

that in the year 1830 twelve of the islands produced sulphuric deposits, eight islands were in a state of total inactivity, and five (Unaska, Tannakh-Angunakh, Oumnak, Oonalashka, and Oonimak) were in a state of perceptible, though not always violent, uninterrupted activity.

It is also clear to the observer that certain relations exist between the alternate repose and activity at various points along the northern volcanic belt now under consideration. According to the earliest accounts of Tolstykh, Bragin, Zaïkhof, Shelikhof, Cook, Sauer, Yancouver, and others, the islands of Sitignak, Kanaga, Amukhta, Kigamil, Bogoslov, Oonalashka, Oonimak, and the volcanoes of the peninsula and the Ilyamna were from the middle to the end of the last century in a state of alternate but generally decreasing activity, while the center of volcanic action apparently advanced from west to east. On Kamchatka, where from 1727 to 1731 the Kluchev was in constant eruption, and in 1737 and 1739 violent eruptions took place from the Avatcha and another volcanic peak, we find only two violent eruptions during the second half of the eighteenth century (of the Kluchev in 1762 and 1767, and of the Avatcha in 1773 and 1796). In 1820 the furnaces of Unaska, Oumnak, and Oonimak evinced renewed activity, while at the same time Mount Wrangell was in eruption. When, however, after this period, the volcanic manifestations on these islands began to decrease, the Kamchatka peaks once more opened their craters with increased violence in the years 1827 and 1829. Of late (1849) we have received no reports of volcanic phenomena on the Aleutian islands, but the Kamchatka craters are once more in eruption since 1848.

These data, vague as they are, do not furnish proof positive of a connection between these subterranean channels, but the fact that within a more limited area, as on the islands of Oumnak, Oonalashka, and Oonimak, the activity of one crater ceased when another was in eruption, points in the same direction.

The Aleutian chain of islands connects the American continent and the Alaska peninsula in the east and the Commander islands in the west as with a knotted cable that has sunk under its own weight and caused its supports or end-posts to converge on both the Kamchatkan and American coasts. Several ranges of mountains run at right angles with this chain or dam. When we look at the outward shape of the islands we find those in the west spreading and flattening toward the north and northwest, and those in the east spreading to the west and south; consequently the lifting force must have been strongest in the direction from southwest to northeast, and this has been the direction of nearly all the earthquakes within historic times.

It seems that three kinds of volcanoes are represented in the Aleutian chain: eruptive, or true volcanoes; intermittent, or partially eruptive volcanoes; and volcanoes that have risen and acquired elevation without an outbreak through the surface. All the volcanoes, with the exception of Shishaldin, have their summits covered with eternal snow. The location of craters on these peaks is as follows: On Shishaldin the crater is located on the summit of the cone; that of Khaginak is on the summit; that of Akoon is also on the summit; on Akutan volcano the old crater was at the summit, and another of later date is situated on the north slope of the peak; the crater of Makushin is located at the summit of the blunted cone; the crater of Vsevidof, on Oonimak island, is on its comb-like summit; the crater of Chegulakh is at the summit of the cone; and that of Unaska is also on the summit of the blunted cone; the Korovinsky volcano has its crater in a depression between two peaks; the volcanoes of Kanaga and Tanaga have their craters at the summit, while that of Sitkin is located on one side of the conical peak.

A majority of the volcanoes mentioned have their craters at the summit, and should consequently be true volcanoes, but we are by no means sure that all the apertures from which smoke issues are actual craters affording constant communication between the entrails of the earth and the external atmosphere. On many of the island volcanoes the appearance of smoke is due to hot springs or steam arising from cracks or clefts differing very essentially from actual volcanic craters. Where the smoking or steaming is periodical, and increasing in volume during the autumn of the year, we may presume that the constant communication with the volcanic earth beneath exists, since the voluminous atmospheric precipitation at that season of the year would penetrate to the heated strata of the earth and rise as steam from the furnace or crater.

The eruptions reported by the various observers must also be accepted with due caution; in many instances they consisted probably of ignited gases only, as several such eruptions have been described as taking place for prolonged periods on the summits covered with eternal snow. Occasionally the appearance of fire may be traced to the mere reflection of the glow of molten lava in the interior of the crater on the clouds and vaporous atmosphere above. It is true that lava, obsidian, and pumice-stone are found at various points of the Aleutian islands, but we have no description of streams of burning lava, a phenomenon which could not have failed to impress itself upon the mind of even the most careless observer. A few eruptions that have occurred within historic times consisted of ashes, stones, and liquid mud, and they seldom took place in the main craters, being apparently of a subordinate and spasmodic character. We know that sulphur is gathered from many of the craters, but the crystallization of sulphuric gas is among the weakest manifestations of volcanic activity. A majority of the Aleutian volcanoes belong to this class of sulphur-producing clefts and craters.

The falling in of mountains rising on the east coast of Bering sea, the apparent swelling and bursting of whole sections of islands—all these are indications pointing to a constant process of formation of peaks, craters, and crevices by elevation. A gradual rising is still observable on Oonimak island and the north coast of Alaska peninsula. Bering sea at its western end has a uniform depth of a hundred fathoms or more, while the eastern half is very shallow. Another point in favor of the theory that this region owes its origin more to gradual elevation than to violent eruption lies in the fact that the island of Bogoslov was not the result of eruption and piling up of debris or lava, as the island rose very slowly, and its crater was active but a very brief period of time; the elevation continued long years after all other volcanic manifestations had ceased. The only islands actually formed by accumulations of lava during eruptions in Bering sea are Saint Matthew, Saint Michael, and Stuart islands, the Pribylof group, and perhaps Amnak island.

CHAPTER IV.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ALASKA.

A report upon a country so little known to us as Alaska is at the present day would scarcely be considered complete without a brief historical sketch of its first discovery and subsequent development until its final fusion into the union of states and territories. For this purpose it is unnecessary to go back beyond the second voyage of discovery undertaken by Vitus Bering, who in the course of his first explorations, some years previously, had discovered the strait named after him, and proved to the world the separation of the continents of Asia and America. The so-called second northern naval expedition, fitted out in the year 1733 by order of the empress Anna, though unfortunate in nearly all its details and fatal to its commander, served to show the Russian navigators the way to unknown regions of North America and adjoining islands. The information brought back by members of the expedition, however vague and unsatisfactory, acquainted the Russians with some islands the existence of which had been exceedingly doubtful. The labors of this expedition resulted in the discovery of the North American coast in the vicinity of latitude 58°, and of the several islands of the Aleutian chain, as well as of the greater

portion of the Kurile islands. A few of the latter had been reported as early as the end of the sixteenth century, but for more definite information as to these localities the world was indebted to the Russian traders and hunters or other adventurers, who, upon a mere rumor of the existence of valuable furs, set out in such craft as they could lay their hands upon and made their way from island to island until the whole region was discovered.

Up to the year 1743 we have no account of any expedition in search of furs in this direction, but from that time for a period of nearly sixty years merchants and other individuals fitted out vessels and even squadrons of small craft, either individually or in company with others, for hunting and trading on the Aleutian and Kurile islands. Much of the information and reports brought back by these adventurers is supported by documents still in existence. These enterprises were exceedingly numerous, but for our purpose it is necessary only to mention briefly those that accomplished any new discoveries in the direction of the American coast.

The first to engage in this traffic was a sergeant of the Cossacks of lower Kamchatka, Emelian Bassof, who sailed in a small vessel of his own construction to the islands of Bering and Copper in four consecutive voyages in the years 1743, 1745, 1747, and 1749. The next adventurer to imitate Bassof's example was a sailor named Nevodchikof, who had served under Bering, and who sailed as commander of a vessel fitted out by the merchants Chuprof & Co., in the year 1745, reaching the islands of Attoo and Agatoo. In the year 1749 a small vessel, built and fitted out by the merchant Trapeznikof, succeeded in reaching the island of Atkha and a few of the smaller surrounding islands. In the year 1759 the trader Glottof, with a ship belonging to the merchant Nikiforof, advanced as far as the island of Oumnak, and subsequently discovered the whole group of islands, including Oonalashka, which was subsequently named the Fox islands. The discovery of this group has also been ascribed to a navigator of another expedition, Bashmakof, but as Bashmakof accomplished his voyage nearly ten years earlier, and as there is positive proof that no fox-skins were shipped to Kamchatka from the Aleutian islands previous to the year 1762, his claim to the honor of this discovery becomes very doubtful. The inhabitants of the islands also preserve a tradition that Glottof was the first Russian who came among them, and that he baptized many of the natives. Glottof was also the first to furnish a map of that region to his government, which map contained eight large islands situated east of Oonalashka.

In the year 1760 the merchant Andreian Tolstykh landed upon the island of Adakh, and in the course of a sojourn of three years accomplished a thorough exploration of that island and seven others surrounding it, and made a detailed report to the government, stating that he had subjected the people to the Russian crown. These islands were named, after him, the "Andreian islands". The result of his reports to the Russian government may be gleaned from the following ukase of the empress Catherine II to the governor of Siberia, Chicherin, dated March 2, 1766:

DENIS IVANOVICH:

Your information concerning the discovery and subjection of six Aleutian islands heretofore unknown, as well as the copy of the report of the Cossack Vassiutin, I have read with the greatest satisfaction. These enterprises are exceedingly pleasing to me. I am only sorry that there is no detailed description of the country and the people.

Your action in promising rewards to the merchant Tolstykh, and special privileges for any future undertakings of the same kind, under condition that a tribute of a tenth part of the result be paid to the crown, I fully approve; and you may tell him that he may proceed in accordance with this proposition. Him, as well as the Cossacks Vassutin and Lazarev, you will promote into the class of Siberian nobles.

God grant that the proposed voyage may be a fortunate one, and crowned with success. I should like very much to learn whether any information can be gleaned from the natives of those islands of any previous visit of Europeans to their country, and if there has been no wreck of vessels of any other nation. You must urge upon these promyshleniks to treat the natives with kindness and to avoid all oppression or ill treatment of their new brothers.

To this ukase was affixed the empress' own signature.

In the year 1761 a ship of the merchant Bechevin made the coast of the Aliaska peninsula. Up to this time the relations between the natives of the islands and the Russian invaders had been altogether of a friendly character, the former submitting patiently to the demands of the new-comers, but the promyshleniks, encouraged by their easy conquests, proceeded from bad to worse, committing outrages of every kind, reducing the people to a state of servitude verging upon absolute slavery, and continued to act in this manner until the patience of even this timid race was exhausted.

The first Russians to feel the effect of a change in the attitude of the natives were the members of an expedition under command of the merchant Drushinnin, who arrived at Oonalashka in 1762. Upon a given signal the people of all the villages on the island rose and slaughtered their oppressors, until of a complement of over 150 men only four individuals, who happened to be absent from their vessels, survived; these were subsequently saved through the good offices of a charitable Aleut, who kept them in concealment in the interior of the island until it was possible to communicate with the members of another expedition.

In the meantime the governor of Siberia, in answer to his instructions to furnish more detailed information concerning the new discovery, represented to the empress that it was impossible to accomplish this as long as the new discoveries were visited only by ignorant traders, incapable of making any astronomical observations or scientific inquiries. The governor requested that some naval officers be detailed to make the desired explorations. The empress referred the matter to the admiralty college, and after some correspondence two captains of the navy,

Krenitzin and Levashef, were selected to execute the will of the empress. After many mishaps these two officers succeeded in sailing from Kamchatka in two government vessels in the year 1768. Krenitzin, who was senior in command, advanced as far as the strait between the Aliaska peninsula and the island of Oonimak, and went into winter quarters, while his companion, Levashef, established himself with his crew in Captain's harbor, Oonalashka island. Krenitzin had some difficulties with the natives, resulting in several skirmishes, and both commands suffered terribly from the scurvy during the whole winter, disease and other misfortunes preventing them from doing much in the way of scientific observation, and in the following year they returned to Siberia with only one-third of the crew, the remainder having fallen victims to the scurvy or been killed by the warlike natives of the mainland.

The first visit to the island of Kadiak, made by Glottof, was also attended with disaster. He reached that island in the autumn of 1762, and went into winter quarters with his crew at the southeastern extremity of the island, in the neighborhood of the present settlement of Kagiak. After several hostile attacks, which were repulsed by the Russians, the natives kept aloof, refusing to trade; but when, in the course of the winter, scurvy appeared among the invaders, reducing their strength to less than one-third, the savages again made attempts to complete the work of the dread disease by killing the survivors, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Glottof succeeded, late in the following spring, in launching his vessel and making his escape to Oumnak.

The history of the Russian discoveries for the next twenty years is a continuous story of outrages committed by the numerous trading expeditions and of internal quarrels between themselves. The success of the earliest adventurers had been so great that every Siberian merchant who had a few thousand rubles at his command sought to associate himself with a few others, in order to fit out a miserable craft or two and engage in the same business, and over sixty distinct enterprises of the kind can be traced. They all carried on their operations on the same basis; that is, the owner or owners of the vessel engaged a crew on shares, the cargo of furs brought back by each vessel being divided into two equal shares; one of these was claimed by the owners who had furnished the means, and the other half was divided in such a manner as to give each member of the crew one share, and to the navigator and commander two each. After the division had been made each participant was obliged to give one-tenth of his share to the government. These so-called traders had managed to do their business with an exceedingly small stock of goods. Where no opposition was offered by the natives the invaders did not even pretend to buy skins of them, but forced them to go out and hunt and turn over their booty to the promyshleniks, without payment beyond a few beads and a leaf or two of tobacco given as a gratuity in consideration of good behavior; and the unfortunate natives were given to understand that as subjects of the Russian empire it was their duty to render such services in behalf of the crown.

The beginning of the eighth decade of the eighteenth century forms an epoch in the history of the Russian fur-trade on the islands of Bering sea. For several years previous to this period the most prominent merchant in Siberia engaged in this trade was Grigor Ivanovitch Shelikhof, a citizen of the town of Rylsk, who had come to Siberia, together with Ivan Larionovich Golikof, a merchant of the city of Kursk. For some time Shelikhof was engaged in business, in company with the latter and a few other Siberian traders, fitting out hunting expeditions to the Kurile and Aleutian islands, the results of which forced upon him the conviction that the yield of furs was growing less from year to year. The evident decrease in furs, together with the hostile attitude of the natives, provoked altogether by the inhuman treatment received at the hands of their visitors, called for some fundamental reform in the manner of doing business and the mode of treatment of the natives, in order to achieve a revival of trade. Fully aware of the necessity that the new discoveries should be connected with the mother country by closer ties, Shelikhof made up his mind to visit in person the distant regions, in order to discover the best means for the accomplishment of his ends, and for this purpose he persuaded his partner Golikof, together with another Golikof, Mikhail Sergeievich, who was called a captain, to form a new company for a period of ten years. The paid-up capital of the new firm was limited to 70,000 rubles, divided into 120 shares, and with this capital it was proposed to construct two or three ships and dispatch them on a sea voyage under the personal supervision of Shelikhof; or, according to the wording of the mutual agreement by the partners, "to sail for Aliaska land, called America, and for known and unknown islands, to carry on the fur-trade and explorations, and to establish friendly intercourse with the natives."

