging and covering of a drainage ditch around the building, was left out of the final work agreement. Once into the repair work, "Master" Callsen found extra work which could not be anticipated, and the final report shows that he was paid extra for these jobs. He replaced rotted timbers in the front wall; and on the lower floor he removed a wall "for the housing of the schoolroom" (5 on the original plan). Presumably this wall was the westernmost of the two classrooms shown in the original plan, since the other walls still exist today (aside from the short partition wall extending into the eastern classroom, which has also been removed).

Otherwise the work called for in the contract was completed as planned. The following construction notes might be mentioned:

The contract called for six downspouts to be installed on the roof; only four were installed.

The contract called for "water closets" to be built in the back of the building; the final report only mentions two latrines, each with two compartments, with pits dug under them. Whether a gravity-feed flushing device was used cannot be determined from the documents.

In the new side galleries (i.e., the present ones), the builder Callsen lined the walls with siding and then with a coarse cotton batting, probably for warmth.

The (west) entrance to the chapel was boarded up and a new (the present) one opened up in the north wall. This change raises an interesting, if minor, architectural point. The traditional architectural division of the Russian Orthodox church is tripartite: The sanctuary (with the altar) is in the eastern end; the central area is for the congregation and is divided from the sanctuary by the screen (iconostasis) hung with holy pictures (icons); and the third area is the entry hall (narthex). These three areas are normally on an east-west axis. In the case of the chapel in the Russian mission, tradition apparently bowed to convenience. For when the side galleries were changed in 1887, and the original double doors to the congregation area boarded up, this traditional west entry into the church was moved to a northern wall. Perhaps this entry was changed to prevent heat loss through the side gallery, to avoid drafts, etc. In any event, the change was ordered by the priests themselves, who were not thereby offended by this major violation of tradition.

At the same time that this new entry was cut into the chapel, the other door into it on the north wall from the bishop's living room was closed up.

The two new exterior stairways leading into the building had awning-type covers.

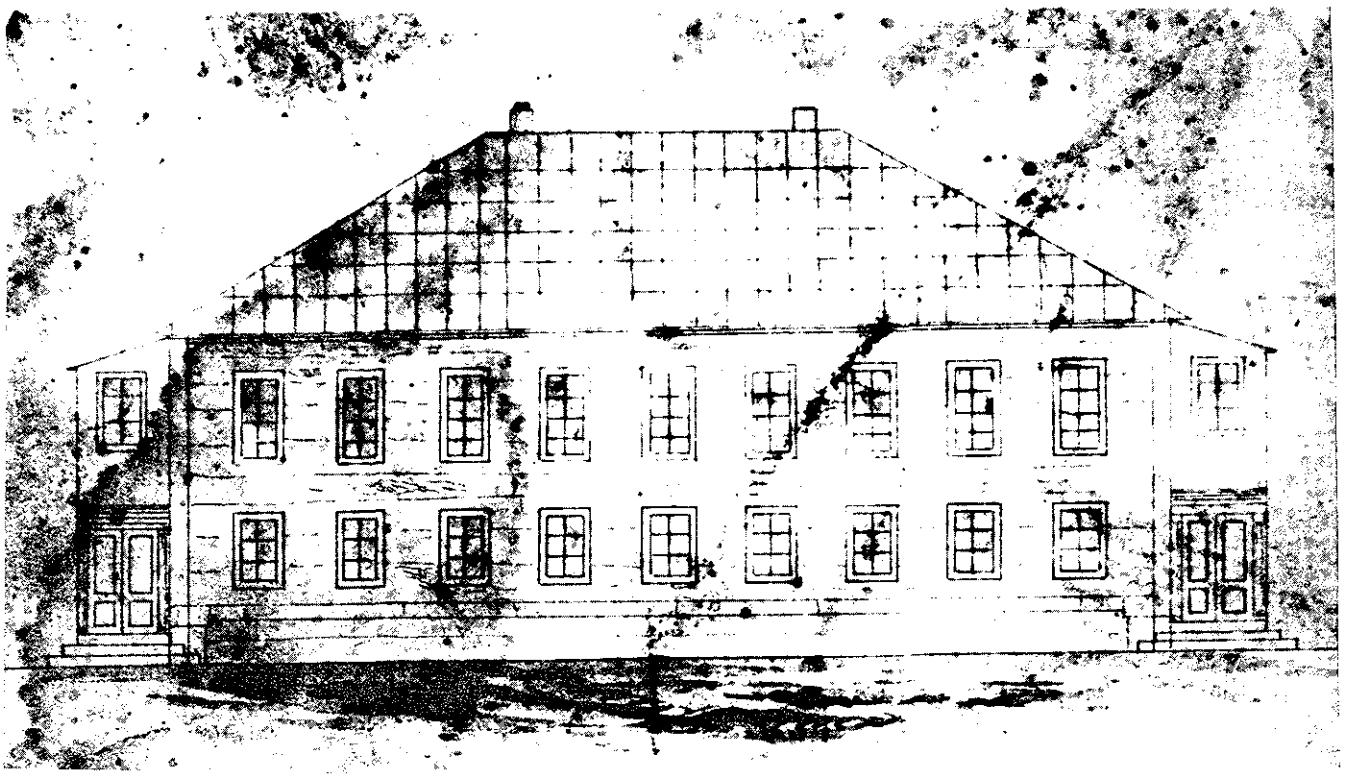
The new side galleries had seven stoves. The addition of these stoves (probably iron lined with brick, like the original stoves in the lower floor) adds weight to the theory about the

change in the doorway to the chapel, discussed above. The side galleries originally had no heat and took too much away from the main part of the building. Hence the change in the chapel entry position to an interior room; and also the addition of heating devices in the new side galleries.

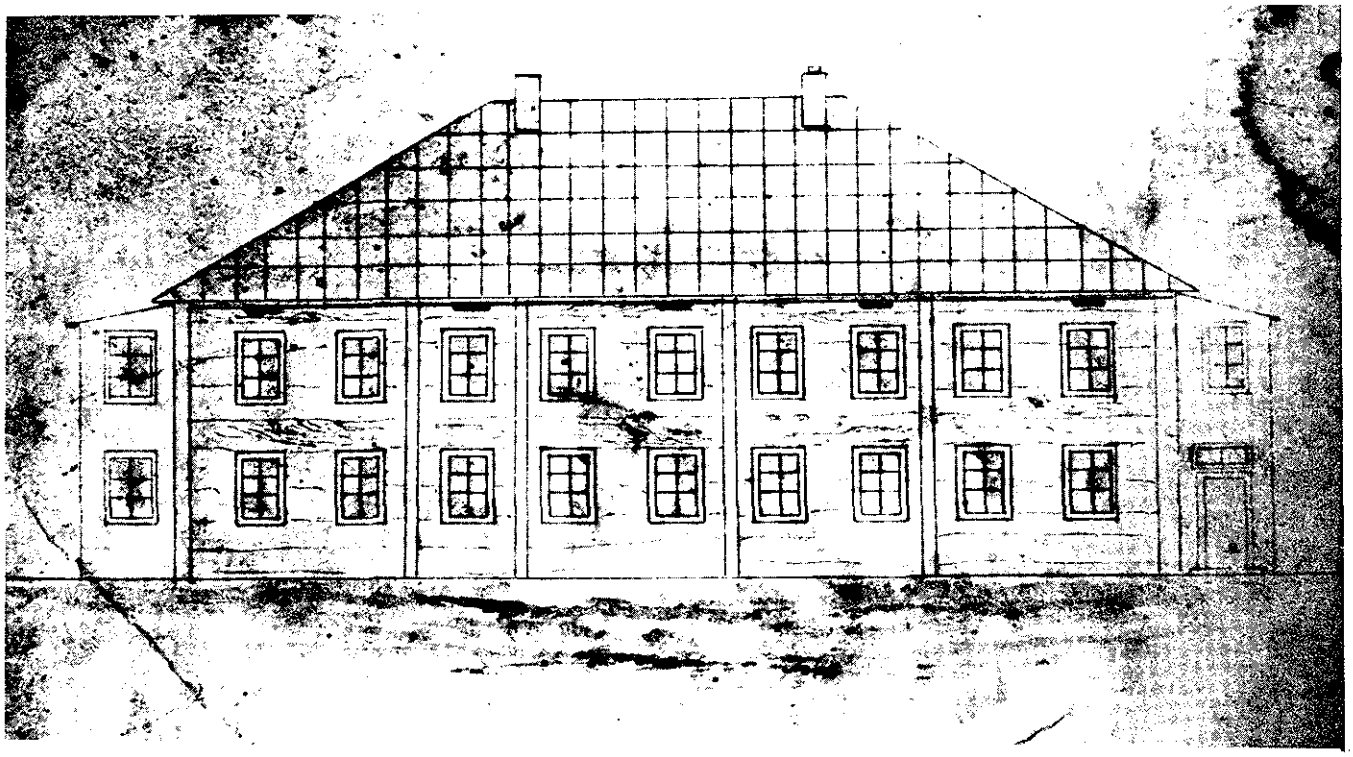
In summary, the "1887 repairs" reduced the width of the side galleries from 13½ to 6 feet. The original stairway plan in each end was totally changed. In the west end the stairway was 5 feet wide and completely filled the width of the gallery. It ran upward toward the back (north) of the building, starting ca. 9 feet in from the front of the building and ending ca. 19 feet from the facade on the second floor. The remaining 23 feet of the second floor of this gallery was divided in the middle by a partition wall with a door. Toward the front, the original opening into the main part of the house (11 on the historic plan) was still used; in addition, a new opening ca. 5½ feet wide was cut through the main house wall into the back room of the new gallery. The present outside entries in the south and west walls were probably original in the 1887 construction.

On the lower floor of this new west gallery, storage rooms were built. In the back (north) end, the new latrines may have been built with an internal entrance; however, they may have been built as outhouses. The documentation is unclear on this point.

In the new east gallery (which had the same dimensions as the new west gallery), a narrower "service" stairway was built in the back of the building. This stairway started ca. 3 feet from the back wall and ran upward to the south (front) of the building for a run of 7½ feet. This stairway was only ca. 2½ feet wide. A door closed the stairwell at the top. The original entries into the main building were retained. The upper floor of this gallery was divided



FRONT ELEVATION



REAR ELEVATION

by a partition wall in the middle with a doorway. The lower floor was divided into four compartments. Probably all were used as storage space. The present outside entry in the east wall of this east gallery was probably original in the 1887 construction. (Architectural investigation can determine the original location of this detail.) But the present door in the back of this gallery was probably not part of the 1887 construction. A front and rear elevation view of the building found in the Sitka National Historical Park files, although unidentified, seems to be one prepared for the 1887 alterations. (See reproduction of these elevations.) This rear elevation shows no entry in the back wall of the east gallery, while the present back entry in the west gallery is shown.

The front and rear elevations mentioned above, together with photgraphic evidence, indicate 11 or 12 windows in the two new side galleries. The opening windows were double-hung; the others were not. In the east gallery, the elevation plans and photographic evidence show one double-hung window over the front entrance; three (double-hung?) windows on the east side, one on the ground level and two on the second story; and two (double-hung?) windows in the rear, one on each floor. In the west gallery, the elevation plans indicate one window above the entry on the facade and one above the entry in the back; photographic evidence from the early 20th century indicates one window on the upper floor above the entrance and two windows on either side of the west entry.

Post 1887

A small, one-story frame addition on the east gallery appears on certain photographs and a street plan in a time span after 1897 and up to 1927. This measured ca. 12 feet wide by 10 feet deep from the front line of the building. It had a gable roof with wooden

shingles and two double-hung windows on the front (south) side. Its function is not known from the documents.

Tons of sand and gravel fell in from the ceiling of Father Donskoy's bedroom on the second floor of the mission house on March 24, 1890. Had the priest Donskoy, his wife, and child been in the apartment at that time, it could have meant instant death for any or all of them (they were on the first floor when they heard the ceiling crash in). Moisture had apparently added to the weight of the ceiling sand, which was used by the Russians for insulation between the joists; the wet sand rotted the ceiling timbers, allowing the sand to crash down. A similar thing happened at the U.S. Customs House (former Russian barracks) in February of that year when some 20 tons of sand crashed down on the judge's chambers, which were fortunately empty at the time.[16]

In April 1903 three bids were received for reshingling the roof with "cedar shingles and galvanized nails" and for shoring up the sagging roof. The bids ranged from $330 to $425. However, no evidence exists that the contract was ever let or the job ever done at this time.

A note on the 20th century: No major structural or architectural changes took place in this century. A doorway was cut into the main part of the building on the west end of the facade, right next to the west gallery entrance, with its own canopy and landing. The one-story addition on the east end of the building was removed sometime after 1927. Plumbing (water service, drains, flushing toilets) was added sometime in the 1930s, when apartments were

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16. The Alaskan (Sitka), 29 March 1890, p. 3, and 15 February 1890, p. 2.

built into the lower floor of the building. Electrical service may have been added at this time also. Presumably, the roof was replaced once in the early part of this century. This is especially probable if the reroofing in 1903 for which bids are documentable was never carried out at that time.