Having fitted out at Okhotsk three galliots, named respectively the Three Saints, the Archangel Michael, and the Simeon the Friend of God and Anna the Prophetess, Shelikhof sailed with them on the 16th of August, 1783, taking passage with his wife on the first of these vessels. Bad weather and contrary winds caused the vessels of the expedition to separate, and after losing sight of the second named vessel the commander concluded to winter on Bering island. After visiting during the following year the island of Oonalashka, and repairing his vessels as far as possible, Shelikhof sailed with interpreters and ten Aleutians, who voluntarily joined his expedition, for the island of Kadiak, leaving orders for the commander of the missing vessel to follow him to the same place. On the 3d of August, 1784, the two vessels reached the island and entered a harbor, which they named after the ship Three Saints.

Several bidarkas were sent out to discover whether the island was inhabited, and in the course of the day they brought back one of the natives, whom Shelikhof treated with great kindness, making him presents, and sent him

home the next day. It was evident that the savage liked the reception given him by the Russians, as he reappeared the following day and refused to leave Shelikhof again until his final departure from the island. He not only accompanied him and served him in all his voyages about the island, but he frequently warned him of the hostile intentions of his countrymen. This hostile disposition soon became apparent. A party of men sent out in boats to hunt and to explore the island discovered a multitude of natives assembled on a precipitous, rocky island a short distance from the coast. Shelikhof gives the number of these as 4,000, an evident exaggeration. Thinking that such an assemblage could not be without some special object Shelikhof resolved to send to the island a deputation to invite the natives to trade with the Russians and to live at peace with them, but the only answer made by the savages was a threatening demand that the navigators should immediately leave the island and never dare to approach it again. Upon this reply Shelikhof himself proceeded to the spot and endeavored to persuade the savages to assume friendly relations with himself and his men, declaring that he had come with no hostile intention, but was actuated by a sincere wish to benefit the people of the country. His words, as they were explained to the natives by the interpreters, had no visible effect, and a few arrows were discharged from the multitude, causing the boats to retreat to the ships. Measures were taken at once for defense in case of sudden attack. A few days later, in the middle of the night, the savages approached the harbor unobserved and threw themselves upon the Russians. The battle lasted until daylight with great slaughter on both sides, for the necessity of self preservation caused the promyshleniks to fight with extraordinary bravery, and at last the enemy, though vastly superior in numbers, was put to flight. This first victory did not by any means avert all danger, as it was reported by one of the natives who had come over to the side of the Russians that the savages were only waiting for considerable reinforcements from a neighboring tribe, and were fully resolved to renew the attack upon the intruders and to exterminate them to the last man. Under such circumstances Shelikhof resolved at once to attack the main stronghold of the enemy on the rocky island. With a picked crew of promyshleniks he attacked the savages in a position deemed by them impregnable, and after a few discharges from his iron 2-pounders stormed the place with such impetuosity that the enemy became completely demoralized, jumping over the precipices into the sea, and surrendering in large numbers to the Russians. This victory was achieved at great sacrifice in killed and wounded on the part of the Russians. The prisoners taken were located at a distance of fifty versts from the harbor and furnished by Shelikhof with provisions and hunting-gear. In order to secure their allegiance twenty children of the most prominent among the captives were taken as hostages on board the ships. Occasional attacks were made after this upon hunting parties at a great distance from Shelikhof's headquarters, but the invaders had attained such a moral supremacy over the people that no further combined or organized opposition was offered.

As soon as Shelikhof found himself relieved from anxiety concerning the safety of his small command he began the organization of his colony and a systematic exploration of the surrounding regions. He dispatched one expedition in four large bidars, carrying fifty-two Russians and eleven natives of the Aleutian islands, and accompanied by 110 natives of Kadiak, each in his own canoe. The command proceeded along the northern side of Kadiak island, and crossing the strait dividing the island from the Aliaska peninsula (subsequently named after Shelikhof) explored the coast of the mainland to the northward as far as the mountainous coast of Cook's inlet, inhabited by a different race. The expedition met with no opposition, which was probably due to its numerical strength more than to an actual liking of the natives for their visitors. A few hostages were brought back to Shelikhof's headquarters, but the trade carried on in the course of this exploration was of insignificant proportions. This large party on its return was located at Karluk, on the western side of Kadiak, and from here the hunters ranged north and south throughout the winter in active pursuit of the sea-otter. The promyshleniks remaining under Shelikhof's immediate command also made explorations of the island in various directions, taking hostages from every village and establishing trade among the natives. One small party advanced as far as Shuiak, the northernmost island of the Kadiak archipelago, where friendly relations were established with the native chief; the latter succeeded in gaining the fullest confidence of the Russian leader, and was furnished with quite a large quantity of goods for trade, with the understanding that he was to act as Shelikhof's agent. The selection was an unfortunate one, as the chief not only retained the goods for his own use, but killed the men who were sent to look after the business, and then formed an alliance with the Kenaitze, on Cook's inlet, who sent him a force of nearly a thousand men to join in a combined attack on Shelikhof's fortifications. When this news was received at Three Saints bay, at the beginning of the year 1786, Shelikhof at once dispatched two parties to meet the enemy, one consisting of promyshleniks alone, and the other of friendly natives of Kadiak and Aleutians. They were instructed to disperse the approaching enemy and to establish a fortification on the island of Afognak, adjoining Kadiak. At the end of the season reports arrived from the north to the effect that the objects of the expedition had been accomplished, and that a lodgment had been effected, not only on Afognak, but on the coast of Cook's inlet, after severe chastisement of the hostile Kenaitze inhabiting that region.

Another exploring party was sent to Prince William sound, with orders to proceed as far as cape Saint Elias, located by Bering in his second voyage, now known to be the southern end of the island of Kaiak. As a business venture this last enterprise was not very successful, the inhabitants of Prince William sound and the Copper River delta showing decided aversion to intercourse with the Russians; and apparently the only result of the enterprise was the erection of crosses and various other signs at different points of the islands and sea-coast for the purpose

of notifying explorers of other nations that the coast had been taken possession of by the Russians. Both Spanish and English vessels had been in the same vicinity many years previous, and had taken formal possession, leaving the usual marks of notification. All these were carefully removed by the Russians before planting their own. The same geographical farce was enacted again at the time of Vancouver's cruise in the waters of Prince William sound, when, on several occasions, the English discoverer took formal possession of one side of an island while the Spaniard erected his crosses on the other side, and at the same time the Russians, already permanently established, moved quickly about from place to place in their light, skin-covered boats, removing the marks of possession as fast as planted, and substituting their own.

At his headquarters in Three Saints bay Shelikhof labored faithfully to enlighten his captives and hostages and to convert them to the Greek Catholic faith. His arguments were of a practical nature; he showed them the advantages of living according to the customs of Christianity and civilization, and the poor miserable savages were only too glad to be allowed to partake of such rude comforts as the Russian traders could boast, and in return for these advantages were always willing to go through any ceremony Shelikhof chose to perform. Nearly all the captives and many of the visitors from the neighboring tribes and villages were baptized and duly counted as members of the orthodox church, and at the same time a school was established for children and adults, in which the pupils were instructed in a few rudiments of education.

Shelikhof, according to his own account, took particular care to tell these people the most marvelous stories concerning the goodness, power, and benevolence of the empress of Russia, representing it as the highest privilege to be one of her subjects. He had with him some wretched portraits of the imperial family, and as these were the first examples of the painter's art ever beheld by the natives, they made considerable impression upon their minds. Shelikhof's wife also did her part in the work of civilization, instructing the girls and the women in needlework and such household arts as could be of any use to the savages.

In the month of May, 1786, the ship Three Saints had been repaired and fitted for the return voyage, and having convinced himself that all that could be effected in establishing and fortifying his headquarters in the newly-discovered district had been done, Shelikhof resolved to take his departure, in order to obtain more private means as well as government assistance and sanction for his enterprise. He sailed on the 22d of May, and just as his ship was leaving the coast the long-lost sister ship Saint Michael appeared in the distance. It appeared from the commander's report that this unfortunate vessel had been nearly three years making her passage from Kamchatka to Kadiak, a distance of about a thousand miles. After promptly relieving the incapable commander Shelikhof ordered the ship to assist in an organized exploration of the coast in company with the remaining vessel of the fleet; one of the vessels to visit the northern coast of the peninsula and proceed thence northward as far as Bering strait, while the other was to survey the coast from Kadiak eastward.

Shelikhof himself arrived at Kamchatka on the 8th of August and proceeded at once to Okhotsk, reaching that port in January, 1787. He had taken from the islands 30 natives, who subsequently accompanied him to Irkutsk. He at once submitted to the governor-general of eastern Siberia a detailed report of his discoveries, with charts of the islands and plans of the fortifications and stations established, asking for instructions for the future conduct of the enterprise; and he made the bold statement that by his labors 50,000 subjects had been added to the Russian empire, ready to do homage to the empress and to accept the Christian faith. If he had divided this number by ten he would have been nearer the truth. He stated to the governor-general that without the approval of the empress his labor would be in vain, as he had acted with the sole purpose of doing his humble share in the extension and aggrandizement of his country and in securing the discoveries made by Russians against the encroachments of other powers, and upon his urgent representations Jacobi, the governor-general, forwarded his reports and charts to St. Petersburg.

In the meantime Golikof, Shelikhof's partner, had paid a visit to his home in the city of Kursk. The empress happening to pass through the place on one of her voyages through the empire, Golikof seized the opportunity to present himself before her and to display the maps and charts of his partner. The empress was at once interested, inquired into the doings of the firm in all its details, and gave orders that Shelikhof present himself in person at the palace as soon as he came to St. Petersburg. Immediately after the return of the empress to the capital two expeditions were organized for the exploration of the new discoveries in the far east. One of these was to proceed by sea from the Baltic, with Kamchatka as the objective point, and the command of the enterprise was given to Admiral Mulovsky. The other expedition was to be fitted out at Okhotsk, under command of the English Captain Billings, who was to give special attention to the American coast. The first expedition did not sail, on account of a declaration of war between Sweden and Russia at that time, while the second was delayed until the year 1790.

The governor-general of eastern Siberia was at once instructed to report the best means of fostering the commercial enterprises in the Pacific ocean, and of maintaining Russian supremacy over the new discoveries; and he was also to report a system of management of the native tribes, in order to extend to them the benefits of Christianity and civilization, and to improve their mode of life.

In order to secure Russia's possession of her new discoveries Jacobi considered it sufficient to send at once 30 large copper plates with the Russian coat-of-arms, and as many wooden crosses with the inscription, "Land in Russian possession." The greater part of these were to be turned over to the agents of Shelikhof and Golikof, who

were already acquainted with the best localities for planting such tokens. With regard to the amelioration of the condition of the natives the governor proposed that the tribute theretofore levied by Cossacks accompanying the traders, or by the latter themselves, should be changed to a voluntary tax, left to the determination of the native chiefs. At the same time Jacobi expressed the opinion that as long as every Siberian trader was allowed to roam at will over the islands and coasts of the Pacific ocean the natives would always be at the mercy of these men, who carried with them crews composed of the worst elements to be found among Siberian convicts and desperadoes. He called attention to the humane and patriotic manner in which Shelikhof had conducted his enterprises and explorations, and to the fact that he had baptized many of the pagan natives and had done his utmost to instruct both children and adults, always proclaiming that everything he did was done in the name and for the glory of her majesty the empress; if, therefore, the regions incorporated with the empire through the efforts of these men were left under their control, the interests of both the crown and the new subjects would always be duly considered, while the lawless horde of Siberian promyshleniks and convicts would be driven from the country, and thereby the most fruitful cause of strife with the natives removed forever. Jacobi was very eloquent in urging the empress to confer exclusive privileges upon the company represented by Shelikhof and his partners; but his ardor in the matter was to a certain extent explained by the subsequent appearance of his name among the shareholders of the company.

Upon the receipt of Jacobi's report and propositions, and the petition of Shelikhof and Golikof concerning their proposed further extension of trading operations over the islands of the Pacific and the coast of America, the empress at once instructed the department of commerce, through its president, Count Chernyshev, to make a thorough examination of all subjects pertaining to the condition and trade of those localities, and of the means of extending Russian commerce in the Pacific ocean. The committee on commerce presented, in March, 1788, the following opinion:

The important results obtained through the organized exertions of the Shelikhof company deserve not only the approval of the government of the continuance and extension of those operations, but also the most active assistance, especially taking into consideration the great expenditure incurred by the company who has already invested 250,000 rubles without any prospect of speedy return, and whose expenses in the immediate future cannot be estimated at less than 200,000. The prosecution of Shelikhof's enterprise is of the highest importance at the present time, on account of the interruption of our trade with China, which latter circumstance involves great loss to the whole of Siberia and has a pernicious influence on all Russian commerce. The goods and manufactured articles intended by the Russian merchants for the Chinese trade are now blocking up warehouses without bringing any returns, and no profit can be realized upon the capital thus invested. The articles which Russia has carried to China in order to obtain tea and nankeen are partially obtained from other powers, and a loss in this direction involves a rise in the price of exchange. Finally, the high prices of all stores and provisions needed for fitting out expeditions to the islands of the Pacific and American coast would alone justify the company to ask for some assistance from the government, without which the operations would be necessarily limited. In consideration of the facts stated the committee takes the liberty to represent to her majesty that it would be well, in accordance with the request of Shelikhof and Golikof, to place to their credit from the public treasury the sum of 200,000 rubles for twenty years, without interest, the capital to be returned in instalments at convenient intervals; the sum should also be exempt from taxation. This favor would enable the company to resume their enterprise in the most vigorous manner and thereby to revive trade and traffic throughout the eastern portion of her majesty's dominions. The government would always be in a position to reimburse the treasury by levying a duty of 10 per cent. on goods and furs crossing the border.

The committee recommends action upon the propositions of Governor-General Jacobi in accordance with his plans, but to him should be left the appointment of commanders of fortifications established in the new regions.

An addition was made to this report on recommendation of the committee in behalf of Shelikhof and Golikof, which resulted in the following imperial ukase, issued September 28, 1787:

In consideration of the services rendered by the merchants Shelikhof and Golikof to the advantage of the imperial government in the discovery and settlement of unknown countries, and the establishment of commercial intercourse with native tribes, we most graciously present to each of them a sword, and a gold medal to be worn around the neck, with our portrait upon one side and a legend on the other, stating the reason for which the decoration was conferred. The usual letters of transmittal and commendation to accompany these awards.

Signed by us and countersigned by the president of the senate.

On his return to Irkutsk Shelikhof at once ordered the equipment of two vessels for the voyage of discovery—one being destined for the Kurile islands and the other for the American coast and the Aleutian islands, with the intention of establishing a settlement as far south on the coast of the mainland as possible. In the year 1787 he dispatched another vessel from Okhotsk with supplies for the stations of his company already established on the islands. In 1788 the ship *Three Saints* sailed under instructions issued by Delarof, a Greek, who had been to Kadiak as manager of the Shelikhof colony. Two experienced sailors, Ismailof and Bochorof, were in command of this expedition. In the month of May the ship arrived in the gulf of Chugatch, or Prince William sound, where quite a trade was carried on with the natives of that vicinity; and as the price paid for a sea-otter skin at that time consisted of eight or nine needles and three or four small beads, the traffic must have been profitable. The two explorers entered the bay of Nuchek and remained at anchor for some time in one of its many coves, which they named after Saints Constantine and Helena. All the chiefs of the neighborhood who came to visit the Russians were duly decorated with copper and bronze medals in accordance with instructions from Jacobi, but it was found impracticable to place the copper tablets claiming possession for the Russian empire in any prominent position, on account of the thieving propensities of the natives, who would seize immediately upon any scrap of metal within their reach.

From Nuchek the ship proceeded to Yakutat, or Bering bay. Here the head chief also received a medal and, at his earnest request, a portrait of the prince heir, the grand duke Paul Petrovich. According to Bochorof's account the chief was exceedingly proud of this piece of art, but when another explorer visited the vicinity, only a year later, not a vestige of the portrait could be found, and the natives stated that immediately upon the departure of the Three Saints the grand duke's image had been burned with great festivities and rejoicings. This expedition also entered Lituya bay, which had two years previously been visited by La Pérouse, and named Port des Français, the French explorer being ignorant of its earlier discovery by the Russians. Though the Russians most certainly had learned from the natives the disaster which overtook at that place two of the boats of La Pérouse, not a word of this or any other particular concerning the French visitors was mentioned in the official reports of Shelikhof's company, the ignorant traders imagining that they could keep the fact of La Pérouse's movements from their own government. In the following year Ismailof alone explored most thoroughly the gulf of Kenai, or Cook's inlet. In the meantime an additional discovery had been made which increased the anxiety of Shelikhof and his partners to obtain from the government the exclusive right of trade on the American coast.

The skipper Gerassim Pribylof had succeeded, after several vain attempts, in finding the summer resort of the fur-seals, first on the island of Saint George, and in the following year on Saint Paul. Small numbers of these seals had been killed annually during their passage up or down between the islands of the Aleutian chain, and the skins had found a ready market on the Chinese border; but when Pribylof and his companions returned with the marvelous tale of millions of these animals congregating on two small islands, easy of access, this branch of the trade became at once of the highest importance. To secure the overland trade with China was a question of life and death with the Siberian merchants, but as they could not compete with the staples and manufactured articles introduced into the celestial empire by England and Holland by sea, the trade had been declining and languishing for years. This new discovery, however, caused a sudden change in the aspect of commercial affairs on the Chinese border. The celestials prized the skin of the fur-seal above any other. They had known this kind of peltry from time immemorial—probably through shipments made from the coast of Japan—and had long since discovered a process of removing the hair and dyeing the fur in various colors. With an almost unlimited supply of this article at their command the Russian merchants could have their choice of Chinese staples most salable in the marts of their own empire.

During the few years of the existence of the Shelikhof company, with partial protection of the empress and the exclusive privileges in the discoveries made by their own navigators, nearly all the smaller companies had gradually gone to the wall. It was not always the power conferred upon a great firm by its larger capital that gained the day in a spirited contest for a valuable trade; it frequently occurring that the employés of one company resorted to force of arms in order to obtain advantages over the others, and then, of course, the strongest company was sure to win. The only rival of Shelikhof and his company during this last period of free trade was the company named, after two of its principal shareholders, the Lebedev-Lastochkin company. The stations of this company were located on both islands and mainland, often in close vicinity of those of their rivals, and even Captain Pribylof was in their employ when he made his important discovery; but the shrewd Shelikhof had long since bought up under various names a large number of shares in the rival company, and thereby succeeded in reaping the benefits of the discovery for himself and his own company. At home in Siberia there existed apparently the best understanding between the leading spirits of the two companies, but in their field of operations on the coasts and islands of America a bitter strife was kept up between their respective agents. This state of affairs appears all the more strange when we consider that Shelikhof was by no means the only one who held shares in both concerns; as, among others, Lebedev was almost equally interested in both companies. In spite of these circumstances the quarrels and hostile encounters between the traders increased from year to year, until on Cook's inlet the depredations committed and the raids made by one party of hunters upon the other acquired such dimensions as almost to deserve the name of warlike operations. A native Siberian by the name of Kolomin had established himself for the Shelikhof company at the site of the present Kenai, or Rédoute Saint Nicholas, where he lorded it over the natives with great severity and wanton cruelty. A Russian captain of the rival company, named Konovalof, drove him out of his fortification and caused him to build up a new settlement some 20 or 30 miles to the southward. The conqueror in this conflict, however, had no sooner begun to attend to his trade with the natives, and to send out hunting parties and explorers, than his vanquished enemy seized the opportunity to make night attacks upon any small detachments sent away to a distance from the fort; and in many of these enterprises Kolomin was assisted by the natives of the warlike Kenaitze tribe. Both parties had traders and hunters on Prince William sound, on the other side of the Kenai peninsula, and hostilities soon broke out in that region also. This fighting between the Russians had, of course, the most pernicious effect upon the natives, who seized upon every opportunity to fall upon the vanquished in the various encounters and kill or capture all that had been spared by the stronger party.

At this time of general anarchy, and when the very existence of the Russians in these distant regions was threatened, a new character appeared upon the scene. Shelikhof recognized that without the strong hand of some experienced man at the head of their enterprise in the colonies the business would soon prove a total loss, as every branch of it was then declining, and he finally selected a merchant from the town of Kargopol by the name of Baranof, who had displayed extraordinary energy and decision in the management of his own affairs in Siberia. Shelikhof

approached him several times with requests to enter the employ of his company, but being in business for himself Baranof, who had an independent spirit, always declined, until finally he met with overwhelming losses in his own enterprises, having two or three of his trading caravans destroyed and plundered by the savage Ghukches in the vicinity of Anadyrok. Shelikhof at once called upon the ruined trader and offered him ten preferred shares of his company for his services. A contract was concluded on the 18th of August, 1790, and the man who finally established the Russian empire on our North American continent sailed for his new field of action.

The Russian government was fully acquainted with the results of Cook's voyages and his visits to the northwestern coast of America. He had in 1778 taken possession of various points of the coast on Cook's inlet and Bristol bay, and had made a brief stay on the island of Oonalashka, where he tarried a few days for the purpose of restowing his cargo. Prince William sound had been visited later by Portlock, Dixon, and Meares, who also extended their trading operations to Cook's inlet and even to Kadiak island. The Spaniards also had determined the astronomical positions of many points in that vicinity, and given names to a few bays and islands. Apprehensive that such attempts might be renewed in greater force the imperial government had enjoined the Shelikhof company to prevent, if possible, the seizure by foreign powers of any of the territory then occupied by the Russian traders, while Baranof was furnished with the most minute instructions upon this subject, calculated to guide his actions under any emergency that might arise in such a way as to secure the actual or imaginary rights of the Russian government in the Pacific ocean. The English establishment at Nootka, on Vancouver island, was considered as especially threatening to Russian interests, and Baranof was instructed to push his establishment southward in that direction as far as possible, and even to occupy Nootka itself if it lay in his power. Every vestige or mark of foreign occupation was to be destroyed and replaced by the copper tablets previously mentioned.

The first difficulty Baranof found himself obliged to cope with was the hostile attitude of the rival traders on Cook's inlet, but he made short work of these; both Kolomin and Konovalof were seized, placed in irons, and sent to Siberia for trial, and their followers were scattered over the various trading-posts of both companies in such a manner as to make it impossible to communicate with each other. A cruel castigation with the knout was inflicted in most cases, in order to impress the wretches with the fact that the reign of lawlessness was at an end and that the promyshlenik no longer ruled the land.

Though small of stature Baranof was possessed of a physique of extraordinary strength and great power of endurance. He was an indefatigable traveler, and had a natural talent for management and organization. As soon as he arrived on Kadiak island he discovered that the headquarters selected by Shelikhof were not adapted to the requirements of the larger scale of operations he had in view, and took steps at once to remove the principal establishment to the harbor of Saint Paul, on the northeastern end of the island, where the settlement of that name is now located. There he had timber at hand sufficient for all the buildings of the company, and an ample harbor with many outlets, allowing ships to depart and enter with almost any wind.

As soon as the foundation was laid to the new central establishment at Saint Paul harbor Baranof returned with renewed vigor to the exploration of the adjoining coast. The skipper Bocharof was dispatched with a party of 30 men in a large skin-covered boat to examine the northern coast of the Aliaska peninsula, and began his exploration at Issanakh strait, between the southern point of the peninsula and the island of Oonimak. He followed the coast of the mainland northward, and was well received by the natives of the few scattered villages he encountered on his way. Late in the season Bocharof's expedition arrived at the mouth of the Kvichak, the outlet of lake Ilyamna. The chief of the populous village located here treated the new-comers with the greatest consideration, and expressed his willingness to give hostages and live at peace with the Russians forever after. The approach of winter and the lack of fresh provisions, together with the appearance of scurvy among his men, caused Bocharof to make an effort to return to Kadiak. His native friends told him of a portage route across the peninsula; this he followed, discovering at that early day the quickest and safest means of communication between the strait of Shelikhof and Bering sea, and he returned to Saint Paul harbor at the beginning of winter with a large quantity of furs, walrus-ivory, and deer-skins. Baranof himself had set out early in the spring of 1793 in two large skin-boats with 30 men in the direction of Cook's inlet, but finding the yield of sea-otters in that vicinity decreasing, he made his way around the Kenai peninsula into the waters of Prince William sound, where he entered into friendly relations with natives of all the coast villages, taking hostages from them; and at Nuchek harbor he encountered Ismailof, the commander of the Saint Simeon, who had been cruising in search of new discoveries. After dispatching a portion of his command to the island of Sukluk (Montague) Baranof prepared to encamp on the island. Just at that time a large force of Kolosh Indians appeared in the harbor bent upon avenging some real or imaginary insult offered to one of their tribe by the Chugatch Innuits. Observing the small force of Russians, they concluded to combine revenge with profit by taking possession of the stores and trading goods belonging to Baranof. In the middle of the night they surrounded his bivouac, and under cover of darkness succeeded in throwing themselves upon the tents before the alarm was given. The panic created among the Aleutians of Baranof's party added much to the confusion, and everybody was groping for arms and ammunition in the dark, scarcely knowing in which direction to shoot, or able to discern a friend from an enemy. At last toward daylight the superior arms of the Russians prevailed, and at the same time re-enforcements arrived from Ismailof's

ship. Twelve dead bodies of the enemy were found on the field; their wounded they had carried away with them. In Baranof's party two Russians and nine Aleuts were killed and over fifteen wounded. The commander himself wrote of the occurrence in the following words:

God preserved me, though my shirt was pierced by several spears, and the arrows fell thick, without doing much damage. I was awakened from a sound sleep and had no time to dress, but as soon as I had emerged from my tent I knew that we should be able to beat them.

As early as 1791 Shelikhof had conceived the idea that, in order to convince the Russian government of the company's intention to permanently settle and develop the newly-discovered country, it would be wise to construct a few ships in the colonies to ply between the new settlements and Okhotsk or Kamchatka. He acted upon this idea at once, and in the autumn of the same year dispatched to Kadiak in the ship *Northern Eagle*, under command of Lieutenant Shields, a cargo of iron, cordage, canvas, and other materials for ship-building. The captain of the vessel was a practical shipwright who had left the English naval service and entered the Russian army. Shelikhof, always looking about for the best means to advance his colonial enterprise, discovered the fact of Shields' practical knowledge of ship-building and engaged his services at once. As soon as he had the means at hand Baranof selected a bay in Prince William sound as his future ship-yard, the harbor being named Resurrection bay. Timber of the largest size abounded in its immediate vicinity, and under Baranof's personal supervision and Shields' practical management a ship was completed in the summer of 1794. This craft had two decks, three masts, a length of 73 feet by 23 feet beam and 13½ feet depth of hold; she measured 180 tons, and was named the *Phoenix*. This was certainly the first three-masted ship ever built on the northwest coast of America. Having no paint or tar, Baranof was obliged to cover the new craft with a coating of spruce-gum, ocher, and whale-oil. As soon as the *Phoenix* was launched the keels of two smaller vessels 40 feet in length were laid, and these also were finished the following year and named the *Dolphin* and the *Olga*.

By this time Baranof's operations had been extended beyond Yakutat or Bering bay, and he was reaping a rich harvest of sea-otters in that vicinity, principally by means of his own hunting parties of Innuits from Kadiak and Oonalashka.

The two ships of Captain Vancouver, the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*, cruised in Cook's inlet and Prince William sound during the summer of 1794, but the great English explorer never succeeded in meeting Baranof, in spite of repeated efforts. Baranof had his instructions to keep out of the way of foreigners, and to give no unnecessary information concerning the company's business or the intentions of the Russian government. At the same time he was afraid that Shields, the Englishman, might be induced to leave him should he meet with his countrymen. His desertion would have been a great misfortune indeed, and would have nipped in the bud all schemes of naval construction for the future. Baranof succeeded in preventing a meeting, though a few letters passed between officers of the *Discovery* and the English shipwright.