Conclusion

Russian wooden architecture offers a rich resource to the historian of architectural styles. The use of wood for construction extends far back into Russian history. Its development over the centuries has resulted in unique architectural designs and highly developed refinement in artistic detail. These developments have occurred in rural areas as well as in urban. Indeed, in recent centuries Russian wooden architecture, as opposed to masonry, has been primarily a rural development.

The Russian mission in Sitka, if it is to be categorized as to generic type, belongs to the category of rural Russian wooden architecture. But it does not exhibit many of those architectural features that made this architecture distinctive and artistically outstanding. Architectural investigation in the heavy log walls of the building has revealed the typically fine jointry, mortised logs, etc., of Russian wooden architecture. Also typical are the double windows for greater insulation; the small ventilation window (the fortochka); stairways enclosed in outside galleries; a floor plan in which the "finer" rooms are located on the second floor and the servant's quarters, kitchen, storage rooms, etc., are on the first floor. And the documents on the building describe the doors on the second story as being "of fine workmanship."

But there are enough distinctive touches characteristic of Russian wooden architecture that are missing in the bishop's house to prevent its being considered a fine example of its type. Its builder's primary interest was to construct a functional building--a warm, dry place for the bishop and the church clergy. While the interior exhibited some fine workmanship, especially on the second floor in the chapel and the bishop's quarters, the exterior of the building was built plainly. There was no ornate roofline (ogee-shaped gable end, for instance); no flared exterior wall or decorated bargeboard; no decorative animal's head at the end of the ridge beam or "towel and tassle" cover piece for the joints in the bargeboard. The windows, often ornately decorated elsewhere, were plain and functional in the bishop's house, as were the chimneys, which elsewhere were often used to display ornate wooden carving.

Hence, just as the activity for which the building was designed remained peripheral to the main activities of the Russians in Alaska, the structure itself, as an architectural example, remains outside the limits of significant Russian wooden architecture.[17]

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17. For summary discussions of Russian wooden architecture see Arthur Voyce, "National Elements in Russian Architecture," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 16(May 1957):2; M. L. Rzianin "Russkoe Dereviannoe Zodchestov," Russkaia Arkhitektura (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk, 1947); S. Zabello, V. Lvanov, and P. Maksimov, Russkoe Dereviannoe Zodchestov (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk, 1947), pp. 13-35.

A NOTE ON THE GROUNDS OF THE BISHOP'S HOUSE

The bishop's house has always been surrounded by a fairly large piece of ground. Distinct boundary lines were not drawn until 1867, at the time of the purchase of Alaska. These boundary lines were reduced subsequently, so that by the time of the purchase of the land by the federal government in 1974, the total amount of ground including the house site equalled 0.49 acre of land.

The earliest representation of the size of the lot attached to the bishop's house is a map of Sitka drawn in 1845. This map shows a yard area in front of the house just the width of the house (ca. 63 feet) but offset to the east ca. 10 feet. The depth of this yard area (i.e., north-south) was ca. 28 feet.

The 1867 transfer map gives the first legal meets and bounds of the lot. This description reveals an irregularly shaped lot around the house. The west and north sides are barely enclosed by a line some 5 feet off the house wall line. But more area is enclosed to the east and south (front) of the house. To the east side, an area slightly greater than the depth of the house, which was 43 feet, runs eastward ca. 35 feet. The area in front of the house was 45 feet in depth (north-south) and ran from the west wall line of the house eastward ca. 175 feet.

The actual (in contrast to the "legal") garden area in front of the house varied less than the above description might indicate. A historic photograph from 1867 shows a wooden fence around the building. The area thus enclosed was a rectangle in front of the house, measuring ca. 80 feet by 40 feet. This area was the historic garden in front of the house, enclosed by a vertical slab

fence ca. 4 feet high. The original plan shows boardwalks running parallel to the facade of the house and along the side galleries to the side entrances. Another boardwalk ran from the main entrance in the western end of the facade to the gate at the front of the garden.

Originally, in the 1840s, vegetable growing was apparently attempted in the garden. A compost-pile frame "with four glasses" was constructed. How long the priests perservered in this pursuit is not known. Photographs from late in the century, however, do not show the compost pile. Other reports indicate the difficulty of growing foodstuffs and animal feed in the Sitka area.

In front of the building, according to a report from the late 19th century, "two mighty cedars lift their majestic heads, ever whispering their mysterious dreams to each other. They were planted by the same hand which planted the spiritual tree of Orthodoxy in the land--that of Bishop Innocentius."[1]

Garden tools which are mentioned in documents included ten steel spades, one axe, one crow-bar, and one cross-cut saw. Most of these tools indicate that wood-cutting was the main outdoor activity. This stands to reason, since all the stoves were fueled with wood, which was in great abundance in the area. Coal is never mentioned in the documents.[2]

The major repairs to the house in 1887 included building a new picket fence in the front.

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1. Russian Orthodox American Messenger (New York), 1-13 June 1899, p. 298.

2. Church Records.

The original plans from 1843 show one large and several smaller bells hanging over the entrance in the west side of the west gallery. The large bell thus shown may be the same one that was documented later to be hanging there; it came from the Russian steamer Beaver, which plied the American coastal trade routes in the 1890s. At any rate, the bell which hung at the bishop's house was also used to warn of fires in this end of town.[3]

In 1895 the slow encroachment of the seawaters in front of the house was halted when a breakwater was built.[4] And in 1896 the building received a new flagstaff.[5]

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3. The Alaskan, 15 Feb. 1890, p. 3.

4. Ibid., 23 March 1895, p. 3.

5. Ibid., 25, April 1896, p. 2.

APPENDIX A: 1844 INVENTORY[1]

INVENTORY

Of the Annunciation Residence [i.e. Archbishop's House] in the port of Novarchangelsk, or the home of His Emminence Innokentii, Bishop of Kamchatka, the Kuriles and the Aleutians, and Bearer of the Order.

The two-story house on a stone foundation, was built of thick spruce wood, nine sazhens long, [1 sazhen - 7ft.], six wide, will be sheathed with boards [and then] covered with doble spruce boards [siding] with two galleries [each] with 9 windows and two outside stairways, has on the facade 18 windows - in the upper story windows with double frames [i.e. double sash] (of these fourteen are not finished); windows in the lower floor with fourteen shutters; in it one oven, fourteen hearths bordered with bricks, eighteen doors of [fine] woodwork and thirty two doors of [common] woodwork; in the upper story was locateddomestic chapel and five rooms occupied by the apartment of the Bishop; in the lower [floor] are eight rooms occupied by the Consistory, the Ecclesiastical School and by the quarters of the priests of the American churches, the steward of the house of His Emminence, the Arch-Deacon, choir-boys, pupils and servants.

Timbers (Lumber) used in Construction

240	logs for the main walls, beams and door posts
1329	planks and squared beams (30,042 ft.)
80	slabs [probably means rough-cut 1/4-sections of logs for floor]
2000	wooden - ? -

1. Church Records. Box No. 274.

Materials, etc.

10,000	[pcs.] of bricks
1	barrel of tar
2	whetstones
211:18	hawser
38" 29 1/2	various nails
4	cases [boxes] of glass
126	pcs. Ditto
19	glue
3	brads
116	pr. hinges
67	pr. various window-hinges
494	[pcs. of] screws
2	forged iron stove doors
2	brass " "
2	stove ventilators [pipes]
1	damper
3	iron oven doors
30	various locks
15 3/4	wire in spools
1/2	white paint [laquer]
2	crystal handles
3	[glasses]
4 1/2	jute

Various Articles

18Pd 14	roofing iron in rolls
1	(copper-) brass for try-squares
4 pd 13 (sheet?-)	iron in 3 hearths
8 1/4	brass wire in spools

3	(copper-) brass in oven doors
35 3/4	(boiler-) brass in 4 pr. hinges, 2 latches, 4 nails, 1 ball-and-socket hinge, and 1 kettle
6 1/2	brass wire in 1300 spools, 12 coils, and 4 handles
1	bolt - copper in 2 cramp-irons (shackles)
10	sheet copper in 3 funnels with tubes
1/2	iron wire in 12 coils
1 1/2	tin
3/4	ammonium chloride (for solder and glue)
10	flour)

33 Pd 9 iron: in 39 (wire-) brushes, 3 legs and the hearths, fenders (grilles) in the fireplaces, 14 iron bars, 24 hinges, 64 ties (couplings), 91 bolts, 32 cramp-irons (shackles), 5 stove frames, 63 try-squares, 12 tenons, 15 covers, 1 post (stanchion), 13 strap hinges, 4 bolts (door, window), 2 planks [?], 35 pr. of hinges; 1 trivet, 3 pokers, 3 tracks 4 screws, [metal-] bar for the Royal Doors, 4 hinges for the bells, 10 linch-pins, 2 lugs, 18 bolts for the window frames, 5 oven doors, 2 prs. of hinges and 1 ventilator for the cauldron

Paints, etc.

1/2	Prussian blue
1/4	
6	turpentine
4	pieces of wallpaper (-trellis?)
1/2	white paint
2Pd 27	covering
2" 19	primer
2" 16 1/2	calcimine (whitewash)
1/2	copper acetate
2Pd "	dry chalk
1 1/2	dark ochre, ground
10	lamp black

Various Wooden Objects

2	turned columns
60	window frames
132	pcs. (bannister-) posts
110	" ballusters, turned
6	turned discs for pictures [frames]
1	handle for brazier

For the Classrooms

4	tables
3	benches
21	shelves
1	coal cabinet
7	stools

In the house, there is:

1	icon in a silver frame
1	lectern
1	screen
2	buckets
1	tub
4	tanks

For the proposed outside siding is needed 170 [pieces of] boards (3750 ft.); and for the interior finishing of the rooms, paint, paper and canvas. For the complete finishing of the house, counting here as well the workers, it [the house] will cost the Russ.-Amer. Co. up to 25,000 rubles.

Administrator of the Office A Kostromethinov

No. 55

4 March, 1844

APPENDIX B: 1851 REPORT[1]

13 February 1851

To the New-Archangel Eccesiastical Consistory
Report
of Cathedral Arch-Priest Peter Litvintsiev

His Eminence, Right Reverend Innocent, in his letter to me of September 4, 1850 deigned to write the following regarding the repairs of his house: "above all it is necessary to cover the roof, then dismantle all the stoves except in the church; take off the siding on the south wall; move the jambs of the doors and windows so that the house will contract; after this inspect the floors; rearrange or change the arrangement of the rooms below, assemble the stoves, cover again the house with siding; repair the wallpaper or change [it]; and paint the floors.

Without a doubt, there is no possibility of doing all this without a good number of workers, and for this reason the upper floor can stay as it is. . . . The Administration can be moved upstairs and for it two windows can be partitioned off from the living room, downstairs there remains for the Arch-Bishop a small place for a kitchen and pantry, and otherwise all [rooms] are for the quarters of the priests, so that there is no sleeping room under the altar and so that the entrances to my rooms will be separated, where possible, from the priests."

I have the honor to bring this to the attention of the N.A. Ecclesiastical Consistory, for the appropriate purpose, the subject of his order.

---

1. Church Records.

APPENDIX C: 1852 BUILDING MATERIALS LIST[1]

12-12-1852

Russian-American Company
Novo-Archangelsk Office
Account
of materials used on repairing of
the house of His Eminence

---

for the house of His Eminence

		lath
2 poods	30-1/2 lbs.	plaster nails
(pood = 40 lbs.)		
	08-1/2 "	spikes
	[three more entries for spikes - 1 pood 20 lbs; 09 lbs; 05 lbs.]	
	39 "	cut nails
1 "	90 "	wire [factory] nails
1 "	16 "	coopers' nails
1 "	35 "	roofing nails
	[another entry for this - 4.50]	
4 "	00 "	hoop iron
	30 "	strap iron
2 "	33 "	old (used) iron
145 "	14 "	roofing iron
	34 "	roofing iron
	22 "	wheel iron
	04 "	iron in rivets
	10-1/2 "	iron in wire (steel)

---

1. Russian American Company to Church, 12 Dec. 1852, Church Records. The building materials list was attached to the letter.

5 "	08	"	cast-iron plate
	35	"	in one cast-iron stove

1 iron damper

1 oven door

2/m pcs. bricks

2 pr. hinges

1 box lock

9 quires of wrapping paper [3 more entries of this: 21; 6; & 6 quires, the last "for papering"]

17 lbs. wax

2 poods

16 lbs. glue

16 lbs. sail-cloth thread

403-1/2 inches binding twine

3 pcs. of glass

1/2 lb. of Prussian Blue [another entry for 2 lbs.]

2 pcs. (rolls?) of wallpaper [another entry for 12 pcs., 54 rubles]

1 pood of French Green

38 gal. drying oil

3 poods	10	lbs.	red ochre
1 "	20	"	yellow ochre
1 "			putty
1 "	20	"	glueing flour
	10	"	white flour
14 "			of Kolosh [i.e. Tlinkit] clay
	07	"	asbestos
	12	"	red lead (minimum)
30 poods	20	lbs.	white lead, ground
	2	"	verdigris
	6	"	turpentine

			[another 8 lbs @ 65, 4.80]
3	"	20 "	hemp
		05 "	[starch?]
		06 "	sheet (i.e. "rolled") lead

1/2 b. (barrel?) resin

For the siding of the house of His Eminence
5259 sq. ft. in 178 boards
336 inches 16 slabs
25 pcs. timber

(signed) Bookkeeper K. Ganter

APPENDIX D: HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES

1843-53[1]

EXTRACT

From the household books of the Consistory of the moneys used for improvement of the Arch-Episcopal House from the time of its occupation in the quarters of his Eminence, i.e., from 15. Dec., 1843 to 1853.

No.	Year of	Expense
1844	18	Paid for cleaning the foundation of the house on the north side.
		For digging the ditch on one side of the house.
		For making the garden fence. Nails bought for putting up the fence boards.
		Paid for work on the gates of the fence with large hinges and small hinges of steel.
		For building of the compost pile.
		For clearning out and construction of the path near the house.
1845	6)	For the claring and construction of a second
	7)	
	8)	path to the NW - everything paid.
1847	25	For the repair of the house roof [there was] bought 10 sheets of roofing paper and nails for.
	32	For the preparation of the roof.
1848	11	For repair of the chimneys.

1. Extracted from the household books of the Consistory, Church Records.

	18	For repair of the floor in the lower story.
	19	For repair of the oven and puttying of the glass.
1848	21	For repair of inside lock.
	22)	For repair and cleaning of the oven
	25)	chimneys.
1849	1	For repair of inside lock.
	13	For payment for 6 hooks and eyes.
	15	For a pair of iron hinges.
	25	For three glass panes, half-white.

After making inquiries recently, it turned out that the [following] missed items were added to the account:

1 lb. of T-nails.

1 lb. French Green [paint].

4 pcs. of border (-ing material] [moulding?].

5 pcs. screws.

APPENDIX E: 1887 REPAIRS[1]

. . . [the work] performed by master Callsen for the repair of the former Bishop's House . . . resulted in the following . . .

1. Outside the House:
   a. Iron roof taken off and replaced by a shingle roof.
   b. Rotten wooden logs in foundation replaced.
   c. Side additions done out of new material, the entry hall covered with boards and covered with a coarse material (calico?).
   d. Windows in the whole building repaired, new frames put in place of the rotten ones, half of the winter frames repaired, half of them replaced with new ones.
   e. The siding taken off the facade of the house, (bad rotting appeared on the walls in the front, so that the carpenter had to cut out the bad spots and put in new timbers in them) and cover the whole house with new siding.
   f. Iron gutters fastened to the roof and from them four downspouts lead down.
   g. The whole house outside and the roof painted in two coats of oil paint.
   h. Two latrines built behind the house, each with two compartments and pits under the stools.
   i. Built in front of the building two stairways with covers.
   j. Glass replaced in all the frames of the house.

---

1. Extracted from "Archive of the Ecclesiastical Administration No. 265," Church Records.

2. Inside the House:

   a. Doors, leading into the chapel from the [illegible] rooms of the priest as well as the doors (on/from) the west wall closed up with boards, and in their place new ones cut through from the corridor in another place.

   b. Ceilings, doors, fireplaces, pipes and floors in the whole house repaired.

   c. Two kitchens a new floor laid.

   d. In one of the kitchens a Russian stove installed.

   e. Canvas on the ceilings and walls of the house cleaned, and in five rooms, including the chapel, replaced with new (canvas).

   f. In one of the rooms of the lower floor a wall designed for the school apartment [was] cut out.

   g. The floors of the upper story and the ladder to the attic with its entry hall repainted with two coats of oil paint.

   h. Summer and winter sashes and frames of the windows and lintels(?) and all doors painted in two coats of paint.

   i. In the galleries on the sides of the house [were] built seven stoves.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

The materials for this structure report come almost exclusively from the manuscript collection of Russian Orthodox church records of the Library of Congress. This collection of materials consists of over one thousand boxes of Russian manuscript materials, each box containing anywhere from 10 to as many as 100 items. There are rough divisions in the materials, the first 200 and some-odd boxes containing mostly genealogical materials from the church records on births, deaths, marriages, etc.

Materials relating specifically to the bishop's house proved to be scattered in a wide range of boxes from the rest of the collection. This researcher never had the satisfaction of stumbling over a single, isolated cluster of materials that all pertained to my narrow interests in the structural and furnishing details of the house. Therefore, many fruitless (but necessary) hours were spent searching all the boxes for information. In the end, enough material was found to tell a rather complete story about the building for the historic period and beyond, i.e., for 1843 to ca. 1900.

Aside from this prime source, certain other, more peripheral, matter was consulted for information about the building, especially the Sitka newspapers Sitka Times (1869-70) and The Alaskan (1884-1907). Finally, works of a more general nature were utilized briefly to place the structure in the broader picture of its origins, use, and purpose.

All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are by the author.

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HISTORIC FURNISHING STUDY: THE BISHOP'S HOUSE

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INTRODUCTION

Documentation for the furnishing of the bishop's house in Sitka is fairly complete. It covers the historic period--i.e., 1844 to 1867--but also extends into the 20th century. In spite of the completeness of the documentation, certain problems nevertheless arise. The lists of household objects compiled by the resident priests remain lists of words only. Thus the task of visualization of an object in its specific size, form, configuration, color, etc., can only be accomplished by imaginative and educated guesswork. Such guesswork, often a part of such studies, will be called on to a greater extent than usual in the case of the bishop's house. This arises from the fact that many of the "common" objects in the house are not so commonly known to the contemporary American. Moreover, recourse to illustrated works for comparative purposes is less possible due to the paucity of illustrated histories of Russian furnishings, especially such works dealing with Russian provincial wood furniture of the 19th century. However a few works on Russian furnishings, which might be consulted for comparative purposes, are listed separately in the bibliography.

The documentation for the house furnishings can usually be identified with specific rooms. Rather complete furnishing lists exist for the chapel, the bishop's private quarters, and the library (i.e., the books upstairs, and for the kitchen and the classroom downstairs). There are also lists of tools that were used outside for gardening, chopping wood, etc. However, there are some furnishing items in the priests' lists that cannot be definitely placed in any single room.

There are also some obvious gaps in the furnishing lists kept by the priests. For example, we know that at least 15 people stayed in the house during the historic period, yet the lists contain no

mention of beds (or sleeping mats) for so many people. Nor are dishes and other eating utensils specifically mentioned, although it must be assumed that they were there. In spite of these gaps in details, it should still be possible to provide adequate furnishing information for the important rooms in the bishop's house--the chapel and the bishop's quarters--and also for the kitchen and the library. The furnishing lists for the rest of the house either are less complete or do not identify which specific rooms the furnishings were for.

A lengthy furnishing list from 1909 is appended, even though this date is somewhat later than the prime period of historic interest, which ended with official Russian withdrawal from Alaska. This list is much more complete for the specific rooms in the house and therefore gives a clearer idea of what was in each room. Since the list is cumulative, many of the items can be assumed to date from the earlier historic period. And even when there is doubt as to the date of specific items, neither the technology of the times nor the attitudes of the inhabitants of the house would have changed enough to make many items glaring anachronisms. Obvious incongruities, such as the inclusion of portraits of Theodore Roosevelt or Tsar Nicholas II in the historic furnishings, can easily be avoided. Otherwise, the judicious use of this 1907 furnishing list can help to round out our picture of the bishop's house.

All translations from original manuscripts and from secondary works are by the author, unless otherwise noted.

THE CHAPEL

The furnishings of the chapel were those of an active, consecrated Orthodox church. Because the Orthodox church is less well known to most Americans than are Catholic or Protestant churches in the western European tradition, a few words on form and content of the church and its service are appropriate. These remarks do not aim to be comprehensive but are merely intended to help clarify the furnishing lists for the bishop's chapel.

The Eastern Orthodox church forms the main branch of Christianity outside of the Roman Catholic and Protestant west. It has common origins with the Catholic church in the west and together with it represented the one main body of the Christian church until the 11th century. In that century (1054), deep-seated cultural, political, and theological differences produced the Great Schism between the western church of Rome and its counterpart in the eastern Mediterranean, whose center was in Canstantinople. (This schism remains unhealed to this day.) The christianization of medieval Russia started under the aegis of Constantinople at about that time. From then until the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Russian church remained a bulwark of Orthodox Christianity.

The bishop's chapel was typical in most respects of an Orthodox church, but because it was built into a private residence, it did not have the typical square floor plan covered over by an "onion" dome, as do most Russian churches.

Although it did not have this most striking external feature of the typical Russian Orthodox church building, it did have its interior counterpart, the iconostasis. This was a screen, or light wooden partition wall, that divided the sanctuary (i.e., the east end of the church with the altar, bishop's chair, etc.) from the rest of the

church where the congregation stood during the service. This distinctive architectural feature of the Orthodox church is unknown to western European churches. A similar development in the west occurred only in the screens of some English and French cathedrals during medieval times. In the Orthodox church this iconostatis-screen evolved into an artfully constructed panel of carved woodwork, painted and sometimes gilded, and became one of the distinguishing features of Eastern church architecture. Bishop Innocent proudly pointed out to a friend in Moscow, in a letter written right after moving into his new house, that the whole iconostasis of the chapel had been built locally.

The iconostasis had three doorways cut through it. In the center were the double Royal Doors, or holy doors. During the service these doors were open for the celebrants to go in and out of the sanctuary. A curtain in the doorway was variously open or closed: open during "joyous" services, closed during "solemn" ones.[1] When open the Royal Doors afforded a view of the altar and the bishop's throne. To the left of the Royal Doors was a single door leading to the prothesis, where the sacred vessels were kept and the bread and wine were prepared for the service. The single door on the right led to the diakonikon (deacon's room, or vestry).

THE ICONS

The use to which the iconostasis is put is unique in Christian church architecture, for early in the development of this architectural feature it became a wall on which to hang the

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1. D. Sokolof, A Manual of the Orthodox Church's Divine Services (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899), p. 17.

religious paintings, or icons, that fill an Orthodox church. Paintings never reached the same importance in western Christendom. Over the centuries, the originally random placement of icons on the iconostasis developed into a more orderly arrangement of icons by tiers, each icon's place being determined by the theme it treated.

Larger Orthodox churches might have up to six tiers of icons, but the bishop's chapel, because of its small size, had only two tiers.[2] The icons had come halfway around the world in 1841, as a gift from the Countess Orlova, wife of one of Tsar Nicholas I's principal advisors.[3]

As was customary, the first tier of icons on the iconostasis was for the "local" icons; i.e., those icons which depicted holy figures or events especially related to that particular church or its name or to local holy figures. As always, in this tier the icon directly to the right of the royal doors was an icon of the Saviour. Next to it was the church icon, which depicted the saint or event that gave the church its name. In the bishop's house, this was an icon of the Annunciation, since the church was dedicated to Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God. To the left of the Royal Doors in the first tier was an icon of the Mother of God. It is uncertain which icon (there was room for only one more) filled out the first tier on the

---

2. The other tiers, in ascending order, represent Christ, Saint John the Baptist (the "Precursor," as the Orthodox commonly refer to him)and Mary and the Apostles in the third tier; Old Testament prophets in the fourth tier, and in higher tiers holy martyrs and sainted bishops. Ibid., p. 19; cf., Tamara Talbot Rice, Russian Icons (New York: Marlboro Books, 1963), passim.

3. Innokentii, Ivan Veniaminov, Pis'ma Innokentiia, ed. Ivan Barsukov, 3 vols. (Moscow: Sinodalnaia Tipografia, 1897-1901), 1:108.

extreme left. This space was designated for the icons of saints who were most honored in the particular locality. Four "local icons" are mentioned in the furnishing lists from the historic period, but we are not told which saints they portrayed.