Another important event of the year 1794 was the arrival of the first mission of the Greek church in those waters. For several years the astute Shelikhof had petitioned the government to dispatch priests and missionaries to the new settlements, stating that his own efforts to spread the gospel among the pagan natives must necessarily be limited, and that he should not feel safe among such numerous savage tribes unless the peaceful doctrines of Christianity were inculcated and preached among them. In a special ukase, dated June 30, 1793, the empress, Catherine II, instructed the metropolite Gabriel to select the best material for such a mission, and in the following year the archimandrite Ivassof, with seven clergymen and two laymen, was despatched to the island of Kadiak from Okhotsk on two vessels. At the same time Shelikhof had asked that a certain number of Siberian convicts, especially mechanics and farm laborers, with their families, might be selected to establish an agricultural settlement on the coast of America. This request was also granted by the empress Catherine in a ukase dated September 1, 1793, and the whole force, numbering over 200 persons, arrived at Kadiak together.

Of the convict settlers Shelikhof retained four families at Okhotsk, with the intention of sending them to the Kurile islands, and the remainder were to be settled in the vicinity of Yakutat, but the best mechanics and laborers among them were picked out for service at the various stations of the company before the colonists reached their destination.

The members of the mission at once began work at Kadiak and went forth to preach in various directions. One of them, named Makar, went to Oonalashka and converted and baptized within a few years nearly the whole of the Aleutian tribes. Another missionary, the monk Juvenal, proceeded northward to Cook's inlet and from there to the Ilyampa region, where he was finally slain by the natives for too active interference with their polygamous practices; while a third, named Germand, established a school on Spruce island, in Saint Paul harbor, where he lived for over forty years, instructing native boys and girls in the Christian faith and in agricultural and industrial pursuits. The other ecclesiastics remained in the immediate suite of the archimandrite, and a few years later accompanied the latter to Irkutsk, where he was ordained as bishop for the new Russian possessions on the Pacific. While returning with his new honors from Okhotsk the ship foundered at sea with all on board, and was never heard from again. This was the vessel constructed by Baranof in 1794. From that early time Russian clergymen and missionaries have never been absent from Alaska, but the number of actual communicants of the Greek orthodox churches has never exceeded 10,000 at any one time. In the course of the present century seven organized parishes and three mission stations were established, the latter all located on the mainland.

Shelikhof lived only long enough to see verified his prediction of a revival of the Chinese trade by means of the introduction of fur-seal skins. Commercial transactions at Kiakhta had almost wholly ceased for many years, but in the year 1794 the Chinese government notified the governor of Siberia that the merchants of the celestial empire were anxious to resume their operations on the border, and at the same time new privileges were granted to the Russians in conducting the intercourse. In the following year, on the 20th of July, 1795, Shelikhof died at Irkutsk, a few days after the receipt of a patent of nobility from the empress conferred in consideration of his services to his country; but his widow continued the management of the company's business. It had been a favorite scheme of her husband to effect the union or consolidation of the various companies trading in eastern Siberia, Kamchatka, and the American colonies, a scheme which was also favored by Ivan Golikof, one of the partners; and when the widow assumed control of the common business she used her influence to carry out her husband's wishes. The consolidation was finally effected in the year 1797, and the new firm, under the name of the Russian-American Company, obtained a charter from the Russian government granting it the exclusive right to all the territory and the resources of water and land in the new Russian possessions, including Kamchatka, the district of Okhotsh, and the Kurile islands. This charter, which was finally (1799) granted by the emperor Paul, who had at first opposed the creation of such a monopoly, marks an epoch in the history of Alaska, which from that time until the transfer of the country to the United States became identical with that of the Russian-American Company. The privileges conferred by the charter were very great and of the most exclusive nature, but at the same time the company was burdened with some heavy obligations, being compelled to maintain at its own expense the government of the country, a church establishment, a military force, and at various points in the territory magazines of provisions and stores to be used by the government for its naval vessels or troops whenever it was necessary. At a time when all such stores had to be transported from Russia overland through Siberia this was the most burdensome clause of the charter, and numerous petitions were forwarded by the company to be relieved from its provisions. Under this charter the company paid no royalty or rent to the government, but the treasury was in receipt of large sums in the shape of duty on teas carried by the company over the Chinese border. The records show that in some years as much as two million rubles were paid by the company to the government for these duties alone. The company was also obliged to make experiments in the establishment of agricultural settlements. The natives were freed from all taxes in skins or money, but those who were under its control were obliged to furnish a certain quota of sea-otter hunters to the company every season; all men between the ages of eighteen and fifty being liable to this duty, but not more than one-half of this number could be called upon at one time. The management of the company was placed in the hands of the administrative council, composed of shareholders in St. Petersburg, with a general office at Irkutsk and a chief manager residing in the colonies, who had to be selected from officers of the imperial navy of a rank not lower than post-captain. The chief manager had an assistant, who was also a naval officer, and each received a salary from the company independent of his pay from the government. As long as the company maintained a military or naval force in the colonies at its own expense such forces were entirely at the disposal of the chief manager; and the company also had the privilege of selecting the soldiers and sailors in its employ from any force stationed in Siberia, which gave it the opportunity of picking out such mechanics and tradesmen as were most useful in the colonies. The company was also permitted to purchase at cost-price powder, lead, and arms from the government works in Siberia. The chief manager had full jurisdiction over all offenders and criminals within the colonies, with the exception of capital crimes; offenders of that class were given a preliminary trial and then forwarded to the nearest court of justice in Siberia. In cases of mutiny or revolt the powers of the chief manager were absolute. The servants and employes of the company were engaged for a certain term of years, at the end of which time the company was obliged to furnish them free transportation to their homes, unless the unfortunate individuals were indebted to it, in which case they could be detained until the debt was paid. This privilege enabled the company to retain in the colonies any men among the lower class of employes whose services were desirable, as the miserable pittance allowed to the employes made it an impossibility to keep out of debt. Even among the higher officials were many who had served one period of seven years after another without succeeding in clearing themselves sufficiently from their obligations to the company to be allowed to return to their homes.

The charter was granted for a period of twenty years, counting from the year 1799. The company also had the right to carry its own flag, to employ naval officers as captains of its vessels, and to call itself, "under the highest protection of his imperial majesty, the Russian-American Company." In the meantime the new company began to attract considerable attention at St. Petersburg and Moscow, nobles and high officials of the government buying shares, and finally the emperor and members of the imperial family began to invest; the latter, however, making their investments under the pretext of donating their shares to schools and charitable institutions. It was the first enterprise of the kind in the Russian empire, and under imperial patronage rose rapidly in public favor. Its most sanguine supporters prophesied for it a future prosperity as great as that of the English East India Company; and many of the shareholders were dreaming of an annexation of Japan and perhaps portions of China on one side of the Pacific, and of the whole coast down to the gulf of California on the other.

A nobleman high in office and of very influential connections, Count Nikolai Rezanof, chamberlain of the emperor, had married a daughter of Shelikhof. His wife died two years after the marriage, but the count had

identified himself with his father-in-law's enterprise, and the final development of the company into the grand monopoly was chiefly due to his incessant exertions and his judicious advice to his mother-in-law, the widow of Shelikhof.

Baranof in the meantime had been very successful in extending the domains of the company. In the year 1799 he extended his operations to Sitka, a region which had been explored a few years previously by Captain Shields under Baranof's orders. Shields had met there two ships belonging to American traders, who informed him that both English and American vessels frequently obtained cargoes of sea-otter and other skins in that vicinity. Anxious to locate himself at a point where he could communicate with vessels of other nations and purchase supplies of them, Baranof made up his mind to establish himself permanently in the bay of Sitka or Norfolk sound, and proceeded to that locality in the brig Catherine, accompanied by a large fleet of Innuited hunters and their bidarkas. With the assistance of these he secured over 1,500 sea-otter skins within a few weeks, and then began the construction of a fortified trading-post, the site selected for which was distant about 6 miles from the present Sitka. During the winter of 1799 and 1800 his whole force was busy erecting substantial log-houses and a high stockade surrounding them. In the spring of 1800 some American trading-ships made their appearance, and the owners carried on a brisk traffic under the very eyes of Baranof, who at once forwarded dispatches to the administrative council of the company, representing that the government must put a stop to such infractions upon their privileges. The strangers obtained most of their sea-otter skins in exchange for fire-arms, and paid no attention to Baranof's remonstrances. As soon as the Americans had left Baranof returned to Kadiak, where he found the employes of the company in a state bordering on insurrection. There had been disputes between officers of the company and members of the clergy, each declaring himself independent of the other, and the bad feeling had extended even to the ranks of the common laborers. No attention was paid to the orders of the company's agent in charge; and a few bold spirits had already commenced to fit out one of the small vessels of the company for the purpose of leaving for other climes, when Baranof returned and in a few days succeeded in restoring order, punishing the chief offenders with great severity. A man by the name of Larionof made an attempt to assassinate the chief manager, but Baranof seized his assailant's hand, wrenched his weapon from him, and strangled him to death with his own hands.

The loss of the ship Phoenix, which occurred about this time, interfered most seriously with Baranof's plans, as he stood in great need of both goods and men. The garrison he had left at Sitka was a small one, surrounded by numerous hostile tribes. He felt the necessity of re-enforcing his establishment there, while he saw himself powerless to send any succor of supplies or promyshleniks. Rumors of war with England had reached the colony and added to Baranof's perplexities. He set out at once on a round of the several trading establishments to warn the traders and give instructions how to act in case of the appearance of hostile cruisers. During his absence news was received at Kadiak of the destruction of the Sitka settlement by the natives, which disastrous event was the result of a preconcerted plan on the part of all the native tribes inhabiting the neighborhood. On a certain day, when over half of the small garrison was absent from the fortification hunting or fishing, a force of several thousand armed men surrounded the block-house, and, assailing it from all sides at once, soon gained an entrance. All the inmates, including the commander, Medvednikof, were massacred at once, and over 3,000 sea-otter skins were taken from the warehouse. Of the men who were absent at the time of the attack three Russians and five Aleuts succeeded in hiding in the woods until they could communicate with an English vessel anchored in the vicinity. Eighteen women who had been washing clothes in the river were taken and held captives by the Indians. The captain of the English vessel referred to, Barber by name, succeeded in enticing two of the most prominent chiefs on board of his craft and into his cabin. After feasting them at his table and plying them with drink he placed them in irons, and, having quite a battery of guns, was able to make his own terms for the release of his prisoners. These terms were the surrender of the captive women and of 2,000 sea-otter skins. After some hesitation on the part of the savages the conditions were accepted, and Barber sailed at once for Kadiak. Here the captain demanded of Baranof for his men and women a payment of 50,000 rubles for the time spent in rescuing them. With this demand Baranof could not or would not comply, and after many days an agreement was arrived at on the basis of the payment of 10,000 rubles.

Nearly at the same time with the Sitka disaster 180 Aleutian hunters were surprised and massacred at various points in the vicinity, and one party, consisting of nearly 100, perished almost to a man from eating poisonous mussels, in the strait separating Baranof from Chichagof island, which derived its name from this disaster (the Russian name was Pogybshie strait, meaning "destruction" strait, not "peril", as it has been translated by American geographers). Attacks upon hunting parties were made at many other points along the coast inhabited by the Thlinket or Kolosh.

At this time one disaster after another overtook the Russian colonies in America. Three ships loaded with provisions and stores were wrecked on their way from Kamchatka, and the employes of the Russian-American Company were on the verge of starvation, when an American ship arrived at Kadiak from New York, enabling Baranof to purchase a cargo, consisting chiefly of provisions, for 12,000 rubles. A portion of these supplies was at once forwarded to Yakutat and Sitka, while Baranof himself proceeded to Prince William sound to wind up the affairs of the Lebedev and other companies which were still represented by hunting parties in that region. In Prince William sound Baranof met Kuskof, who had been in the vicinity of Yakutat in charge of a hunting party

of 300 canoes, and reported that he had repulsed an attack by the natives with considerable loss to the latter. He was still unaware of the disaster that had overtaken the new settlement of Sitka, but as soon as he heard of it from Baranof he proposed that they should both repair to the scene of action at once and inflict punishment upon the hostile Kolosh. The chief manager did not act upon Kuskof's suggestion, chiefly because the only vessel at his command was the *Katherine*, a schooner of less than 50 tons burden and but poorly provisioned, while Kuskof's hunting party had only just returned from a long voyage along the coast and a series of combats with the warlike Kolosh. Before returning to Kadiak Baranof visited his ship-yard on Prince William island and laid the keels of two more vessels to be employed in cruising along the coast occupied by the Kolosh for the protection of his hunting parties. At Kadiak he found dispatches from Siberia that had been saved from one of the wrecked transports and forwarded by canoes. A change of rulers had taken place in Russia, and Alexander I had succeeded the emperor Paul. The commander at Okhotsk, in making the announcement, forwarded an order to assemble all the natives of Kadiak and the "surrounding countries", in order to inform them of the ascension of the new emperor to the throne and to demand from them the oath of allegiance.

Situated as Baranof then was, almost without provisions and unable to rely upon his few followers of Russian extraction, he thought it unsafe to assemble a large number of natives at his headquarters, where they would easily discover his temporary weakness, and consequently he did not carry out the order from Okhotsk. One of his subordinates, a Mr. Talin, who had been an officer in the navy, but was dismissed for bad conduct, sent a lengthy report on the subject to Irkutsk, making various other charges against Baranof in addition to his apparent disobedience of orders. The complaint was duly forwarded to St. Petersburg and laid before the senate, but that body decided that under the company's charter Baranof was not subject to any orders from the local commander at Okhotsk. An order for the dismissal of Talin was the result of the investigation; but, unfortunately for Baranof, the document was delayed nearly two years in transmittal through Siberia to the Russian colonies, and during all that time Talin succeeded in creating disturbances wherever he was stationed on the American coast.