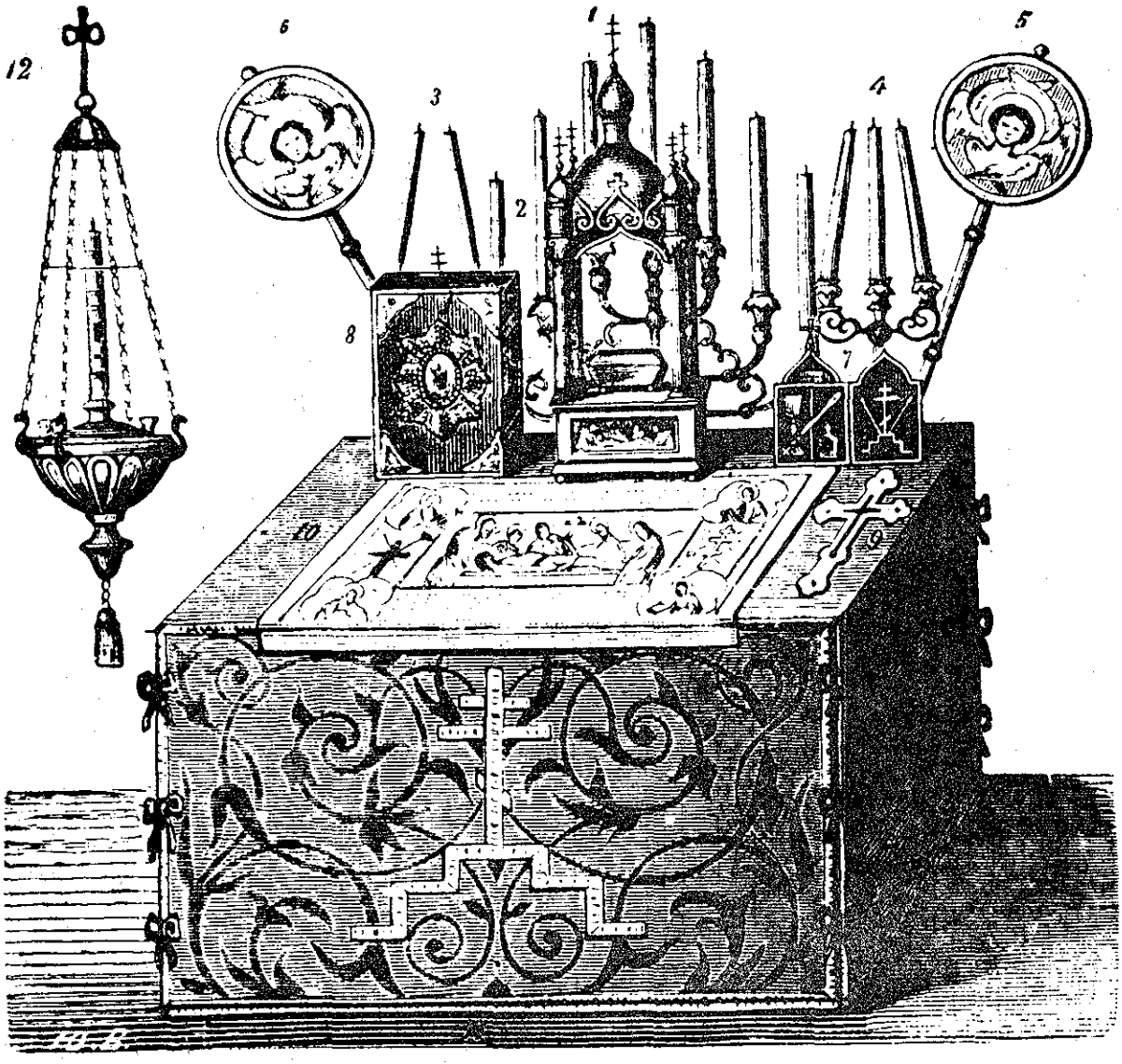
The doors in the iconostasis also offered space for icons. As was typical, the double Royal Doors in the center showed the Annunciation and the four evangelists painted on round discs, and one angel was depicted on each of the side doors of the bishop's chapel.

The bishop's chapel in Sitka also followed custom by having a depiction of the Last Supper above the Royal Doors. To either side of this was the second tier of icons, depicting the various church feasts, i.e., the principal events in the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary. In the bishop's chapel there were four of these painted on round wooden discs.

Icons were also hung in other parts of the church. Large banners on stands also stood on each side of the church and were carried during services outside the church. In short, the bishop's chapel, as all Orthodox churches, was filled with icons.

THE ALTAR

The altar, or holy table, stood free of the east wall. It was covered by several cloths. The first undercloth of white linen was covered by a second of brocade. Both of these covered the whole surface of the table. On this a third smaller cloth was laid. Depicted on it was the scene of Christ's descent from the cross. As always, this cloth, the antimins, had a particle of a sacred relic sewn into it.



THE ALTAR.

1. The Tabernacle or Ciborium.
2. A Polycandil.
3. The Dykirion.
4. The Trikirion.
5 and 6. The Fans.
7. The Ciborium (to take the Sacrament to the sick).
8. The Testament.
9. The Cross.
10. The Antimins.
11. The Altar Table.
12. A Lampad.

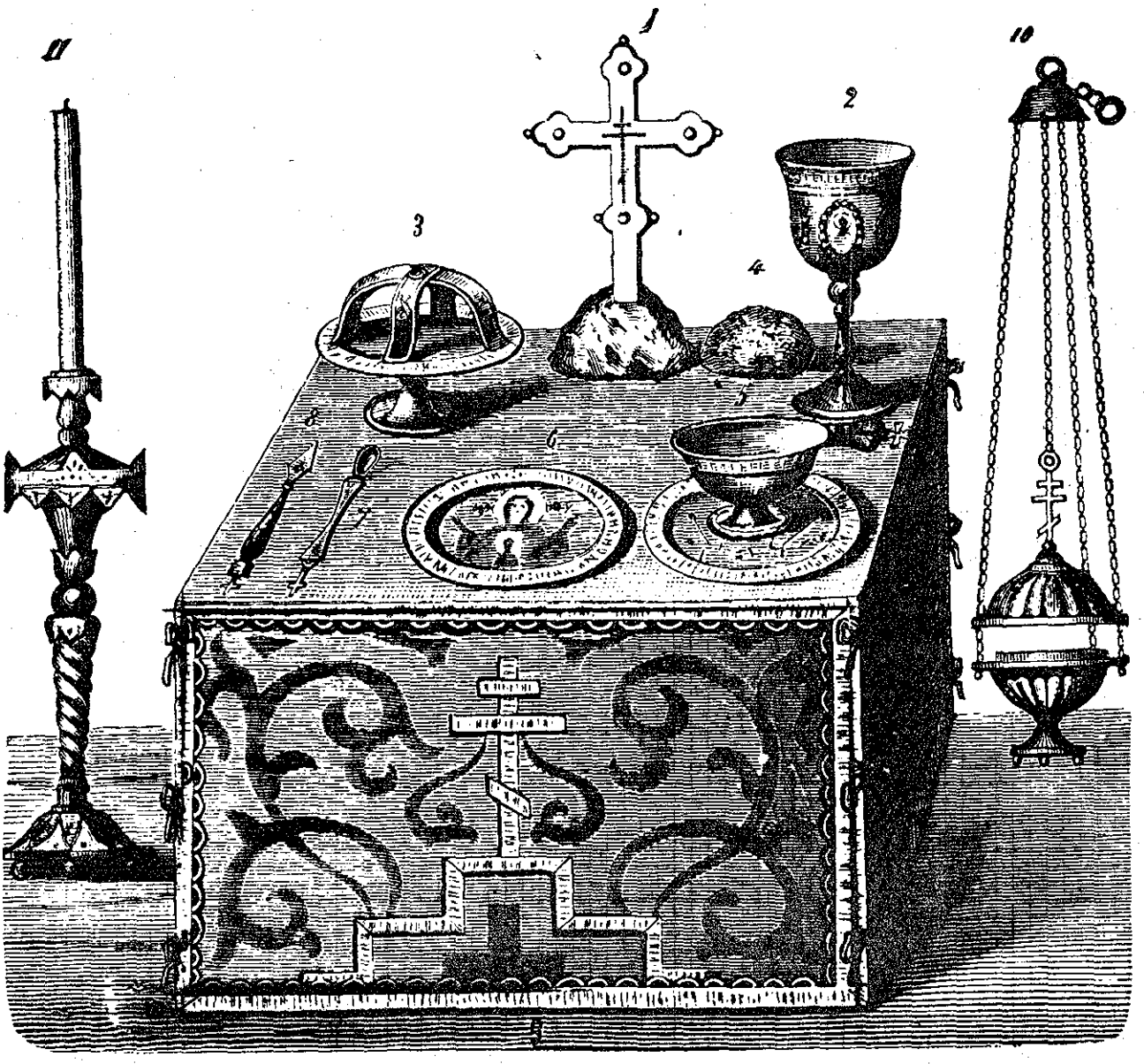
The New Testament kept on the altar had an ornate binding. In the center of the cover was a representation of Christ; in each corner, pictures of the four evangelists, Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John, represented by their traditional symbols--man, lion, ox, and eagle, respectively.

Beside the New Testament and the Cross on the holy table was also the ciborium. (This vessel is often a temple-shaped object and is therefore also called a Zion or Jerusalem.) The ciborium was used for carrying the wine and bread and other instruments of communion outside the church when, for instance, a sick communicant was to be administered communion in his house or in a hospital.

THE TABLE OF OBLATIONS

The prothesis, entered through the left door in the iconostasis, contained the table of oblations. This table and the instruments on it were used for administering communion. These instruments included the following items: The paten (or disc), a round dish, held the communion bread. After being cut on the paten, the pieces of bread were put on two plates--one dedicated to Christ and the other to the Holy Mother. The asterisk ("little star"), a cover made of two arched bands of metal, was placed on the paten. The asterisk was then covered with a veil to protect the Holy Sacrament on the paten. The lance, or knife, was used to cut the holy bread used in communion. This bread was, incidentally, normal leavened bread that was baked by an official baker of the church.

Further items on the table of oblations in the prothesis were the porterion (chalice), used to hold the sacramental wine; the spoon used to administer the Sacraments to the members of the congregation; the antimins sponge, which was kept on the altar for



THE TABLE OF OBLATIONS.

1. The Cross.
2. The Chalice.
3. The Paten and Asterisk.
5. The Dipper.
6. The Dishes.
7. The Spoon.
8. The Lance.
9. The Table.
10. The Censer.
11. A Candlestick with Candle.

wiping the paten after the portions of bread had been dropped into the chalice; and the cleansing sponge, which was used to clean the chalice after the service. Veils were used to cover the chalice, the paten, and the asterisk (mentioned above); and a larger veil covered both the chalice and the paten together. Round ceremonial fans, made of metal with a long handle and with angels painted on them, were used only at pontifical masses.

OTHER FURNISHINGS

Other appurtenances were candle lamps, which were found throughout the church and always kept burning. An important source of income to the church was that obtained from the purchase of votive candles by the faithful. The candle lamps varied from single candlesticks to candelabra with varying numbers of candles. Oil lamps were also used. Typical in the Orthodox church was the hanging icon lamp; this lamp was often of brass and suspended by three fine chains.

The censer, a vessel suspended on chains, held incense, which was burned in an act symbolizing the perfusion of the world by the Holy Spirit. Holy water was sprinkled on the congregation from the aspergillum, or holy water vessel.

Bells hung over the east entrance of the bishop's house in Sitka. The "toll," a repeated striking of one bell at short intervals, called the parishioners to service. The "peal," several bells struck together simultaneously, was struck after the toll to announce more solemn services. Finally, the "carillon" was struck on special high feasts of the year or on other special occasions, such as Good Friday. In the carillon, every bell was struck consecutively several times over, then all bells were struck at once. The bells of the bishop's house also served more mundane purposes: They

warned of fires in this part of Sitka.[4] The original plans for the house showed three bells hanging over the east entrance to the bishop's house. These were apparently lost somehow in later years. The church paid $50 in 1894 for a ship's bell from the Beaver, a Russian steamer which plied the Pacific coast trade with the Russians in Alaska.[5]

THE CLERGY AND THE LITURGY

The hierarchy of the clergy, the official vestments, and the Eucharistic liturgy of the Orthodox church are the same today as they were in the time of Bishop Innocent.

The Hierarchy of the Clergy

The Orthodox clergy's highest office of priesthood is that of the bishops. They are head of all churches within a geographical region, or diocese. Larger, more important dioceses are governed by archbishops. The archbishop of a capital city is a metropolitan. (The metropolitan of Moscow was the head of all Russian Orthodox churches when the Russians owned Alaska.)

The second degree of ordained priesthood is made up of the priests. Priests rule over parishes and have as their basis the parish church. In the Orthodox church, priests may marry. Priests who have taken monastic vows are known as priest-monks. A priest who is elevated to a bishop must take vows renouncing his

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4. The Alaska (Sitka), 15 Feb. 1890, p. 3.

5. Ibid., 29 Sept. 1906, p. 3.

marriage if he has a wife. (The priest Ivan Veniaminov of Sitka could become Bishop Innocent only after his wife's premature death.) Deacons are the third order of priesthood. Deacons are ordained to serve bishops and priests in the performance of the Sacraments, but they may not perform the Sacraments alone.

The nonordained church servitors include subdeacons (only in cathedral churches), readers, choristers, sacristans, and door-keepers (i.e., watchmen and/or janitors). The nonordained staff are also known as the cleros, a word derived from the Greek "lot," since the servitors were formerly chosen by lot from among the congregation.

The Vestments

The following garments belong offically to the dress of the Orthodox churchmen, starting with those vestments common to all ordained members and proceeding to those worn by the higher, and highest, members of the holy orders. All vestments are decorated with the cross. The sticharion (tunic) is a long garment with sleeves; it is worn by all ordained persons. The orarion, or scarf, is worn by all; when it is worn by ordained priests it becomes the epichatrelion and is a scarf with a hole for the head and drapes over both shoulders; deacons and subdeacons have the orarion only over one shoulder. Maniples, or cuffs, are worn by all grades of the priesthood; the zone, or belt, is worn only by priests or bishops. The phelonion, or robe, is worn by all priests; bishops wear the sacco instead of the phelonion along with a broad strip of ornate cloth over the shoulders, the omophorion. The headdress of priests is the kamilavka, or scuffia; that of bishops is the miter, which is a larger, more ornate headpiece than the simpler kamilavka or the cap-like scuffia. The epigonation and thigh-shields are worn by certain honored priests and bishops; they resemble small banners and are worn from the belt.