Shelikhof had petitioned the Russian government some time before his death for permission to employ naval officers on leave of absence as commanders of his trading-vessels, but the request was granted only at the time of the consolidation of the various companies, a clause to that effect being incorporated in the charter of the Russian-American Company; and in the year 1801 two capable officers of the navy, Lieutenants Khvostof and Davidof, received permission to enter the company's service. Up to that time the ships sailing from Okhotsk and Kamchatka were managed by "morekhods", that is, "sea-faring men." This title was applied to anybody who had made a sea voyage, no matter in what capacity; but they were generally hunters or trappers from Siberia who had some slight experience in flat-boat navigation on the rivers. They were entirely ignorant of nautical science and unacquainted with the use of instruments, relying altogether upon land-marks to make their way from Asia to America. The most extraordinary instances of stupidity in managing their vessels are related of some of these so-called navigators. Once out of sight of land they were lost, and compelled to trust to chance in hitting upon the right direction to make the land again. It was the practice to coast along the Kamchatka shore until nearly opposite the Commander islands, and to wait for some clear day when the latter could be sighted; then the crossing was made, and, satisfied with such a brilliant result, the skipper would beach his craft for the remainder of the season, and pass the winter in killing fur-seals and sea-cows and salting down the meat for his further voyage. Late in the following spring, rarely before the month of June, the vessel was launched again and headed at a venture to the nearest islands of the Aleutian chain. If the captain succeeded in finding the land he would proceed along the chain of islands, keeping a short distance to the northward, careful never to lose sight of the mountain peaks. As the trapper captain with his crew of landsmen knew nothing of keeping his craft up to the wind, no progress was made unless the wind was absolutely favorable; and thus another season would pass before Atkha or Oonalashka island was reached, where the craft was hauled up again for the winter. A term of seven years was frequently consumed in making the round trip to the American coast and back again to Kamchatka or Okhotsk, a voyage that at the present time a schooner can accomplish in about three weeks. At least 75 per cent. of all the vessels that sailed upon these voyages from the discovery of the American coast to the beginning of this century suffered wreck, and every one of these disasters could be traced to the ignorance both of captains and sailors.

The arrival at Okhotsk of the two naval officers above referred to forms an epoch in the history of Russian navigation in the north Pacific. They were both young and active and proceeded with great energy in their work of reform, their first voyage from Okhotsk to Kadiak being performed in the unprecedented time of two months, in an old vessel of wretched construction and without a single practical sailor in the crew. From that time forward the company always had numbers of naval officers in their employ, and in a few years their vast shipping interest was managed in the most systematic and economical manner.

In the year 1802 the company, through Count Rezanof, petitioned the emperor for permission to ship supplies to the colonies by sea from St. Petersburg. The request was at once granted, and a number of naval officers were detailed to navigate two vessels of between 400 and 500 tons burden, purchased by the company in London, and named the *Neva* and the *Nadaishda*; the former was commanded by Captain Lissiansky, and the latter by Captain Krusenstern. Rezanof himself was ordered to accompany the expedition in the capacity of government

inspector of the colonies and special ambassador to Japan, and was also invested by the Russian-American Company with the powers of its plenipotentiary agent in the colonies. He sailed on the *Nadaishda* and proceeded directly to Kamchatka on his way to Japan, arriving at Petropavlovsk in July, 1804, after a voyage of nearly a year. The *Neva* arrived at Kadiak at the beginning of the same month. Here learning that Baranof had already left his headquarters for another visit to Sitka, intending to rebuild his settlement and punish the savages, Lissiansky sailed at once for that place, being anxious to assist in the enterprise.

Baranof in the meantime had been delayed at Yakutat, fitting out two small sloops built during the preceding winter. His whole squadron consisted of three vessels, in all considerably under 100 tons burden, with about 40 Russians and several hundred Aleutian hunters, and with this small force he intended to attack the powerful tribes inhabiting the vicinity of Sitka, numbering several thousand warriors; but to his agreeable surprise he found the *Neva* anchored in the roadstead when he arrived at Sitka. He made a formal demand upon the chiefs for restoration of the furs stolen from the warehouse at the time of the massacre and for the surrender of a number of hostages as security for their future conduct. These demands met with prompt refusal, and hostilities began. A party of promyshleniks, Aleuts, and sailors from the ship, commanded by Baranof, made an attack upon a large fortified inclosure, but were beaten back with some loss; three sailors and eight promyshleniks being killed, and Baranof, Lieutenant Arbuzof, and Midshipman Povalishin wounded. The approach of night prevented further operations, but the following day the ships approached the beach and bombarded the hostile camp. On the next day another attack was made with the same result as before, but during the night following the savages abandoned their fortification and retreated to Chatham strait. With the assistance of Lissiansky and his men a fortification was erected on a steep, rocky eminence, the present site of the so-called castle in Sitka. Around this nucleus quite an extensive village sprang up within a few months, separated from the adjoining Indian village by a high stockade. Twelve cannon were planted at a point commanding the immediate surroundings as well as the entrance to the bay. As soon as Baranof had firmly established himself in his new position Lissiansky left for Kadiak, and there passed the winter; but in the spring he returned, and finally sailed for Canton with a cargo of furs valued at considerably over a million rubles.

Rezanof's mission to Japan proved an utter failure, as, after detention in one of the Japanese sea-ports for ten months, he was coolly informed that he could not see the emperor. He returned to Kamchatka, and from there proceeded to Kadiak and to Sitka in the year 1805. He turned his attention exclusively to the organization of the colonies and to bringing order and system into the affairs of the Russian-American Company, and was the first to put a check to the indiscriminate slaughter of fur-seals on the Pribylof islands. When Rezanof in company with Baranof finally visited Sitka they found the magazines almost empty and famine staring them in the face. At last a ship from Boston made its appearance in Norfolk sound and brought much-needed relief. Rezanof bought both ship and cargo and employed the former to bring further assistance. In a few days he was on his way to California, the nearest coast from which grain or flour could be obtained, reaching the bay of San Francisco, after a long and stormy passage, in so wretched a condition that when the Spanish officers visited the ship Rezanof ordered the crew to be kept out of sight, in order to conceal as far as possible from the strangers the extent of their distress. It was against the colonial laws of Spain to hold any intercourse with foreign vessels, but Rezanof, with the assistance of the missionaries, succeeded in overcoming the scruples of the governor, and filled up his ship with grain, tallow, and meat; and after a stay of several months, during which he engaged himself to marry the daughter of the comandante of San Francisco, he sailed again for Sitka, with the intention of proceeding at once to St. Petersburg by way of Siberia, in order to ask the emperor's consent to his marriage with a foreigner.

Rezanof's visit to California was the beginning of commercial intercourse between the Russian and the Spanish colonies, of vital importance to the former.

The chamberlain had, during his sojourn in San Francisco bay, written to the emperor and to the directors of the Russian-American Company, submitting plans for the extension of the Russian domain and of the operations of the company in the direction of California. He spoke in glowing terms of the natural resources of the latter country, urging the establishment of an agricultural colony on the coast north of San Francisco, then called New Albion, stating, quite truly, that up to that time the Spaniards had no permanent settlement north of the presidio of San Francisco. With singular foresight he considered the fact that among the hunters and trappers in the Russian colonies it would be impossible to find laborers familiar with agricultural pursuits, and therefore suggested that the "patient and industrious Chinese" should be imported to labor on the Russian plantations; which proposal, made in 1806, is certainly the first on record looking to Chinese immigration to the Pacific coast.

Before his departure for St. Petersburg Rezanof laid the foundation of a very important change in the management of the company's affairs. Up to that time all employés had been engaged under the old system of allowing shares in the proceeds to all laborers; but Rezanof understood the inconvenience and injustice arising from such a system as the company's operations increased in magnitude, and he left positive orders with Baranof to introduce the payment of annual salaries to all employés as soon as practicable. On his way to St. Petersburg the chamberlain gave orders for the organization of an expedition, consisting of two ships under command of Lieutenants Kfvastof and Davidof, against Japan, to avenge the slight put upon Rezanof and his embassy. His instructions were only partially carried out by the two officers named, who thereby involved themselves in the most

serious difficulties with the Siberian authorities. From Okhotsk Rezanof proceeded overland through Siberia, but was detained at various places by sickness and once by a fall from his horse; and his injuries, aggravated by disease, caused his death at the town of Krasnoyarsk, in Siberia, on the 1st of March, 1807. With him died the most earnest promoter of Russian interests in the north Pacific.

At the time of Rezanof's departure the chief manager reported that the Russian-American Company then possessed the following fortified stations: One at Three Saints harbor, one on Saint Paul island, one on Kadiak island, one off Afognak island, one at the entrance to Cook's inlet (Alexandrovsk), three on the inlet—Saint George, Saint Paul, and Saint Nicholas; and two on Prince William sound, one of them at Nuchek and the other on Sukluk island, Zaikof bay. In addition to these there was the fort Saint Simeon, near cape Saint Elias; two forts in the bay of Yakutat, and finally New Archangel, in the bay of Sitka. The fortifications were nearly all armed with 3-pounder brass guns. The number of small arms, rifles, and shot-guns in the colonies was about 1,500.

The number of Russian employés was then 470, of which 69 were in the district of Oonalashka. Experiments in agriculture had already been made in nearly every section of the colonies, but without success except in the cultivation of potatoes, turnips, and cabbage. The small breed of Siberian cattle had been successfully introduced at Kadiak.

After the first expedition of the Neva and the Nadaishda the company continued to send supplies and re-enforcements by sea from St. Petersburg. The former ship was fitted out immediately after returning from her first voyage under command of Captain Hagemeister. The presence of naval officers in the colony had led to complications between the chief manager and the former, who were inclined to ignore any suggestions or requests made by a mere "civilian" or "kupetz" (trader). Complaints and charges arising from these difficulties were forwarded to St. Petersburg, and, upon Rezanof's suggestion, the emperor conferred upon Baranof the rank of "commercial councilor", in order to give him a certain official standing. The commission was accompanied with a gold medal and the order of St. Anne of the third class, for distinguished services. Baranof was, of course, highly gratified at his elevation and the recognition of his services by the emperor, but his promotion did not save him from endless disputes with government officers in the colonies; which continued until he left, and embittered his whole after life.

In the meantime the establishment of the Russians on the northwest coast had attracted the attention of American merchants, especially those of Boston, who began to send their ships to Norfolk sound and to Kadiak, laden chiefly with provisions most acceptable to the Russian colonists. In payment for such supplies they accepted fur-seal skins at the rate of \$1 25 (Mexican) each; these being subsequently disposed of in the Chinese sea-ports at an immense profit. Others entered into an agreement with Baranof to hunt sea-otters, with native hunters furnished by him, on equal shares. The field of operations for these enterprises was generally the coasts of California and Oregon.

In the year 1811 Baranof at last carried out Rezanof's suggestion and established himself on the coast a short distance north of San Francisco bay. His next in command, Kushkof, was dispatched with a number of men, and succeeded in effecting a lodgment at Bodega, where he obtained a tract of land from the Indians "by purchase". The Indians at the time declared that they were entirely independent of the Spaniards, who had never advanced northward from the presidio of San Francisco. The Spanish crown, as is well known, claimed a title to the whole northwest coast of America by "right of discovery".

At that time Baranof was annually extending his intercourse and joint ventures with the traders from Boston and other American ports. He had close at hand in the seal rookeries of Bering sea an almost inexhaustible treasury, furnishing the means to pay all demands of his foreign friends without making drafts upon the home office at St. Petersburg. When the Kolosh Indians of Yakutat had destroyed the company's settlement at that place Baranof employed the Boston captain, Campbell, with his ship, to intimidate the hostile natives into a surrender of a few captive survivors, and during a single year the company's share in sea-otter expeditions, undertaken in partnership with these Yankee skippers, along the California coast, amounted to 200,000 or 300,000 rubles. In many instances, however, these shrewd "partners" managed to secure to themselves the best of the bargain. Once a Captain Bennett sold his cargo of provisions and stores for fur-seal skins at the rate of \$1 each, and then sailed across to Kamchatka and sold the skins to the company's agent at Petropavlovsk at \$2 each. These and similar transactions were duly reported to the company's home office, accompanied by demands for the appointment of a successor to Baranof, who was represented as a mere plaything in the hands of the foreign traders, who got into his good graces by wining and dining him in their cabins. The peculiar circumstances attending the attempt of Hunt, the agent of Astor, to negotiate with Baranof have been graphically described by Washington Irving in his sketch of Astoria.

The directors of the Russian-American Company became thoroughly alarmed at the reports of the large sums diverted into foreign channels from their own domains, and instructions were promptly forwarded to Baranof to change his policy. This communication was accompanied by the announcement that another ship, the Suvarof, commanded by Lieutenant Lazarev, was being fitted for a voyage to the Russian colonies. The vessel sailed from Cronstadt on the 8th of October, 1813, and arrived at Sitka November 14, 1814, having been delayed nearly four months in England waiting for a cargo. She had scarcely been moored at her anchorage when disputes arose

between her commander and the chief manager of the colonies, the question of relative rank being of course involved, and giving additional bitterness to the contest. Lazarev finally refused point blank to obey Baranof's orders, and sailed from Sitka without final instructions. In his rage Baranof discharged a few of his cannon after the retreating ship, without, however, doing any damage, and Lazarev proceeded to San Francisco, and thence to South American ports, buying up a valuable cargo of the products of the tropical climes, which met with ready sale in Russia. The value of the whole shipment by the Suvarof, including the furs, was estimated at considerably over a million rubles. In his reports to the emperor and to the directors of the Russian-American Company Lazarev reported the doings and character of Baranof to his disadvantage, and arrangements were made at last to select a successor.

A Doctor Scheffer had gone out to the colonies in the capacity of surgeon of the Suvarof, but during that vessel's stay in the harbor of Sitka the doctor had quarreled with the officers, and finally left the ship and placed himself under the protection of Baranof; the latter taking a great fancy to the foreigner, who could boast of great linguistic ability and a general polish acquired in a life of adventure. Through the medium of the Boston skippers messages and presents had been exchanged between Baranof and King Kamehameha of the Sandwich islands. Scheffer seized upon this circumstance to work upon Baranof's ambition, and together, inspired by copious draughts of Sandwich Islands rum, they formed the scheme of colonizing and finally annexing those islands to the Russian empire.

Scheffer was dispatched to the island of Hawaii as diplomatic agent, provided by his ambitious patron with ample means and full powers. He found Kamehameha fully controlled by the English, but, nothing daunted, he proceeded to the island of Kauai, which was then under the rule of King Tomare, and endeavored to incite the latter to throw off his allegiance to Kamehameha and place himself under the protection of the emperor of Russia. With the assistance of quite a large force of Aleutian laborers Scheffer erected buildings and planted gardens and fields, the gift of Tomare, whose wife he had succeeded in curing of intermittent fever. This enterprise was maintained for several years, and, upon Baranof's earnest application, the company's authorities endeavored to enlist the imperial government in its aid. A magnificent gold embroidered uniform, a general's chapeau, and some gold and silver medals were forwarded to Tomare from the court of St. Petersburg, but, fully aware of its weakness at sea, the Russian government refused to go beyond this in support of the company's enterprise. In the meantime English and American intrigue had been active at the court of Kamehameha, who finally took active measures to restore his supremacy over the rebellious Tomare. The latter became alarmed at the non-arrival of Russian re-enforcements promised by Scheffer, and at last compelled him to fly from the islands. Two ships belonging to the company's service had been lost while attempting to convey supplies to the Sandwich Islands settlement, and altogether the enterprise was attended with pecuniary loss of such magnitude as to draw upon Baranof the severest censure of the board of directors.