THE SACRED VESTMENTS.

1. The Sticharion.
2. The Orarion.
3. The Phelonion.
4. The Epitrachelion.
5. The Maniples.
6. The Zone.
7. The Thigh-shield.
8. The Epigonation.
9. The Scuffia.
10. The Kamilavka.
11. The Mitre.
12. The Saccos and the Omophorion.
13. The Pectoral Cross.
14. The Panagia.
15. The Orlets rug.
16. The Crozier.

Bishops alone wear or use the following: the pectoral, or breast cross, made of heavy, ornate metal and worn on a chain around the neck; the panagia, a depiction of Jesus or of Mary, which is worn suspended from the shoulders; the crozier, or pastoral staff, which is carried; and the orlets, a small carpet with an eagle depicted on it, which the bishop stands on during service.

The Eucharistic Liturgy

The rites of the Orthodox service date almost unchanged from those prepared in the fourth century by Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom. The liturgy follows a very strict order. It can be celebrated only by a bishop or a priest, and he can celebrate the service only once per day. The celebration must always be performed at a church with an altar antimins (holy cloth) consecreated by a bishop. Not more than one liturgy may be celebrated at any one altar in one day. The customary time for the church celebration is between daybreak and noon; usually service is held at nine o'clock.

The Russian church seldom has seats or pews, as western churches do. As a result, there is more fluidity among the congregation in an Orthodox church, with members able to move about at will. Thus, as opposed to western European services (especially those in Protestant churches), the Russian Orthodox service is more homely and relaxed, more of a family affair.[6] Likewise, the movements and behavior of the Orthodox clergy are less stylized, more "natural," than are those of western priests.

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6. Timothy Ware, The Orthodox Church (Baltimore; Penguin Books, 1963), chaps. 13-15, passim.

The celebration is divided into three parts. The first, the proskomide, is an elaborate rite for preparing the bread and the wine for communion. The priest enters the prothesis and cuts the bread on the table of oblations. These pieces are placed on the dishes and the wine is prepared. The second part of the rite begins with the "Little Entrance." This part of the rite prepares the congregation for the celebration of the Sacraments. The priest now enters the prothesis with the Gospel. The "Liturgy of the Word" follows with readings from the New Testament and with a sermon.

The second part of the rite ends with the expulsion of the catechumens. The catechumens (those preparing for baptism) and the penitents (those sinful ones excluded temporarily from communion) must now go out to the porch of the church during the third and final part of the service. The third part of the service, the "Liturgy of the Faithful," then proceeds with the "Great Entrance." The priest carries the Sacraments from the table of oblations to the holy table (altar). The mass then closes with the recitation of the Nicene Creed, the eucharaistic canon, and the Lord's Prayer, and with the celebration of communion. Communion is distributed with the spoon under both kinds (i.e., both the bread and wine are administered, as in the Protestant churches of the West).

THE BISHOP'S QUARTERS

Leaving the description of furnishings for the chapel, it becomes more difficult to assign with certainty all items from the furnishing lists to any specific room. However some items can, with a fair amount of certainty, be placed in various rooms.

The bishop's quarters, or the large parlor on the second floor, undoubtedly contained the many pieces of fine mahogany furniture purchased in Saint Petersburg and shipped to New Archangel. In fact, all of the items on the register from the year 1847 (see appendix C) were probably in the bishop's quarters. This was a rather large room and would have accommodated these mahogany tables, two writing desks, velvet-covered divan, morocco-leather easy chair, other easy chairs and straight chairs. It is possible, however, that one of the three tables mentioned, along with some straight chairs (the 12 birch straight chairs?) were used next door in the dining room.

Other items would have been in the bishop's parlor as well. Of course there would have been an icon with an icon lamp in one corner. A bible would undoubtedly have been on one of the tables or desks. Pictures of the Emperor Nicholas I (d. 1855) and the tsarina would undoubtedly have hung on the wall. a map of the Russian Empire and also a map of the "northeast ocean" and of the "northwest coast of America" (i.e., the Bering Sea and Alaska) could well have hung on the wall or been on a table. Rugs would have been on the floor, including ones made of sealskin and/or of bearskin.

The two stoves, or fireplaces, shown on the plans for this room were probably the "Dutch tile stoves" (Russian golandki), referred to in the documents. As the Russian name implies, this device for

heating rooms was probably imported from Holland during the time of Peter the Great's 1725 journey to Holland as part of his attempt to open up Russia to the ideas of western Europe. Dutch stoves, large masonry room-heating ovens with a complicated set of baffles and thick walls for retaining and dispersing heat into a room, were often covered with elegant tiles. But the "Dutch stoves" in the bishop's quarters were probably not the free-standing, tile variety. These stoves were built into the walls and merely plastered over, and they had brass or iron doors. A sitting-bench had been built into the front of one of them so that a person could sit on it and warm his back on the warm wall of the stove. Hence the notation by the builders of the bishop's house that "Dutch tile stoves" were built should not lead one to think that typical beautifully tiled, free-standing heating stoves existed in the bishop's house.

THE LIBRARY

The various book lists in appendix D contains many items that are self-explanatory. However many of the books relate to the Orthodox church service and, like other items relating to Orthodoxy, deserve some explanation. The order of the various daily services is contained in special books.[7] The Book of Offices gives the prayers and ceremonies for Matins and Vespers; also, the liturgy performed by the priest and deacon. The Ordinal gives the prayers and ceremonies used in pontifical services (i.e., those services presided over by a bishop). It also gives the services to be used by bishops in the ordination of priests. The Horologion ("Book of Hours") has the unchanging prayers recited and chanted by church readers and chorusters. Four books--the Oktechos, the Menaion, the Triodion, and the Irmologion--contain the changeable prayers and compositions used in the daily services. The Oktoechos ("Book of Eight Tones") has the songs of praise, sung in one tone for each week through a cycle of eight weeks. The Menaia ("Books of the Months") contain songs for each day of the year, divided according to months. The Triodion ("Book of Three Songs") gives the offices from the fourth Sunday before Lent to All Saint's Week (ending November 1). The Irmologion contains all the prayers which are sung--not read--for the services throughout the year. Finally, the Typicon ("Statute Book") gives the order of the church service for each day of the year.

Unless there were duplicate copies, not all of the above books would have been in the library at the same time. Those needed for services would have been in the bishop's chapel. Others might

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7. Sokolof, pp. 159-60.

have been in his parlor or office. The church owned duplicate copies of many books, as the later furnishing lists show (especially those of 1867 and 1909).

Aside from the books, the library room on the second floor probably contained little more than a chair and a lamp and, of course, an icon. Perhaps a portable lamp was used in the library.

The 1909 list contains many interesting entries under the heading "Secular Music." Although many of these could not have been in the library during the period of interest (to 1867), since they were not yet written, the entries indicate the priests' active interest in the new classical music of the later 19th century. The Russian composers Tchaikovsky, Borodin, and Glinka are represented, and also the earlier German composers, Schubert and Lortzing. The latter's opera Tsar und Zimmerman was popular in Russia because it dealt with legendary events of the great Russian tsar, Peter the Great.

THE OFFICE

The bishop's office probably had the desk of Alaska yellow cedar, since the other mahogany writing tables mentioned in the lists were probably smaller and, moreover, would have matched the rest of the mahogany furniture, which was most likely used in the bishop's parlor. An icon with an icon lamp suspended in front of it by fine chains would have been in one corner of the office. The room was large enough to accommodate other furniture as well. Since this room was, in effect, the center from which the Orthodox church in Alaska was directed, other tables, filing cases, etc., were undoubtedly needed. The amount of furniture and other things the room could accommodate can be seen from the number of objects in the 1909 list.

THE KITCHEN

It is fairly obvious which items belonged to the kitchen. Cleavers, knives, ladles, sieves, rasps, all these and other such items would have been used where the cooking was done. As in many homes before and after the bishop's house, the kitchen may well have been the most comfortable, snug room in the house. The large wood-burning stove/oven indicated on the plan would have provided for this comfort. The 1909 list shows which items were definitely in the kitchen; however, many of the items listed under "Furniture, etc. "--dishes, glasses, tableware, etc.--were probably stored in the kitchen as well.

THE CLASSROOM

The ground-floor classroom was used at first for the seminarians in Sitka (some 15 in 1844). After the building for the seminary was completed in 1845, the classroom was used for children of the employees of the Russian-American Company.

The classroom undoubtedly had tables and chairs, writing equipment, paper, etc., for the "scholars," as the children were referred to. Operating a church school, Bishop Innocent also undoubtedly used the catechisms and the prayer and song books that appear in the library/book lists. Some of the order that the bishop placed in 1848 to Moscow for "100 Russian primers (the cheapest . . . [and] . . . fifty Moscow church calenders (with prayers)" undoubtedly were used in this classroom to help his pupils learn their prayers and ABCs.[8]

The original plan for the classroom shows a series of oblong rectangles along one wall, which when scaled out are approximately 1½ by 3 feet in size. Just what these represent cannot be determined from the documents. A guess might be that they were study carrels for the seminarians who used this room for the first year or so until their own building was completed in 1845. But this matter remains open to question.

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8. Innokentii, p. 216.

THE REMAINING ROOMS

The further one goes in describing the rooms, the less sure it becomes to assign specific items to certain rooms of the house.

The dining room would have had, undoubtedly, a large eating table with a dozen or more chairs. The customary icon, perhaps with an icon lamp, would have hung in one corner. Cabinets for dishes, tableware, linens, etc., were probably in the room.

The monk's cell probably had a minimal amount of furnishings. The monk was a person assigned to serve as the valet and footman of the bishop. He probably had little more than a cot and the customary icon.

The main entry (on the northwest side of the building) probably had an icon; perhaps a vestibule for hanging cloths; perhaps a scatter rug; and probably a lamp.

The entry on the opposite end of the building was perhaps less ornate since it did not lead directly to the chapel or the bishop's quarters. Part of this entryway may have been used for storage of the garden tools and other tools used for maintenance of the house. Of course, the regular storage sheds in the rear of the building could also have been used for these tools.

The latrines were probably typical of the time for almost any rural area in the world. Outhouse-type cubiles with portable pails represented the technology of the time for this purpose.

The notation of the "stove in the attic" (1909 list) probably refers to a smoking chamber in one of the masonry chimneys. This chamber was probably used for smoking fish and other meats. It is doubtful that the notation refers to a heating stove. The attic was not outfitted for human occupation.

APPENDIXES

The following furnishing lists come from the documents in the Church Records collection in the manuscript division of the library of Congress. This is, of course, the same collection cited throughout the furnishing study. Identification of the specific box number in the Church Records for each of the appendixes is as follows:

Appendix A - Box No. 274, First Series
Appendix B - Box No. 274, First Series
Appendix C - Box No. 274, First Series
Appendix D - Box No. 423, First Series
Appendix E - Box No. 438, First Series
Appendix F - Box No. 438, First Series
Appendix G - Box No. 213, Second Series
Appendix H - Box No. 212, Second Series

APPENDIX A: 1844 REGISTERS

REGISTER

(November)

A. Of household items making up the domestic property [of the Bishop's House]:

one dozen chairs of Alaska yellow cedar with seats covered with whale skin
winter windows [i.e.] storm windows belonging to the steward's room
4 glass frames for the compost pile
1 screen covered with canvas made of five painted frames
1 cross-cut saw for cutting wood
1 brass kettle, heavy
1 brass ladle
3 iron cleavers
10 iron shovels
1 axe
1 iron crowbar
1 bed of Alaska yellow cedar

B. For management of the domestic properties:

1 brass kettle, heavy
1 brass ladle
3 iron cleavers

C. Furniture:

1 wooden bed
5 wooden screens on hinges, covered with linen and painted

D. Various items:

1 saw for cutting wood
10 iron shovels
1 axe
1 iron crowbar

REGISTER

Various Wooden Objects

2 turned columns
60 window frames
132 posts
110 ballusters, turned
6 turned discs for pictures
1 handle for brazier

For the Classrooms

4 tables
3 benches
21 shelves
1 coal cabinet
7 stools

In the house, there is:

1 (icon) in a silver frame
1 lectern
1 screen
2 buckets
1 tub
4 tanks

APPENDIX B: 1845 REGISTER

REGISTER

Of household items, listing the property of the Bishop's House:

12 straight chairs of Alaska yellow cedar
2 frames winter with glasses, belonging to the office
4 frames for the compost pile with glass
1 screen covered with canvas, consists of five painted frames
1 cross-cut saw
1 brass stew pan of weight 18-3/4 lbs.
1 brass ladle
3 steel cleavers
10 steel spades
1 axe
1 steel crow-bar
1 bed-stead of Alaska yellow cedar

APPENDIX C: 1847 REGISTER

REGISTER

Of things located in the Arch-Episcopal House in Novoarchangel:

1 divan of mahogany covered in ribbed velvet
6 easy chairs, mahogany
6 straight chairs, mahogany
3 tables
1 writing desk (donated) of mahogany
1 chest of drawers
1 easy chair of mahogany, covered with morocco leather
12 straight chairs, birch
1 writing desk of mahogany
2 small objects, mahogany
2 ink holders

APPENDIX D: 1847 INVENTORY

INVENTORY

Of the Archepiscopal Home Chapel Compiled in 1847

Private Chapel
in the name of the Most Holy
Annunciation of the Mother of God

Built in one of the rooms of the upper floor of the Bishop's Residence, built in the year 1843 with the support of the American Company (which counts it in its capital [i.e., as its possession]).

The walls and ceiling are covered with canvas and the floors are painted with oil paint.

The icon panel is of woodwork with moulding on top and baseboards below, covered with wallpaper. On the doors of the icon panel [are] four pairs of cast iron hinges, and two glass arms (handles).

Into the altar is built a high [holy] place with one step; altar and table of oblations of wood, a cabinet for vestments, and an iron burner for charcoal.

In the middle of the church [chapel] is a bishop's ambo with two round steps; a lectern with a cabinet for books, and two choirs with railings.

All the above-mentioned was built on the account of the [Russian-American] Company, also the church utensils, books, etc., either donated, or bought on the general account of the capital of the American Church [i.e., the Russian Church in America], also the frames on the icons and the gilded mouldings on the account of general funds, for which almost 220 rubles assign were expended. The icon panel is covered with brocade at the expense of these same funds.

The consecration of the chruch was performed on 15 December 1843, by the (Right Reverend) Bishop Innocent with the co-celebrants: Hieromonk Mikhail, the Priests Andrei Sizov and Lavrenty Salamatov, and Arch-Deacon ["Hierodeacon"] Nikolai (who was on this day ordained into the priesthood) and Deacon Mikhail Maslokov.

INVENTORY

Of the Possessions of the Private Chapel built at the Bishop's Residence in Novoarchangel

No.	Article	Remarks
	Church Utensils	
1.	Gospel in large folio bordered by Crimson Velvet, and at the top by a silver-gilded leaf with 5 ordinary lacquer icons painted in silver in the style of an icon-frame [i.e., with medallions of saints]	Bought in 1846 on the general capital of the American Church and is counted as the donation of the late [illegible]
2.	Gospels of medium size, an older border of crimson half-velvet at the top with 5 silver-gilded forced [hammered] icons and two silver clasps	Taken from the Cathedral and given to the Kolosh church
3.	Gospel in octavo in green velvet with 5 enamel icons painted with medallions	From His Eminence and given to him by the coadjutor Sergeiev Lavry-Anton
1.	Altar cross, gilded silver, of moderate size, painted with silver in the style of an icon frame, with enamel icons hanging in it	
2.	Altar cross, wooden, covered with mother-of-pearl from the Holy City of Jerusalem	Presented by His Eminence Isadore the present Exarch of Georgia
1.	Gilded silver vessel with enamel icons painted around the border with utensils and case hung in it	Added by [illegible] in the memory of the soul [spirit] of R.B.I. Transferred to Yakutsk in 1856
2.	Gilded silver vessle, plain, with a set [i.e., with instruments] hung in it	Returned to the Kuskokvim Mission from the general capital (funds)
3.	Two small spoons, silver inside, gilded	Returned to the Kuskokvim Mission from the general capital (funds)

No.	Article	Remarks
1.	Silver censer gilded	"
2.	Silver-plated, brass censer	"
	Pictures	
1	Altar cross on wood	From the Countess Orlova
1	Icon of the Saviour situated on the altar, on linen, in a gilded frame	"
1	Picture of the Annunciation made of two sections--on boards	"
4	Local icons on cavas in gilded frames	"
6	Round icons in the Royal Doors [of the iconostasis] in gilded frames	"
4	Round icons in the iconostasis	"
2	Sacristy doors of boards	"
1	Icon of the Last Supper in silver frame with one gilded crown	Icon is also from the Orlova drawings but the frame is from G. Kostromitinov-Peter
	Vestments	
2	Altar cloths of linen and altar with lace	
1	Altar covering bordered with velvet and cross of gold gauze	
1	Altar covering of white damask, with border and cross of gold gauze	Given to the Kolosh Church, 1853
1	Altar cloth, white damask on top, with a border and a cross of gold gauze	

No.	Article	Remarks
1	Altar cloth of crimson damask, a border and a cross of gold gauze	
2	Coverings for the prothesis of crimson damask on a white background; cross of gold gauze	
	Books	
1.	[Book of the] Apostles in octavo, in half-linen with five enamel icons	
2.	[Book of the] Apostles in folio, bound in hard cover	
3.	Triodion, (pre-Easter)	
4.	Triodion, (post-Easter)	
5.	Menaion, common	
6-17.	12 books of the monthly Menaia in folio	
18-19.	2 Books of Eight Tones	
20.	Typicon	
21.	Prayer book, in folio	
22.	Menaion for the Holy Days	
23.	Irmolog, plain	
24.	Book of Offices, in quarto	
25.	Book of Offices, in octavo	
26.	Procession (order) of prayer songs	
27.	Procession (order) for Easter day	
28.	Prayer songs for Christmas	

No.	Article	Remarks
29.	Prayer songs of 20th November	
30.	Psalter, arranged acc. to church calender, in folio	
31.	Psalter, arranged acc. to church calender, in folio	
32.	Psalm book	
33-35.	Prologue in three books	
36.	Gospel of the Annunciation	
37.	Prayer for the re-uniting of the unfaithful	
38.	Order of . . . the revelation of truth	
39-40.	School of Piety in 3 books	
41.	First week of Innokenti, in binding	
42.	Register of requiem masses	
	Sundry Items	
2	Candlesticks, brass, small	
2	Candlesticks, brass, silver-plate, large	
1	Icon-lamp, silver, gilded	
4	Icon-lamps, brass, silver-plate large	
3	Icon-lamps, brass, silver-plate, medium	
1	Icon-lamps, brass, silver-plate, small	
1	Aspergillum	

No.	Article	Remarks
2	Curtains on the window	
4	Pipes for the molding of candles	
1	Curtain at the Royal Doors, rose taffeta	
1	Canopy over the altar also of the same taffeta covered by a border with fringe of red gauze	
6	Silken coverlets, various	
6	Arshins (3/4 yd.) of crimson velvet on the high altar	
13-¼	Arshins of scarlet cloth on the ambos	
3	Floss silk boxes on the ambos	
4	Embroidered ribbons of wool over the icon lamps	
5	Book-marks in books of braid	
	To the above was added:	
	(a) Donated	
1	Icon of the Saviour on a board 7 in. in silver icon frame with gilded halo	
1	Icon of the Predecessor [i.e., John the Baptist] on a board 8-3/4 in. in a silver half-frame	
1	Icon of Archbishop Nicholas in foil	
1	Icon of Archbishop Nicholas in foil	
1	Icon of St. George	

No.	Article	Remarks
3	Taffeta coverlets on the lining [i.e., on the altar cloth] bordered by ribbons	
3	Black covers [i.e., cloth covers for the sacraments] of half-cut velvet bordered with ribbons	
1	Sacrament-cover cloth, or cover, sewn with small beads and wool with a rose flower in the middle, bordered by gold velvet	
	(b) <u>From General Funds</u>	
1	Archepiscopal Chasuble from the garments donated by the Sovereign Emperior Nicholas Paul [Nich. I.]	
	To this was added in 1849:	
	(a) From general funds: Icon of the Holy Trinity	
	(b) Donated icon of St. Metrophanes in silver frame, weighing 65 zolotniks [zolotnik = unit of measure of gold]	
	From the above number was added:	
	To the Kuskokvim Mission, a silver chalice with instruments; to the cathedral, a sacrament cover sewn with beads	
	In 1850 there was added to the Kolosh Church an old inscribed Gospel.	
	In 1853 the altar coverings were given to the Kolosh Church.	
	To this was added:	
	Altar coverings of white damask with gold bordered with gilded gauze	

No.	Article	Remarks
	Icons donated by the Countess Kurakin from [her] former domestic chapel:	
1	Altar cross with a silver gilded handle with relics, having a gold weight value of 63 zolotniks	
1	Icon of the Twelve (Great) Feasts in enamel under silver [illegible] with a [gold] weight value of 78 zolotniks	
1	Icon of St. John the Baptist in a silver gilded frame of antique craft ["old work"] of a weight of 1 pound 4 zolotniks	
1	Icon of the Mother of God appearance to St. Sergei, in a silver frame with gilded halos containing 1 pound [and zolotnik?]	
1	Icon of the Mother of God [in the style of Raphael?] in a brass gilded frame	
1	Icon of Metropolitan Alexander in a silver gilded frame of antique craft ["old work"]	
3	Ground glass icon-lamps [hung from] on gilded brass chains, also with painted filigree chains	

APPENDIX E: 1853 REGISTER

REGISTER

Inventory of Articles in the Bishop's House received from the (Russian-American) Company on moving into the house:

An icon of St. Nicholas, small, in a silver frame

A round table of common wood

7 simple stools

2 iron basins used for heating water

3 iron pokers

2 (fireplace) tongs

1 roofing ladder

Furniture

1 divan of Alaska yellow cedar	)
6 easy chairs of Alaska yellow cedar	) crush seats covered) with linen
6 chairs covered with hair material	)
1 table in front of divan	)
2 card tables	) Alaska yellow cedar
1 writing desk	)
1 chest of drawers	)

1 easy chair covered with Saffian leather

12 birch chairs

2 large standing mirrors

2 spittoons of Alaska yellow cedar

1 writing desk of Alaska yellow cedar

2 icons with silver frames

4 lamps, one a table lamp

2 candlesticks of inlaid wood

12 Faience saucers

2 square knit rug

1 oblong knit rugs

1 small red woven rug

1 dark long rug

1 table cruet

4 oil cloths on tables

1 table clock, 2-week

1 wall clock, 1-week

12 chairs, Alaska yellow cedar

1 wood bed

5 linen (room) screens

1 brass (stew) pan, 16 pounds

1 ladle, brass, 2 pounds

1 saw, crosscut

1 iron crowbar

5 shovels

1 pair candlesticks, brass

1 padlock on garden gate

1 floor broom

1 brass pail

APPENDIX F: 1853 INVENTORY

INVENTORY

Of property of the Bishop's Chapel, built in the Bishop's House at New Archangel, 1853:

Church Utensils

Gospel in large folio bordered by crimson velvet, at the top by a silver-gilded plate with five ordinary lacquer icons; painted in silver in the style of an icon frame i.e., with medallions of saints

Gospel in octavo in green velvet with five enameled pictures painted in the frames

Altar cross, silver-gilded, of medium size, painted with silver in the manner of an icon frame, i.e., with medallions of saints, with enamel icons

Altar cross of wood covered with mother-of-pearl from the Holy City of Jerusalem

Silver-gilded vessel with enamel icons painted in the frames, with utensils and case

Two small gulded spoons, silver inside

Silver-gilded censer

Silvered brass censer

Pictures

Altar cross on wood

Icon of the Saviour, situated on the altar, on linen in a gilded frame

Picture of the Annunciation made of two sections on boards

Four local icons on linen with gilded frames

Six round icons in the Royal Doors (of the iconostasis) in guilded frames

Four round icons in the iconostasis

Two sacristy doors on boards

Icon of the Last Supper in a silver frame with one gilded crown

Icon of the Saviour, on a disc, and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse with gilded halos in a silver icon frame

Icon of St. John the Baptist, on a disc; five apostles depicted in the silver frame

Icon of St. Nicholas in foil

Icon of St. Nicholas in foil

Icon of St. [illegible]

Icon of St. Tropez, for the hallway

Icon of St. Metrophanius, in a silver frame

Books

Book of the Apostles in octavo in half-velvet with five enamel icons on the cover

Book of the Apostles in folio with wooden covers

Triodion, pre-Easter

Triodion, post-Easter

Menaion, common

Twelve books of the monthly menaia in folio

Two copies of the Book of Eight Tones

Typicon church calender

Menaion, for the Holy Days

Irmolog, plain in quarto 8-voice song book

Book of Offices, in quarto

Book of Offices, in octavo

Procession (order) of prayer songs

Procession (order) of prayer songs for Easter

Prayer songs for Christmas

Prayer songs for 20th of November

Psalter, arranged according to the Church calender, in folio

Psalter, in octavo

Psalm book

Prologue in three books

Gospel of the Annunciation

Prayer for the re-uniting of the faithful

Order of the revelation of truth

School of piety, in three books

First week of Innokenti, in binding

Register of requiem masses

Various Items

2 candlesticks, brass, small

2 candlesticks, silver-plate, large

1 icon lamp, silver-gilded

4 icon lamps, silver-plated brass, large

1 icon lamp, silver-plated brass, small

3 icon lamps, silver-plated brass, medium

1 aspergillum

curtains on the windows

4 pipes for molding candles

1 curtain for the Royal Doors, of rose taffeta

1 canopy over the altar also of the same taffeta, with a fringe border

6 silken coverlets, various

6 arshins (4-2/3 yds.) of crimson velvet on the high altar

13¼ arshins (10 yards.) of scarlet cloth on the ambos

3 floss silk cases on the ambos

4 embroidered ribbons of wool over the icon lamps

5 book marks of braid, in books

3 taffeta coverlets on the lining i.e., [on the altar cloth] bordered by ribbons

3 black covers for the sacraments of half-cut velvet bordered by ribbons

1 Archepiscopal chasuble from the garmets donated by the Emperor Nicholas Paul Nicholas I

1 pamphlet on St. Sergius Radonezhskii the Miracle Worker

1 pamphlet on St. Innokentii

APPENDIX G: 1867 LIST AND 1870 ADDITIONS

LIST

Of property of the Domestic Chapel in the Bishop's House in Novoarchangelsk, compiled in 1867