A life of dissipation, old age, and constant struggles with savages and his own scarcely less savage subordinates, as well as the irritating quarrels with government officers, began to tell upon Baranof's health. Ever since the year 1809, when two promyshleniks, Naplavkof and Popof, had organized a conspiracy to kill Baranof, fit out one of the company's vessels with arms, provisions, and merchandise, and to make their escape to one of the South Sea islands, where they proposed to lead a life of perpetual bliss, the chief manager had given evidence of a broken spirit. The conspiracy was suppressed without bloodshed, one of the members having proved traitor, but its effect upon Baranof's mind could be detected in all his subsequent transactions. Twice the directors of the company had resolved to relieve him; and once, in 1808, they appointed Collegiate Assessor Koch to that position, but he died in Kamchatka before reaching his destination. Seven years later another officer of the civil service, Collegiate Councilor Bornovolokof, was sent out on the ship Neva, but the vessel was wrecked within a short distance of Sitka, and Bornovolokof lost his life. At last, in 1817, Captain Hagemeister was sent to Sitka in the ship Kutuzof, with instructions to relieve Baranof as chief manager of the colonies. He arrived in the same year, but did not introduce himself in his real capacity. He remained at Sitka inspecting and investigating the company's affairs until the 11th of January, 1818, when he suddenly produced his commission and ordered Baranof to turn over his command to him. The shock of this sudden revelation was too great for the old man, who began to fail more rapidly from that day. With the assistance of a few of his former subordinates he arranged his papers and transferred to Hagemeister both movable and immovable property far exceeding in value the amounts called for by the returns of the company. Though millions had passed through his hands he found himself at the age of eighty a poor man. Very much enfeebled in health, he sailed on the ship Kutuzof in the autumn of 1818. For some unexplained reason, Hagemeister, his successor, sailed on the same ship, leaving a Lieutenant Yanovsky in charge of colonial affairs. On the voyage home the Kutuzof was detained for some time at Batavia, and, against the advice of the physician, Baranof insisted upon passing that time on shore, where he was attacked with malarial fever, and with the greatest difficulty was taken on board when the ship was ready to sail. The following day, the 16th of April, 1819, the creator of Russia's domains on the north Pacific breathed his last.

Lieutenant Yanovsky, who had been left in temporary charge of the colonies by Hagemeister, did his best to carry out the wishes of the company concerning a thorough exploration of the territory, and expeditions were sent out by land and sea in various directions, resulting in the discovery and preliminary survey of the coast from Bristol

bay westward to the mouth of the Kuskokvim river and Nunivak island. One party of explorers even reached the vicinity of Norton sound, without, however, discovering the Yukon river, the mouth of which must have been passed by the boats of the expedition. Another exploring party proceeded from the mouth of the Nushegak river into the interior, and succeeded in crossing over the mountains and tundras into the valley of the Kuskokvim.

The work of changing the company's system of hiring laborers on shares to the employment of men with fixed salaries was completed by Yanovsky under Hagemeister's direction.

Occasional intercourse was still carried on with the Boston traders, but not on its former scale of magnitude. In 1818 Hagemeister made a contract with a Captain Roquefeuille, who had been fitted out by several merchants of Marseilles for the purpose of opening the northwest coast of America to French trade. Roquefeuille saw at once that he could not compete with the Russian-American Company in opening trade, and therefore made an agreement with the Russian chief manager to hunt sea-otters on shares with the assistance of natives. He received thirty bidarkas (of two men each), under the condition that in case of loss of life or accident during the voyage the French captain was to reimburse the company or the hunters' families, the price of a life being fixed at \$100.

Two weeks after leaving Sitka Roquefeuille's ship was attacked by the Hyda Indians inhabiting the southern end of Prince of Wales island. He succeeded in beating them off, but a party of his hunters, consisting of twenty men and three women, who had landed some distance from the ship, were butchered by the savages. Roquefeuille made a few attempts to trade with the natives after this agreement, but his goods were of an inferior character and he failed to secure a single skin. He returned to Sitka, paid for the twenty-three lives lost, and sailed away, and on his arrival at Marseilles convinced his patrons that there was no field for French enterprise in the north Pacific.

The settlement established by Baranof on the coast of California had by no means remained undisturbed. When the Spanish authorities at San Francisco discovered that the Russians had located themselves permanently, they sent an officer with several men with a peremptory demand that the Russians should leave at once a coast claimed by the king of Spain. Kushkof, who was then in command, managed to postpone action in the matter on the plea of having no authority, and in the following year Baranof sent Lieutenant Podushkin to the governor of California with a declaration that the company's colony was located on land purchased of the Indians, and that he could not withdraw it until the courts of St. Petersburg and Madrid had decided the question. At the same time he made proposals for a sea-otter hunt along the California coast on joint account of the Russian-American Company and the California authorities, offering the latter high prices for the skins. The offer was tempting, and, though officially declined, was privately accepted. The Russians remained undisturbed on their farms at Bodega bay, and the coffers of the Spanish officials and missionaries began to fill with the bright dollars received in payment for sea-otters killed by Inuit hunters in Spanish waters. The principal motive of Rezanof in ordering the establishment of this colony had been to secure a depot of breadstuffs for the northern stations, but in this respect the enterprise proved a failure, owing to the very cause foreseen by the chamberlain.

The Siberians and the Aleuts were but indifferent farmers, and would go off on hunting expeditions just at the time when the ground ought to be plowed or the seed put in, and the consequences were short crops and a demand for supplies from Sitka. In cattle-breeding the Arctic farmers met with no better success. Large herds were purchased from the Spaniards, but the Aleut herdsmen were in mortal dread of the huge animals, unlike anything they ever saw at home, and at the least display of unruliness on the part of the cattle they would fly to the station, leaving their trust to the mercy of marauding Indians. Failing in these two objects the manager of the colony began to experiment in ship-building, using the wood of the live-oak and cedar covering the hillsides.

The privileges granted the Russian-American Company by the emperor Paul expired with the year 1820. The business of the company during the preceding twenty years had, on the whole, been very profitable, and the most strenuous efforts were made to get an extension of the privileges for another period of equal length, and owing to the fact that many nobles of high standing, and even members of the imperial family, were shareholders, this object was easily attained. The emperor Alexander I not only extended the old privileges but made some valuable additions to the rights conferred upon the company by the charter, and in the year 1820 the company reported the payment of a biennial dividend to the shareholders amounting to 1,195,495 rubles, while for the years 1816 and 1817 it had been 1,156,950 rubles.

The population of the colonies under full control of the company (exclusive of the independent native tribes) was given at 391 Russians, 444 creoles, and 8,384 natives.

The fleet owned by the company and engaged in traffic in the colonial waters in the year 1820 consisted of one brigantine of 306 tons, three brigs of 200 tons, two schooners of 120 and one of 60 tons; and three sloops, one of 60 and two of 30 tons each. In addition to these the company had purchased five foreign barks and ships for the voyage from St. Petersburg to the colonies, and eight others for service in the colonies.

In the year 1821 Hagemeister was relieved by Mikhaïl Ivanovich Muraviev, who continued the work of organization of the colonies and managed the company's trade. Hagemeister urged removal to the island of Kadiak, which offered a much more pleasant and comfortable place of residence than Sitka, but it would have been necessary to maintain quite a large force at the latter place to keep in check the warlike and unruly Kolosh. Up to the year

1823 the district of Atkha had been attached to the Okhotsk office of the Russian-American Company, but the impracticability of such an arrangement became obvious, and all the Aleutian islands were transferred to the immediate jurisdiction of the chief manager of the colonies, and from that time dates the separate existence and management of Russian America.

The boundary of the Russian possessions was finally settled under Muraviev's administration. The treaty was concluded between Russia and the United States on the 17th of April, 1824, and with England on the 28th of February, 1825, designating Prince of Wales island, in latitude $54^{\circ} 40'$ north, and between longitude 131° and 133° west from Greenwich, as the southern line of the Russian possessions, and as its eastern boundary a line running from the head of Portland canal northward along the summits of the coast range of mountains to a point where it intersects the fifty-sixth degree of latitude; from thence the line running to the Arctic ocean along the one hundred and forty-first meridian. Both English and American traders were allowed to trade for a period of ten years in the waters belonging to the strip of coast up to latitude 56° .

The principal explorations undertaken during this period were made in the northern precincts of Bering sea by two skilled navigators, Etholin and Kromchenko, the former of whom subsequently rose to the rank of chief manager of the colonies. Their surveys are still our best authorities for the coast-line included in their labors. An Arctic expedition had been organized as early as the year 1815, by Count Rumiantzof, at his own expense. He fitted out the brig *Rurik*, and placed in command Lieutenant Kotzebue, of the navy. The German poet and scientist, Adelbert von Chamisso, accompanied this expedition, which resulted in the discovery and survey of Kotzebue sound and the Arctic coast of America as far as cape Lisburne.

In 1826 Muraviev was relieved by Captain Chistiakof. In this period occurred the exploring-voyage of the sloop of war *Seniavin*, commanded by Captain Lütke, who subsequently compiled an atlas of the Alaskan coast and islands and published a valuable work describing the country.

The work of christianizing the natives of the Russian colonies had been prosecuted with increased vigor since the renewal of the company's privileges in 1821, and in 1823 the priest Mordovsky arrived at Kadiak with two missionary monks. In 1824 Ivan Veniaminof landed at Oonalashka, and in the following year Yakof Netzvetof took charge of the church at Atkha. Veniaminof especially was instrumental in spreading the teachings of Christianity over a vast extent of country, visiting not only the Aleutian islands, but also the coast of the mainland from Bristol bay westward beyond the Kuskokvim delta, and in the third year from his arrival the Russian church in the colonies numbered 10,561 communicants, of whom 8,532 were natives. All the churches and chapels were erected at the expense of the company. The schools at that time numbered but three, located at Sitka, Kadiak, and Oonalashka.

After a prosperous administration, during which much valuable information concerning the Russian possessions had been obtained by means of numerous exploring expeditions, Chistiakof was relieved, in 1831, by Baron Wrangell. This was the time when the Hudson Bay Company was most active in extending its operations on the Pacific coast, and the two vast monopolies were watching each other with suspicion. The English company made several proposals for mutual agreements looking toward uniformity in the management of their intercourse with Indians, but Wrangell had his instructions to crush the dangerous opposition if possible without proceeding to open rupture. His sloops and schooners patrolled the channels of the Alexander archipelago, with orders to seize all boats belonging to the English. The Hudson Bay Company had stations on the upper course of the Stakhin river, which they were anxious to supply by water, sending ships into the mouth of the river, which was situated in the Russian territory. Wishing to prevent this Wrangell sent Lieutenant Zarenbo in the brig *Chichagof* to the mouth of the Stakhin river with orders to establish a station. This he did, constructing the *Rédoute Saint Dionys* on the spot where the present Indian village of Wrangell is located. Several boats of the Hudson Bay Company attempting to enter the river were fired upon and turned back. At last the British traders concluded to make the attempt on a larger scale, and fitted out a bark, the *Dryad*, commanded by Captain Ogden, with orders to establish a large fort at the head of tide-water on the Stakhin river; but Captain Ogden, finding it impracticable to ascend, returned to Vancouver island and reported his failure. The matter was duly represented to the directors of the Hudson Bay Company in London, who presented a claim for damages against the Russian-American Company, amounting to £21,500, the alleged expenditure incurred by the company in fitting out the *Dryad*. At this time Baron Wrangell's term of office was about to expire, and he concluded to attend personally to the settlement of this complication. Proceeding to San Francisco in one of the company's vessels, and thence overland through California and Mexico to the capital of that young republic, he endeavored to settle with the authorities a dispute concerning the Russian title to the Ross colony on Bodega bay. Without concluding this business, he hurried on to Hamburg, where he met two commissioners of the Hudson Bay Company, including Sir George Simpson, and an amicable arrangement was quickly agreed upon. The terms of this agreement were as follows:

1. The Hudson Bay Company abandoned all claim to the sum of £21,500, the damages for the detention of the vessel.

2. The piece of coast in the Russian possessions from Lynn canal to the southern boundary was leased to the Hudson Bay Company at an annual rental for a period of ten years dating from the 1st of June, 1840, the Hudson Bay Company to have the exclusive right of trade in the leased territory for the time mentioned, under condition of final surrender of all the buildings and fortifications erected on the lands thus leased.

3. The Hudson Bay Company was obliged to confine its operations to the mainland and not to trade on any island or other portion of the Russian domain.

4. The payment of rental was to be made annually in land-otters, to the number of 2,000 skins, representing at the prices of that time 118,000 rubles.

5. In addition to this payment the Hudson Bay Company bound itself to sell annually to the Russian-American Company 2,000 additional sea-otter skins from the Columbia river, at 23 shillings each, and 3,000 land-otter skins from Hudson bay, at 32 shillings each.

6. The Hudson Bay Company bound itself to furnish the Russian-American colony with a certain quantity of provisions, carrying the same on their own vessels at a fixed rate of freight.

7. In case of war the agreement was to be annulled after a notice of three months.

This agreement was approved by both the Russian and the English governments, and the land in question was surrendered to the Hudson Bay Company. The arrangement was advantageous to the Russian-American Company, who theretofore had maintained their establishment on the Stahkin river at a loss, being unable to compete with the rival company in the interior.

In 1836, after Baron Wrangell's departure, Captain Kuprianof assumed the duties of chief manager of the colonies, and turned his attention chiefly to an extension of the company's business in the northern part of the colonial domains, where, under his predecessor's rule, Lieutenant Tebenkof had in 1835 established the R doute Saint Michael on Norton sound. He fitted out the brig Polyphene, under command of Captain Kashevarof, for an Arctic exploration, and sailed in July, 1838, succeeding in reaching point Barrow, not with his ship, but by means of bidars, coasting from Kotzebue sound eastward. Kuprianof made several voyages to San Francisco, attending personally to the still unsettled question in regard to the company's California colony, and inaugurating proceedings leading to its final sale a few years later. Toward the end of his administration the missionary Veniaminof was called to Irkutsk and consecrated as bishop of the independent diocese of Russian America, which up to that time had been attached to the episcopal see of Irkutsk, this change involving the erection of a cathedral at Sitka and the subsequent residence of Veniaminof (who on his consecration had assumed the name of Innocentius) at that place. In his new field of labor he devoted himself to the conversion of the savage Kolosh, and, mastering their language, translated several books of the New Testament and some hymns and a catechism. His success in the work of conversion was, however, only temporary, being confined altogether to the time of his presence among them. A seminary for the training of native and creole youths to the priesthood was also established by him, and maintained until the bishop's see was finally transferred to Kamchatka.

While the northern sea-coast was being surveyed by scientific navigators, such as Lieutenants Tebenkof and Rosenberg, the interior of the country was not neglected. Glazunof and Malakhof penetrated into the recesses of the Yukon and the Kuskokvim valleys; the former ascending the Yukon (then called the Kvikhpak) as far as Nulato, and was the first to make the portage between the Yukon and the Kuskokvim in 1836; while the latter proceeded from the r doute on the Nushegak river to the Kuskokvim, and thence to Nulato, establishing a station which was subsequently destroyed by the savage natives.

The fortification of Saint Michael, established by Tebenkof, was seriously threatened by the natives of Kotzebue sound in the year 1836. The r doute was surrounded by a large force during the absence of a small detachment consisting of nine men, with the trader Kuprianof; but the latter, observing the movements of the savages, fought his way through their lines with great bravery and rejoined the garrison, and together they succeeded in repelling all attacks.

One of the most remarkable events that occurred under Kuprianof's administration of the Russian possessions was the appearance of a small-pox epidemic extending from 1836 to 1840, inclusive. The disease first made its appearance in Sitka, November, 1836, and though at that time the company had a resident physician, Dr. Blaschke, at that place, all efforts to stay its ravages were in vain. Old and middle-aged people suffered most, attacks in their cases proving nearly always fatal; but among children the mortality was less. The creoles, owing perhaps to their more cleanly mode of life, suffered in a minor degree, but the Kolosh, living in filth and misery, were swept away by whole families, and inside of three months 400 deaths occurred in the native village of Sitka alone. Only one Russian was attacked during that time, and he recovered. In March, 1837, the disease began to die out. Among the inhabitants of the native settlements on the interior channels of the Alexander archipelago the mortality was also very great. As soon as navigation opened a stationed surgeon, Valsky, with three experienced assistants was dispatched to the district of Kadiak with orders to vaccinate the people; but the precaution came too late, the disease having been evidently carried to Kadiak on the same ship which brought the medical assistants. On the island of Kadiak 736 persons died. On the peninsula of Aliaska one of the assistant surgeons vaccinated 243 persons, and in that vicinity only 27 succumbed to the disease.

Dr. Blaschke was dispatched to Oonalashka, where he vaccinated 1,086 natives, and here only 130 died. In the vicinity of the trading-posts on Cook's inlet, Prince William sound, and Bristol bay the natives refused to submit to vaccination, the consequence being that 550 persons were attacked by the disease, of whom over 200 died. The last cases of small-pox in any portion of the Russian colonies were reported in 1840.

About the end of Baron Wrangell's administration it had become evident that the expenses of the Russian-American Company in maintaining their colonies in northwestern America were increasing to an alarming degree,

while the income derived from the fur-trade remained stationary, or even decreased in many of its branches. The officers of the company stationed in the colonies reported that one reason for this state of affairs could be found in the fact that hundreds of feeble and superannuated employés were drawing salaries and subsistence without rendering adequate service. These individuals had grown old and lost their health in the employ of the company, and could not well be discharged and thrown upon their own resources; and in order to relieve the company from this burden, to a certain extent, the directors petitioned the government for permission to pension off the useless employés, or to settle them in the most favorable localities as fishermen and tillers of the soil. The proposition was favorably considered by the government, and a ukase was issued on the 2d of April, 1835, empowering the Russian-American Company to locate as permanent settlers such of their employés as had married native or creole women in the colonies, and who, on account of disease or old age, were no longer able to serve the company. Such settlements were to be made only upon written request of the superannuated servants, and the company was obliged to select a piece of ground, build comfortable dwellings, furnish agricultural implements, seed, cattle, and fowls, beside providing the settlers with provisions for one year. These individuals thus located were exempt from taxation and military duty, and a list of their names was to be forwarded annually with the company's report. The children of these settlers could be taken into the company's service upon their own request, at established rates of salary. The company was obliged to purchase all surplus produce of the settlers, and also such furs as they might be able to obtain. The ukase also permitted creoles to enjoy the same privileges after concluding their term of service with the company. The Russian settlers of this class were to be known officially as colonial citizens and the creoles as colonial settlers. As localities best adapted to this purpose the chief manager selected the coast of Cook's inlet, the island of Afognak, and Spruce island.

In 1840 Captain Etholin was appointed chief manager of the colonies, and found himself face to face with serious difficulties in the management of the native population. The small-pox epidemic had carried off a large percentage of the providers of the native families, and, as a consequence, whole families and communities were brought to the verge of starvation. On Kadiak and nearly all of the Aleutian islands it had been the custom of the people to live in small settlements of one or two families each, widely scattered along the coast, and even these small communities wandered frequently from place to place in search of better hunting- and fishing-grounds. In their isolated condition a large number of these small families or village communities found themselves at the end of the small-pox epidemic in a condition of extreme want, and out of reach of assistance from their neighbors. On Kadiak island alone sixty-five village-sites, occupied by a few individuals each, were enumerated. Captain Etholin, acting upon the suggestion of his predecessor, concluded to consolidate the scattered settlements, each hamlet being unable to provide for its own existence, and to establish large villages, each under the management of a competent chief. The chiefs were to be held responsible for the collection of food-supplies at the proper season, and were intrusted with the maintenance of storehouses in which each community deposited surplus provisions in times of plenty, to be issued again in times of want. This measure was energetically carried out, not only at Kadiak, but on the Shumagin and the Aleutian islands, and its effect was very beneficial.

The second term of the Russian-American Company's special privileges expired in 1841, and the directors and shareholders labored assiduously for a new grant of charter for another twenty years. The imperial government took some time to consider the question, but in 1844 a new charter was granted. This document increased the rights and advantages enjoyed by the company, confirmed the establishment of the two classes of colonial citizens and colonial settlers, and enlarged the colonial government by the establishment of a council to consist of the assistant chief manager and two or three naval officers stationed in the colonies, which council was invested with advisory functions only in the management of colonial affairs, but acted in certain emergencies as a court of arbitration between the inhabitants of the colonies and the company's authority.

An extensive exploration of the Yukon and Kuskokvim regions was made under the direction of Etholin. In the month of May, 1842, the brig Okhotsk proceeded to Saint Michael with Lieutenant Zagoskin, of the navy, and five assistants. After fitting out his expedition with provisions, dogs, and canoes Zagoskin made several journeys along the coast of Norton sound, and finally crossed over the hills of the coast range into the valley of the Yukon. On the 15th of January, 1843, the expedition reached Nulato, and from here Zagoskin undertook a journey to Kotzebue sound, but, owing to the desertion of his assistant, failed to accomplish his object and was obliged to return to Nulato. The following spring he constructed a large bidar of six oars, and set out in June upon the journey to the upper river. After advancing more than a hundred miles from Nulato the hostile attitude of the natives obliged him to return to the latter place, whence he made his way to Ikogmute, crossing over the tundras to the Kuskokvim. In the beginning of February, 1844, he established himself at the Rédoute Kalmakovsky, making a thorough exploration of the surrounding country, finally returning to Saint Michael and thence to Sitka.

Zagoskin subsequently published a voluminous journal of his travels in the basins of the Yukon and Kuskokvim.

At the beginning of his administration Captain Etholin concluded arrangements for the sale of the Ross colony on the coast of California. The imperial permission for this transfer had been obtained some years previously by the directors of the company, who had become convinced that the enterprise had not resulted in

any pecuniary advantage. During the occupation of the settlement ten vessels (brigs and schooners) had been constructed of timber cut in the immediate vicinity. The records show that not one of these vessels proved seaworthy for more than six years after construction; but whether this was due to the incapacity of the builders or to the fact that the timber had not been seasoned, it is impossible to decide. There was no lack of skilled mechanics in the settlement, as we have evidence of much work performed by the Russians for their unskilled neighbors in San Francisco bay, where sailing- and row-boats were built for the Mexican authorities and private individuals, and even one buggy for the use of a missionary; but having failed in its principal object of creating a never-failing supply of breadstuffs for the northern stations, the company finally sold the land, with all buildings and live stock, to a native of Switzerland, named Sutter.

Etholin also displayed great energy in establishing new schools and enlarging those already in operation in the various districts of the colonies. Under the active superintendence of his wife a home was founded in Sitka, in which the creole girls were educated, instructed in household duties and female handicraft, and finally provided with a small dowry and married to officers and employés of the company.

The clause in the company's charter requiring that the chief manager should be selected from officers of the navy had an unfortunate effect upon business. After Baranof's departure not a single practical merchant or business man had the management of colonial affairs, and the consequence was that the dividends diminished every year, while at the same time, according to the official reports to the directors and to the imperial government, the colonies seemed to be flourishing and developing rapidly. Each succeeding chief manager seemed to think only of making the greatest display of continued explorations, erection of buildings, construction of ships of all sizes, and the establishment of industries and manufactories. The ship-yard at Sitka was as complete as any similar establishment in the Russian empire, being provided with all kinds of workshops and magazines, even having brass- and iron-founderies, machine-shops, and nautical-instrument makers. Experiments were made in the manufacture of bricks, wooden ware, and even woolen stuffs of material imported from California. For all these enterprises the skilled labor had to be imported from Russia at great expense, and this circumstance alone will explain the failure attending the attempts. Vast sums were also wasted in endeavors to extract the iron from a very inferior grade of ore found in various sections of the country. The only real advantage the company ever reaped from its many workshops at Sitka was the manufacture of agricultural implements for the ignorant and indolent rancheros of California, thousands of plowshares of the very primitive pattern in use in those countries being made at Sitka for the California and Mexican markets. Axes, hatchets, spades, and hoes were also turned out by the industrious workmen of the Sitka ship-yard, while the foundery was for some time engaged in casting bells for the Catholic missions on the Pacific coast. Many of these bells are still in existence and bear witness to the early, though perhaps abnormal, industrial development on our northern coast.

Etholin was in 1845 relieved by Captain, subsequently Admiral, Tebenkof, to whom we owe the best atlas of the coast of Alaska ever published. The hydrographic notes were very copious and correct, and nearly all subsequent charts and maps have been based upon his surveys. He brought the colonial fleet into a high state of effectiveness, but of the fur-trade he knew no more than his immediate predecessors, and, as a consequence, the shares of the company continued to decline in value. Toward the end of his administration the discovery of gold in California occasioned a sudden revival of business, as for a brief time the Russian possessions in North America were the nearest depot of supplies. A few cargoes of shop-worn, unsalable goods that had blocked up the warehouses of the company for decades were disposed of at San Francisco at immense profit, and a lucrative trade was inaugurated in salt fish and lumber. An attempt was also made by the company to engage in mining in California on its own account, an official with a force of Aleutian laborers being sent to the mines, where he took up a claim, but after obtaining a few ounces of the precious metal his Aleutians left him to take up claims of their own. Finding themselves baffled in this enterprise the directors of the company dispatched an experienced mining engineer, a graduate of the college of mines in St. Petersburg, to Sitka, with orders to prospect for precious minerals in the colonies. This man, Lieutenant Doroshin, began his explorations in 1849. He discovered gold in the vicinity of Cook's inlet and collected several ounces in dust, but this was the result of the labor of forty men for nearly a year at great expense; and upon the recommendation of Doroshin these experiments were abandoned.

The existence of coal in the southern portion of the Kenai peninsula had been known for many years, and occasionally a small quantity of the mineral had been extracted for use in the Sitka ship-yard and on the tug-boats and small steamers of the company. The discovery of gold in California, however, gave a new impetus to this industry. Experienced miners and engineers were imported from Russia and Germany, and a large force of men was employed in opening the coal-veins at English bay, or Graham's harbor.

The prosecution of this enterprise required a large amount of capital, which the shareholders of the Russian-American Company were unwilling or unable to furnish, but by this time the development of California had created a demand for coal, and it was not difficult to find men willing to engage in such a venture at San Francisco. A company was formed, consisting of several American merchants of San Francisco and the Russian-American Company, represented by their resident agent in San Francisco, Mr. Kostrometnof. Arrangements were made for the shipment of machinery, pump and hoisting-works, from the eastern states, the Russian-American Company furnishing the necessary capital for preliminary expenses. The San Francisco partners of the new firm, which was

subsequently named the American-Russian Company, suggested that shipments of ice from Alaska to San Francisco be included in the operations of the firm, and the Russian company began the construction of ice-houses and wharves at Sitka, and subsequently on Wood island, near Kadiak.