A. New Testaments and Crosses on the Altar:

Large New Testament, bordered by red velvet, at the top bordered with silver-gilded foil; on the cover are the five customary enameled icons, which are bordered with a painted silver in the manner of icon frames

New Testament, octavo, in red velvet with five enameled icons with painted icon frames

Altar Cross, silver-gilded, of medium size, painted with small icons in the manner of icon frames

An Altar Cross, covered with mother-of-pearl, from the Holy City of Jerusalem

Altar Cross, silver-gilded, with portraits in niello

Vessel, silver-gilded with eight enameled portraits on it; two oblation plates; paten; asterisk; and spoon

B. Holy Pictures:

Picture of the Saviour on canvas in a gilded frame, mounted in a wooden altar cross

Picture of the Saviour on canvas in a gilded frame; on the altar

Picture of the Annunciation, on a wooden disc

Four icons of local church themes [i.e., the so-called "mestniia"]; on canvas in gilded frames

Four round pictures in the iconostasis

Six round pictures in the Royal Doors in gilded frames

Two pictures in the sacristy doors on wood discs

The Last Supper, in a silver frame with one gilded halo

St. Mitrofaniia, in a silver frame, with a value of 65 zolotniks

Twelve Holy Days with enameled icons in silver leaf, with a value of 78 zolotniks

St. John the Baptist in a silver-gilded frame, old work, with a value of one pound and four zolotniks

Appearance of the Mother of God to the Priest Sergius, in a silver frame with gilded crowns, with a value of one pound three zolotniks

Alexis, Metropolitan of Moscow, in a silver-gilded frame; old work

Two small enamel pictures: The Saviour and the Mother of God

St. Peter, Metropolitan of Moscow, on cypress wood and in a wooden icon case with a glass cover

St. Nicholas of Myra

St. Metrofaniia Voronets

St. Tropun, on cedar wood

St. Dmitrii of Rostov

Non-hand made picture of the Saviour on paper; with a glass cover

Holy Trinity, large on wood; on the altar

Saviour and Mother of God, two small enamel pictures

Small shroud of Christ

Picture of the Saviour, on wood

St. John the Baptist, on wood with a silver frame

Bishop Nicholas, in foil

Bishop Innocent, in foil

Bishop St. George, in foil

C. Vestments:

Two alter cloths of linen, on the altar and on the oblation table, with cord

Altar cloth of velvet, with crosses and borders sewn in it of gold gauze

Dark red half-velvet altar cloth with a rose pattern above and lavender ribbons below with a cross of silver braid

Dark, checkered silk material, bordered with a yellow ribbon with a cross of silver braid

Oblation table of white cloth, the same material above, cover and cross of gold gauze

Crimson material, covering and cross of gold gauze

Dark red half-velvet on both sides, bordered with rose ribbons, and a cross of silver braid

Altar cover, green, of silken material

Crepe cloth with a cross of gold braid

Sacrificial covering of crimson material, a cross of gold gauze

Crimson velveteen, bordered by narrow guilded braid

Two pairs of coverings for the large lectern of checkered wool material

Black [table-] scarf of water silk with blue linen

Dark lavender silk

Covering for the small lectern of dark yellow silk material, lined with red linen

Pink curtains with free designs and gold appliques

Lectern cover of white, striped silken material

Cinnamon-colored silk lectern cover

Leaden-hued flower of silk with colors

Three coverlets on the small lectern at the altar

Two small silk covers

Large shawl of gold crepe

Small pink silk shawl with lace borders

Four litanies: lavender; pink; cinnamon with a color-mixture; and white with lace borders

Two screens at the Royal Doors of red semi-marina wool

Chinese material with strips, from the door of the Bishop's room into the chapel

Two [illegible] from the cross [relic-splinters?]

D. Books:

Order of the Church Services (Typikon)

Prayer book, in quarto

Service for Easter Day

Prayer for the 20th of November

The Prologue, in three books

The Testament of the Holy Annunciation

Steps toward joining the Orthodox Faith

Service on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (i.e., the first Sunday of Lent)

The First Week of the Great Feast of Whitsunday

Register of the Dead

Prayer songs for Chirstmas Day

Prayer book

The Service of His Reverence St. Serguis of Radoniezhskii

The Order of Prayer Songs

New Testament in the Russian Language

The Service of St. Innokentii

Menaia

Irmologion; plain, old

Rule for the Holy Communion of 1859, from the Kievo-Pecherskii Monastery

E. Various Things:

Two ladles (holy spoons) of silver, gilded on the outside

Silver censer

One silver-plated brass censer

Brass candlestick

Brass candlestick, silver plated

Two large silver-plated candlesticks

Silver gilded lamp

Four large lamps, silver-plated brass

Three medium size lamps, silver-plated brass

One small lamp, silver-plated brass

Three lamps of polished glass with gold chains and icon frames painted gold

Aspergillum

Four pipes for candles

Six various, silk kerchiefs

Six arshins [= ca. 4 yards] of crimson velvet on the high altar

Thirteen arshins [= ca. 8 yards] of scarlet silk on the ambo

Three floss-silk covers on the ambo

Four wool cloth ribbons on the icon-lamp

Forty ounces of silver

Three coverlets for the sacraments, of black velvet (cisele' or voil) bordered with a ribbon

Four silver bells, not certified hollow silver [". . . bez probnykh' dutykh . . ."]

Four silver buttons with holes, not certified hollow silver

REGISTER

[1870 Addition to List]

Of things in the Bishop's House in Novoarchangel, transferred to the Church accounts

A. Icons:

2 pictures on wood with silver frames: one of the Saviour; one of the Annunciation

Picture of St. Nicholas, gilded on a silver frame

9 various icons, one of them on mother-of-pearl

B. Furniture:

Divan, mahogany

6 chairs of same wood

6 chairs covered with hair material

Table [of the] divan [coffee table]

12 chairs, birch

2 card tables

2 mirrors, glass

2 spittoons, mahogany

[0] office desk of Alaska yellow cedar

4 lamps, one of which is a table lamp

12 chairs, simple)
6 tables, simple)
) "These repaired tables and chairs were always in fragile condition; now all are broken and, therefore, were not included at all in the capital goods of the house."

2 candlesticks, silver-plated

6 saucers, faicene ware

2 rugs, woven, square

1 rug, woven, on pad

2 long, seal rugs

4 oil cloths on tables

1 cruet stand for the dining room

12 chairs of Alaska yellow cedar

1 wooden bedstead

5 cloth screens

C. Household Things:

1 table clock, two-week

1 wall clock, one-week, with case

1 brass kettle, 16 lb.

1 brass ladle, 2 lb.

1 cross-cut saw

1 pair brass candle sticks

1 new brass pail, with lid

[Addition to List, 17 September 1870]

From His Reverence Bishop Pavel

Glass lamp

4 wrought-iron lamps

Tureen, faience ware, with cover

2 pairs of knives and rolling pins, one in kitchen

1 British tea pot, of metal

1 sugar bowl, metal

1 creamer, metal

Tongs, steel

LIST

Of things of the Novoarchangel Ecclesiastical Consistory

A. Books:

Ninety six books of the first and second Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, with three Books of Decrees and two Books of Drawings and Sketches and one Book of Plans of Towns

Fifteen books of the Collection of Laws, publ. 1835

Four books of continuation of the above

Alphabetical index to the edition of 1835

General table of contents of Code of Laws, 1835 edition

Two books of the section on the Regulation of the Fiscal Administration of Accounts

Fifteen books of the Code of Laws, edition of 1842

Special indexes, one book

One book, alphabetical index to the edition of 1842

Code of Punishments

Alphabetical index to the above

Two books: Code of Local Laws of the Province of ?illegible

Auxillary Decrees on Penal Servitude

Sixteen books of the Auxiliary Code of Laws, edition of 1842

Twenty one books of the Code of Laws, edition of 1854 in fifteen volumes, of which Vol. II, VIII, XI, and XII in two books, Vol. X in three and the other volumes each in one book

One book, alphabetical index to the edition of 1854

One book, continuation of Code of Laws, 1854, ed. 1

Three books, continuation of the Code of Laws of 1857, ed. 1860 parts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 1861

One book continuation of Code of Laws, 1857, ed. 1861 part 4

One book of the Code of Regulations on Duties, ed. 1862

Four books, continuation of the Code of Laws of 1854, ed. 1863 parts 1, 2, 3, 4

One book of the continuation of the Code of Laws of 1854, ed. 1864

One book, Rules of the Holy Apostles and of the Holy Father, ed. 1839

Ecclesiastical Orders, ed. 1820

Three books of Ecclesiastical Orders of the Consistory

Index of the clergy

Three booklets: Notes of the Siberian Department of the Imperial Geographical Society; I, III, and IV

Extract from the Account of Ecclesiastical Affairs for 1858, in two copies

The same, for 1859

The same, for 1860

The same, for 1861

"Memoranda of the Chief Procuror of the Holy Synod for 1865"

"Report of the Society for the Restoration of Orthodoxy in the Caucasus for 1864"

The same for 1862 and 1863

Genealogical Chart on the House of Romanov, ed. of 1863

Two books and with them four brochures on the missionary society

Code of Criminal Laws Code of Penalties, ed. 1866

Extract from the general expense account of the Count Chief Procuror of the Holy Synod on the Dept. of the Orthodox Faith, for 1866

B. Various Things:

Mirror with a gilded coat of arms in a case

Two steel seals with wooden handles

Two plain wooden tables

Two ink pots

One pair scissors

One box covered with tin plate for keeping money

Brass stamp for printing forms

Four cabinets for the archive and other things

Three arshins of red cloth on the tables

Two wooden trunks

Account book

Portrait of the Sovereign Emperor [Alexander II]

One pen knife

One bear-skin rug

One lead stamp for stamping official papers

Sept. 1870 from His Reverence Pavel

Ink Stand with writing equipment

(Belonging) to the property of the Bishop's House

Teapot of red copper, in kitchen

Cruet-stand case with utensils

Brass kettle with cover

Five faience plates, in kitchen

Nine white plates, in kitchen

Faience butterdish

Brass frying pan, in kitchen

Crystal carafe

Two crystal carafes

Four wine glasses

APPENDIX H: 1909 LIST

List of Things in the Bishop's House in Sitka (1909)

A. Parlor

1. Icons:

Afonskii icon of the Mother of God, "Worthy of Veneration" from Mount Athos

Icon of St. Metrophanius

Bronze lamp

2. Portraits:

Emperor Alexander II

Emperor Alexander III

Emperor Nicholas II

Empress Alexandra Theodora

Metropolitan Innokentii

Archbishop Nicholai Ziorov

Baranov

Shelekhov

Riazanov

3. Photographs:

Archbishop Tikhon

Bishop Innokentii

Emperor Nicholas II

Empress Alexandra

Crown Prince [Alexis]

4. Engravings:

   President Roosevelt

   President Washington

   President Lincoln

5. Map of Alaska, in frame

6. Pictures:

   View of Sitka

   Steamship, in ice trade

7. Certificate, issued to Priest M. Shaiashnikov with the Cross of Sevastopol

8. Furniture, etc.:

   Divan

   Two medium size tables

   Two small size tables

   Harmonium (parlor organ)

   Large mirror

   Six easy chairs

   Two rocking chairs

   Seventeen straight chairs

   clock, striking

   Lamp

   Two candlesticks

   Two velvet table covers

   Velvet rug over the whole floor

   Four lace drapes

   Indian banner

B. Office

1. Icons:

   Crucifixion of Christ

   The Annunciation

   St. Innokentii

2. Portraits:

   Archbishop Michael

   Baranov

3. Picture, Eight views of Sitka

4. Map of Alaska

5. Furniture, etc.:

   Writing table with desk set of black marble with bronze

   Two small tables

   Two cabinets

   Writing desk

   Lamp

   Divan with cover

   Three easy chairs

   Tray

   Typewriter, Hammond

   Typewriter, Blickennderfer

   Typewriter table

   Russian abacus

   Postal measuring weights

   Fire-proof safe

Large mirror

Small statue - Pushkin

Basket under the table

Fireplace with equipment

Pail for coals with scoop

Large rug on the floor

Two curtains on the doors

Four curtains on the windows

C. Bedroom

1. Icon of the Saviour

2. Furniture, etc.:

Cabinet for clothing

Divan

Mirror in front of the divan

Bed with mattress

White bedspread

Velvet cover on the table

Bearskin rug

Night stand with water pitcher

Candleholder on the small table

Iron tub

Steaming tub

Marble wash-basin

Mirror in a black frame

Two clothes hangars of horn

Earthen wash-basin

Two curtains on the doors

Four curtains on the windows

Rubber travel mattress with rubber pillow, metal pump, waxed ground cloth and canvas sack

Reserve couch with a mattress and two pillows

Three bed sheets

Eight pillow cases

D. Library

1. Icon of St. Peter

2. Furniture, etc.:

Writing table

Wooden couch

Hair mattress

Fireplace with ash-pail and scoop

Mimeograph machine with inks and paper

Book case

Small Russian abacus

Chinese abacus

Ink-making equipment

Candlestick

Books for the special catalogue

E. Dining Room

1. Icon of St. Nicholas

2. Pictures:

   Council of the Bishops [from Mount Athos]

   St. Nicholas saves the condemned

   Two views of the Sitka church

   The family of the Tsar

3. Wall clock with nickel case

4. Furniture, etc.:

   Large table

   Small Table

   Mirror

   Lamp

   Five plain ladles

   Twelve Venetian chairs

   Cabinet with dishes

   Forty wine glasses of various sizes

   Six champagne glasses

   Seventeen brandy glasses

   Three water carafes

   Four salt shakers

   Dishes for mustard, pepper, etc.

   Dishes for butter

   Two porcelain glasses

   Mug with [painted] design

   Tongs for sugar

   Strainer for coffee and tea

Seven glass marmalade dishes, large

Four glass marmalade dishes, small

Glass creamer

Three flower vases

Three fruit vases

Eleven tea glasses

Sixteen large tea cups

Five small tea cups

Twenty seven large tea saucers

Five small tea saucers

Saucer and fork for lemon

Eight white soup plates

One painted soup plate

Seven white plates, flat

Two painted plates, flat

Six small plates, green design

Ten desert dishes

Five red Japanese dishes

One metal tea pot

Once porcelain tea pot

One earthen tea pot

Two coffee servers

Two soup terrines, with lids

One crystal water pitcher

Twenty-three white [white metal] table forks

Thirty white knives

Six table knives

Thirty-seven tea spoons

Two cork screws

Napkin ring

Siphon

Box for coffee

Five trays

Rinsing basin

Six earthen, oval plates

One metal plate

One bread tray with a handle

one (steel) sharpener for knives

Fireplace in the attic [for smoking fish, meat, etc.]

Travel bag

Brush and dust pan for dirt

Twelve napkins

Two large table cloths

Three small table cloths

One red table cloth

F. Kitchen:

Wrought iron cooking surface [i.e., for coal, wood]

Kerosene

Table

Eight enameled kettles

One enamel cup

Two tin bowls

One enameled bowl

Two metal tea pots

Two serving spoons

Two tin ladles

Sieve

Rasp

Cleaver

Rolling Pin

Two wooden hammers

Meat cutter

Three smaller frying pans

Two knives

Two [cutting-] boards

Two square frying pans

[Condiment-] set with three vessels

Brush and dust-pan for crumbs

Broom

G. Monk's Cell

1. Icon of Priest Antonii

2. Portrait of Metropolitan Philaret

3. Furniture, etc.:

Table

Chair

Small lamp

Window curtain

Iron bed with mattress

Area rug

H. Main Stairway:

Carpet

Lantern

I. Entry Hall:

Icon of the Annunciation, from Prince Michael Tversky

Carpet

Small lantern

Clothes hangers

J. Back Stairway:

Fire extinguisher

Steel spade

Steel rake

Two steel pails

Axe

Two hanging lanterns

Kerosene water heater

Wash stand

Two net [implements] [maybe a basket for retrieving something from the river]

Tin boxes for butter

Funnel

K. Library

1. Books:

Bishop Sylvester, Dogmatic Theology, 5 vols., bound

Roberstak, History of the Christian Church, 2 vols., in luxurious binding

Lopykhak, History of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century, 2 vols., bound

Archbishop Philaret, Lives of the Saints, 12 vols., in luxurious binding

Geler, General History, 6 vols., bound

Grogol, Collected Works, 1 vol., in luxurious binding

Zhukovskii, Collected Works, 1 vol., in luxurious binding

Lermontov, Collected Works, 1 vol. bound

Archbishop Innokentii [from Kherson], 12 vols., bound in 6 books

Metropolitan Innokentii, Letters, 3 vols., bound

Barsukov, Metropolitan Innocent in His Letters

Bible, in Russian

Bible, in Church Slavonic

Schmidt, Russian-German Dictionary, bound

Prayer Book

Rozhdiestvienskii, Christian Apostles, 2 vols.

Holy Synod, Atlas of Churches and Chapels

K. Kiechaiev, Practical Handbook of Affairs for Priests, 1900

K. Kiechaiev, Practical Handbook of Affairs for Priests, 2nd Ed., 1900

Words of Metropolitan Ionnakii, 1899

Bogorodskii, Jewish Kings, 1906

Archimandrite Ievdokim, Pastor-Teacher, 1903

M. Muretov, Prof., Theology, 1903

M. Muretov, Prof., Genealogy of Christ, 1904

Prof. Mareev, Life of Christ, 1903

Prof. Mareev, Goals and Meaning of Life, 1903

Official Speech of Prof. Muretov, New Song of Love, 1903

Chertikan. Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, 1892

On the American Book of Common Prayer, 1904

V. Sokolov, Reformation in England, 1881

V. Sokolov, Elizabeth Tudor, 1892

Prof. Karsupski, Innokentii Metropolitan of Moscow, 1898

Priest Sakaiskii, Thoughts on Catholicism, 1899

Prof. Zagorskii, Peace and War 1896

Prof. Bulgakov, The Church and Progress, 1903

Priest Sololiev, Prophetic Books of the Old Testament, Handbook, 1899

Perov, Introduction to Theology, Handbook, 1892

Priest Popov, Arsenii Matseevich, Metropolitan Rostovskii, 1905

Archbishop Vladimirskii Sergii, Discussion of Orthodox Faith, 1893

Bishop Piekovskii Germogen, History of the Slavic Church, 1899

N. Pokrovskii, Monuments of Iconography, 1900

Bishop Makhanov, Handbook of the Apostles, 1890

Archemandrite Sergii (Tikhomirov), Under the Influences of Life, 1902

V. Gladstone, Rome and the Pope, 1903

V. Sikolov, The Hierarchy of the English Church, 1897

Ecclesiastical Mirror, 1899

Bishop Vissarion, Lessons of Confession, 1891

The Order of Liturgy of the Great Basil, 1892

The Order of Liturgy of Gregory Dvoieslova, 1893

Priest Selirov, An Outline of the Orthodox Faith, 1904

The New School, Ed. Pobiedonostiev, 1898

Rachanskii, Letters on Temperance, 1899

I. Popov, Suicide, 1898

Kirpichnikov, Etymology of the Russian Language, 1898

Kudriiavtsev, Christian View of Life

Bishop Nicholas, Out of My Diary, 1893

Kotliarievskii, [Anneid], 1890

Shevchenko, The Kobza Player, 1894

Introduction to the Liturgy, 1898

Words of Archimandrite Innokentii on the 14 Nov. 1902

Programs of the Church Community School, 1903

Collection of Regulations on the School

Regulations of the Consistory Seminary, 1896

2. Religious Music:

Bakhmietiev, Customary Music, 2 vols., bound

Collection of Church Songs, first 4 of 6 vols., loose leaf

Lavov, Resurrection: Songs of the Irmologue, in the Greek manner, partitur

Lavov, Resurrection: Songs of the Irmologue, for 4 voices

Lavov, Feast of the Irmologue, partitur

Lavov, Great Easter Feast, partitur

Bartkianskii, Thirty-five concertos, partitur, bound

Bartkianskii, Liturgy, partitur, bound

Turganinov, Three Part -Singing , partitur, bound

Church choirs, two parts, bound

Songs for the Liturgy, Gregory Dvoeslova, 1882, notebook

Instructions in Church Singing, 1900

Bieliaiev, Church Music Compositions, 4 vols.

Petrushevskii, Songs for the Fasting Vigil, 1901

Petrushevskii, Collection of Musical Works

K. Smirnov, Singing Liturgies

Malashkar, Church-Music Collection

Gatskii, Fasting Vigil

Customary Music, single-voice, on a melody of the Vallaam Monastery

Collection of songs on a melody of the Valaam Monastery, partitur

Five copies of melodies of the Valaam Monastery

Cycle of Church Voice Melodies of the Moscow Eparchy, parts I and II (part I bound)

Songs of the Church Consistory, by a Priest-Monk

Smolenskii, Litany of the Holy Liturgy

Mevovskii, Music for Eight Voices

Mevovskii, For the Repenting, Open the Door

D. Iaichkov, Course on Church Singing

D. Iaichkov, Offices for the Dead

V. Orlov, Three Spiritual Choruses

V. Voidenov, Evangelical Hymns of the Matin Service

A. Grechaninov, Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom

Lisitsym, My Souls

Varatnukob, The Thieves

Davydov, Hail to the Lord !

Vatoshinskii, The Holy Lord

Mariepich, Father Kash

Twenty-four copies of the Song of Arkhatel

Classroom songs (loose sheet music), 8 copies

Manuscripts:

Easter partitur, bound

"Hellenike Lemoyzgra" (Greek, partially legible)

Concerts: I Will Tell the Lord and Why Do They Multiply Their Sins

Lamenting Angel (new), 4 pages

Dogmatic, for two voices, 4 pages

Lamenting Angel, Valaam version

Kondak, and Canon for the Feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God

The Strong Leader

Psalms, for mixed voices

Let My Prayer Go to the Lord: Easter Festival Songs

3. Secular Music:

Johannes Pache, Collection of Music and Songs for Harmonium, bound

Glinka, A Life for the Tsar, bound

F. Mazas, Music for Violin: First and Second Violin, 2 books, bound

Borio, The School for Violin

H. Kayser, Etudes for the Violin

Bagants, Collection fo Songs for Two Violins

Karasiev, Reading Music

Karasiev, Part II of above

Karasiev, A Musical Reader

Orlov, Songs of a Russian Pilgrim

Orlov, Songs of Our Circle

Iashkov, Hymns and Songs

Schubert, Prayer

Schubert, Cradle Song

Tchaikovsky, Legend

Manuscripts:

O. K. Slavianskaia, Glory to Heaven, 8 pages

Serbian National Songs, 4 pages

From the Opera Demon, the "Choir of the Sattelite Princes"

From the opera A Life for the Tsar, "Into the Storm, Into the Danger"

Zaitsiev, Banquet of Peter I

Hymns to St. Tikhon Zadonskii

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

As with the historic structure report, which deals with the structural details of the bishop's house, this study of the furnishings relies solely on the Russian Orthodox church records in the Library of Congress. Likewise, documents for the furnishing were scattered throughout the large collection of manuscripts in that depository. Thus separate lists from many individual registers and inventories were consulted. They yielded fairly comprehensive, though by no means complete, information about the furnishings in the house. The final list in the Appendix is added to the documentation even though it comes from the year 1907. This is a very complete list and gives for instance, an insite into the secular music and literature of interest to the Russian community at that time. It shows also how modern items such as typewriters began to show up in the furnishings. The Russians in Sitka were apparently keeping up as best they could with the latest products in literature, music, and technology of their homeland. Many of the items--icons, vestments, books--on this list date from our earlier period. Used with discretion, this list is valuable in rounding out our picture of the house and its furnishings and tells us something about the Russians who lived there.

Secondary sources such as The Alaskan and the published letters of Bishop Innocent were used in the report as well. Other published works on the symbolism and meaning of various aspects of Orthodox church furnishings were used to explain many of the items listed.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Innokentii [Ivan Veniaminov]. Pis'ma Innokentiia [Letters of Innocent]. Edited by Ivan Barsukov. 3 vols. Moscow: Sindoalnaia Tipografia, 1897-1901.

Washington, D.C. Library of Congress. Manuscript Division. Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America. Records, 1772-1936.

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Fortescue, Adrian. The Eastern Orthodox Church. London: Catholic Truth Society, 1929.

Rice, Tamara Talbot. Russian Icons. New York: Marlboro Books, 1963.

Sokolof, D. A Manual of the Orthodox Church's Divine Services. New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899.

Ware, Timothy. The Orthodox Church. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963.

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The Alaskan (Sitka), 1884-1907.

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Cherikover, L. Z. Bukovaia mebel russkogo Klassitsisma Kontsa XVIII nachala XIX vv. Moskow: (Akademia Nauk?), 1954. (Beech furniture of the Russian Classical Period from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th centuries.)

Grabar, Igor E. Istoria russkoro iskusstva [History of Russian Art]. Vol. III: Istoria iskusstva; Petersburgskaya arkhitektura V XVIII i XIX v [History of Art: Petersburg's Architecture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries]. Moscow, 1912.

Bolshaya Sovietskaya Entsiklopedia [Large Soviet Encyclopedia], 2nd ed. S.v. "Iskusstvo mebeli" [The Art of Furniture], by D. D. Ivanov.

Popova, Z. P. Russkaya Mebel Konets XVII v [Russian Furniture at the End of the Eighteenth Century]. Moscow: [Akademia Nauk?], 1957.

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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