In the spring of 1851 Lieutenant Barnard, a member of Captain Collinson's Franklin Search expedition, proceeded to Nulato in search of information with regard to the fate of Sir John Franklin, and having traced certain rumors of the presence of white men in the far interior to the Koyukuk tribe, he expressed his determination to send for the principal chief of that tribe, who was then participating in the celebration of an annual festival about twenty-five miles from Nulato. The chief in question was the most wealthy and influential in the whole region, and, being possessed of an exaggerated opinion of his own importance, took offense at the English officer's expression. The Russian traders who had lived for years at the isolated station of Nulato, and were much at the mercy of the surrounding warlike tribes, had always respectfully invited him to the fort whenever they desired his presence. His Indian pride rose at the insult, and a council of warriors was called; the shamans were also consulted, and it was finally concluded that all the Indians assembled should proceed to Nulato and demand satisfaction for the alleged insult. At this time a Russian employé of the company, accompanied by one man, arrived on the spot, having been instructed to induce the chief to meet Lieutenant Barnard at Nulato. As soon as his errand was known the man was doomed, and he was approached from behind while seated on his sled and instantly killed with a lance. The Indian companion of the murdered trader was also killed. Immediately after committing this crime the warriors prepared for action and set out for Nulato. Only half a mile from the trading-post was situated the native village of that name, containing about one hundred people. The Indian slain by the Koyukuks belonged to this village, and, in order to forestall retaliation, the invaders surprised the inmates in their houses, killing all with the exception of a few women and children. This was done so quietly that the Russians and their visitor at the station were not aroused. When the blood-thirsty savages finally reached the stockade they found the commander, Deriabin, who had just arisen, sitting behind one of the houses. He was approached stealthily from behind and stabbed in the back, dying immediately, without giving the alarm, and over his body the party entered the house where Lieutenant Barnard was reading. At the sight of the infuriated Indians the English officer seized a gun and fired twice without hitting any one, and a notorious shaman, named Larion by the Russians, then stabbed the lieutenant in the abdomen, inflicting a mortal wound. The Indians next turned their attention to the barracks, where the laborers lived with their native wives, but a few shots fired by the besieged induced them to retreat with the prisoners made in the village. The murderous shaman had been wounded in the melee, but managed to make his escape, and lived until a few years ago, both feared and hated by whites and Indians, committing many horrible crimes and frequently inciting others to murder. Lieutenant Barnard was buried within a few yards of the stockade of Nulato, and a cross was erected over his grave by Surgeon Adams, royal navy, with the inscription: "Lieutenant J. J. Barnard, of Her Majesty's Enterprise, killed February 16, 1851, by the Koyukuk Indians.—F. A." The cross has since been painted at various times by traders stationed at Nulato, and the inscription has disappeared. When I visited the spot in the summer of 1880 the simple monument was still standing, with a new coat of sky-blue paint, and to the right and left were two other graves of victims of murderous Indians in the vicinity.

In 1851 Tebenkof was relieved by Captain Rosenberg as chief manager of the colony. The latter continued to carry out the terms of the company's agreement with its San Francisco partners in the coal and ice business, but a suspension of all traffic was threatened by the outbreak of the Crimean war, involving the danger of an attack upon the Russian colonies by English cruisers. As soon as war was declared the representatives of the Russian-American Company and the Hudson Bay Company met in London and drew up a mutual agreement of neutrality as long as the war should last; no armed vessel and no land force larger than was needed for the purpose of local protection was to be maintained in either colony, and intercolonial traffic was to be carried on as usual, with one exception, this concerning the piece of land rented by the Hudson Bay Company from its Russian neighbors. The rental for this was commuted from 2,000 land-otter skins to a fixed sum of 1,500 pounds sterling per annum. The Hudson Bay Company was also temporarily released from its obligation to ship provisions to Sitka on its vessels.

The Russian possessions on the northwest coast of America remained undisturbed throughout the war, though a few ships of the company were captured by English cruisers; one of them, the *Sitka*, falling into the enemy's hands at the end of a successful voyage around the globe, having escaped the notice of all the English squadrons then scouring the oceans, until in the vicinity of the Kamchatka coast she was hailed by a frigate and obliged to surrender. On the Asiatic coast several encounters took place between the Russians and the allied fleet, among them the famous unsuccessful attack of the joint French and English squadrons upon the harbor of Petropavlovsk.

Rosenberg, whose transactions as chief manager were confined within very narrow limits by the war, was relieved in 1854 by Captain Voievodsky, under whose administration the lease of the territory to the Hudson Bay Company was again extended for ten years, upon terms similar to those of the first agreement. In the year 1855 the Kolosh Indians located in the immediate vicinity of Sitka gave evidence of an unruly spirit, and toward the end of the year two savages, who were prevented from stealing wood by a sentry, wounded him with a spear. The chief manager demanded a surrender of the guilty parties, but this demand was met with threats. A few shots were fired from a cannon over the village, but the only effect was a swarming of armed warriors from all the huts and hovels,

who rushed upon the fortified inclosure of the settlement and began to cut down the palisade with axes. Fire was then opened upon the savages by all the batteries and block-houses, and was rapidly returned by the savages. The latter obtained possession of a chapel built of stout logs for the accommodation of the natives and converted it into a stronghold from which they could command with rifles nearly all the Russian batteries. During the first day they did considerable execution in picking off officers and men as they hurried to their stations; but on the following day a regular bombardment of the native village took place, and after two hours the Indians ceased firing, declaring themselves willing to treat. The most profuse professions of friendship for the Russians were made by the savages and good behavior promised for all future time, and after the assailants of the sentry had been surrendered for punishment Voievodsky agreed to pardon the attack. During the action 2 Russians were killed and 19 wounded, the Kolosh losing 60 in killed and wounded. A report of the transaction to the imperial government resulted in an expression of thanks by the emperor to Captain Voievodsky.

Lieutenant Baranof, of the Siberian line battalion stationed at Sitka, who had been wounded, received the order of Saint Anne of the fourth class; and one gold and four silver medals, with the inscription "for bravery", were bestowed upon soldiers who had distinguished themselves on the occasion.

The American whalers frequenting Bering sea previous to entering the Arctic through Bering strait had frequently been the object of complaint to the Russian government by the Russian-American Company. It was claimed that these whalers made a practice of landing on the Aleutian islands to try out blubber, and that the offensive smoke and stench resulting from this operation had the effect of driving away the precious sea-otter from the coast. In 1842 Chief Manager Etholin reported that in his tour of inspection throughout the colonies he had encountered several American whalers close inland, but that they refused to answer his questions or to obey his orders to leave the Russian waters. Some of the whalers learned that in 1841 fifty ships from New Bedford and Boston had been in the vicinity, and that they had succeeded in capturing from ten to fifteen whales each. From 1842 these complaints concerning the whalers were renewed every year, and during Tebenkof's administration he proposed to the company to go into the whaling business in the waters of Bering sea and the north Pacific as the best means of keeping out foreigners. His plan was to hunt whales in boats only from the harbors of the Aleutian islands, and to engage at first a number of American harpooners and steersmen until they and the Aleutians had been sufficiently trained to do the work.

Under the terms of the treaty with England and America no vessel of either of those two nations was allowed to hunt or fish within 3 marine leagues of the shore; but as there was no armed government craft in the colonies the provisions of the treaty were totally disregarded by the whalers, until at last the company proposed to the imperial government that if a cruiser were sent out from Russia to guard the colonial coast against intruders the company would bear the expenses of such a vessel. The emperor agreed to the proposal, and gave orders to the naval authorities to prepare estimates as to cost and expenditure. In reply a report was received stating that the sum of 270,000 rubles was required to fit out the ship for the cruise, and 85,000 rubles annually for its maintenance. This sum the company found itself unable to pay and the project fell through. At last, in 1850, the corvette *Olivitza* was ordered to the sea of Okhotsk, and did some service in keeping foreign whalers out of that sea and breaking up their principal station near the Shanta islands. In the meantime Tebenkof's suggestions concerning the fostering of Russian whaling interests in the Pacific had borne some fruit; a few of the shareholders of the Russian-American Company, together with some ship-owners in Finland, concluding to fit out whaling ships in Finland or at Cronstadt, and send them around into the waters of Bering sea and the Arctic beyond the straits.

A capital of 100,000 rubles was quickly contributed, and active operations began as early as 1849. By order of the emperor a sum of 20,000 rubles was appropriated from the special fund of the province of Finland to aid in the construction of the first whaling ship, and a sum of 10,000 rubles to be paid the company for the construction of each succeeding ship of the same class. The company also obtained the privilege of importing free of duty all the material necessary for building and fitting out the first twelve ships, and to carry on the business without payment of duties for a period of 12 years. The name of this branch company was "The Russian-Finland Whaling Company", and its charter was approved on the 13th of December, 1850.

The first ship, the *Suomi*, of 500 tons, was burned in the port of Åbo, Finland, in the year 1851. The command of the vessel was intrusted to a German captain, Hagshagen; and a crew of thirty-six men was engaged, which consisted principally of foreigners, among them three steersmen, three harpooners, and three coopers. The whale-boats had been imported from New Bedford. The cruise of the *Suomi* in the Okhotsk sea in the year 1852-53 was very successful, the catch being 1,500 barrels of oil and 21,400 pounds of whalebone; the cargo was sold on the Sandwich islands, realizing 88,000 rubles, a sum that covered the price of constructing the vessel and fitting it out, and left a clear profit of 13,000 rubles. Unfortunately the war with England and France broke out about that time and interfered with further operations in this line.

The *Suomi* had sailed for home before the news of the war reached the Sandwich islands, and consequently knew nothing of the circumstances when she made the first port on the English coast. The pilot came off and, strange to say, warned the captain of his danger and gave him an opportunity to make his escape to Bremen. The presence of French and English cruisers in the channel made it necessary to sell the ship at Bremen for the comparatively small sum of 21,000 rubles.

The second whale-ship dispatched by the new company was the *Turko*, which left for the Okhotsk sea in 1852, having been fitted out altogether at Åbo. The captain was a German by the name of Schäle, and the crew consisted of twenty-five Finlanders, many of whom had served on American whaling-voyages. A cargo of goods for the Russian-American Company was also forwarded on this ship; but by various disasters the vessel was delayed and did not arrive at Sitka until late in 1853. Shortly before reaching port a few whales were killed, 150 barrels of oil and 650 pounds of whalebone being secured.

Early in the following spring the ship proceeded to sea under command of the first mate, Sederblom, the captain being disabled by disease. The voyage was very successful, resulting in a catch of 1,700 barrels of oil and 23,000 pounds of whalebone.

During the siege by the Anglo-French fleet the *Turko* was in the harbor of Petropavlovsk, but succeeded in making her escape, discharging her valuable cargo at Kadiak for safe-keeping, and finally reached Sitka, where she remained safely until the end of the war.

The third whale-ship dispatched to the north Pacific from Finland was the *Aian*, 540 tons. She was commanded by a Finlander, Captain Enderg, and reached the sea of Okhotsk in 1854. The catch during the first year was not great, and in the spring of 1855 the naval commander of Kamchatka ordered the captain to land his cargo and to transport the families of officers and soldiers from Petropavlovsk to the Amoor, and during this voyage the ship was captured by an English frigate and burned. At the end of the war the whaling company discovered that, though no actual loss had been incurred, the profits of the business were not what they had expected, and the subsequent operations do not seem to have been pushed with energy or vigor.

A few more ships were fitted out, but as soon as they returned with their cargoes of oil and bone they were sold for whatever price they would bring. It was perhaps unfortunate for the interests of the Russian whaling industry in the north Pacific that the company engaged in the business was so closely connected with the Russian-American Company, which was then becoming more deeply embarrassed every year.

Under Captain Voievodsky's administration the affairs of the Russian-American colonies were managed very much in the same way as under his predecessors—with the same extravagant display of colonial government and useless experiments in mining, agriculture, and ship-building which characterized the five years immediately preceding the expiration of the third term of the company's privileges. The corporation was deeply in debt, and, though desirous of continuing the business, endeavored to transfer to the government the expense of maintaining its authority in the colonies. The imperial cabinet was both unwilling and unable to accede to the proposition, as the country had just emerged from a disastrous and expensive war, and thus the grant of another charter was postponed from year to year. In the meantime several government officers were intrusted with a thorough inspection of the condition of the colonies and the company's affairs. Private Councilor Kostlivtsov and Captain Golovin compiled voluminous reports on the subject, and committees of the imperial senate and ministerium of commerce deliberated upon the vexed questions for years. Their reports were very conflicting, and it seemed next to impossible to reconcile the interests of both the government and the company by any arrangement the various committees could devise.

Voievodsky had been relieved in 1859 by Captain Furuhelm, but the company refused to select a successor to the latter until the new charter should be granted. In the meantime the first negotiations for a sale of the Russian possessions on the American coast were inaugurated privately in the year 1864. It is said that the first offer was made to England, although the American government was approached on the subject early in 1864; but the matter was temporarily dropped on account of the civil war then raging.

With the establishment of peace in the United States the subject was taken up again by the Russian ambassador and Secretary Seward. San Francisco merchants, among them the members of the American-Russian (so-called) Ice Company, were among the most active promoters of this scheme, the latter firm expecting to succeed the Russian-American Company in their fur-trade and other branches of business. Upon the refusal of the company to appoint a new chief manager the emperor of Russia had sent out Prince Maksutof, a naval officer of Tartar extraction, who administered the colonies under the title of military governor. He was, however, subsequently invested by the American-Russian Company with the powers of a plenipotentiary agent, and finally assumed the whole management of its affairs in winding up the general business and transferring its property.

In 1865 the managers of the Western Union Telegraph Company conceived a plan for constructing a line of telegraph to connect the new world and the old by means of a cable via Bering strait. The project was first directed by Mr. P. McD. Collins, who obtained the necessary charters from the British and Russian governments. Colonel Bulkley, of the United States army, was appointed chief engineer of the enterprise, and, after making arrangements for work in British Columbia, went to Sitka in the United States steamer *Shubrick*, which had been placed at the service of the Western Union Company by the government. Here Colonel Bulkley found his advent quite unexpected, but the governor, Prince Maksutof, expressed readiness to afford every assistance in his power, giving the assurance that the natives would be friendly to the enterprise if properly approached. Some of the Thlinket chiefs were then at Sitka, but Maksutof thought it best to defer negotiations, probably because he had no instructions from his government. During the same year, in the month of July, an exploring party of the telegraph company, commanded by Robert Kennicott, was landed at Saint Michael, Norton sound, by the bark

Golden Gate, belonging to the Western Union Telegraph Company. The party was provided with a small stern-wheel steamer, the Wilder. Mr. Kennicott had previously explored the headwaters of the Yukon in connection with a journey through British North America, but the other members of the expedition were new to the country, though they have since become most intimately connected with scientific and mercantile enterprises in the territory. Among them may be mentioned Mr. Ketcham, Mr. Whipper (artist), Mr. William H. Dall, Mr. F. M. Smith, and Mr. Francis, the engineer of the little steamer. Preparatory arrangements for the work of constructing a telegraph line began at once, with the assistance of Stephanof, who was then the Russian commander at Saint Michael.

During the winter a portion of the telegraph party proceeded up the Yukon river and located at Nulato. The winter was passed in active explorations, but the approach of spring was marked by a sad calamity: the talented and energetic director of the Western Union scientific corps, Robert Kennicott, was found dead on the bank of the river on the 13th of May, 1866. On the day before he had saved the life of a Russian whose canoe had been caught between cakes of ice. In the morning he was missing at breakfast, and his friends, becoming alarmed, searched and found him lying dead about half a mile from the fort, an open compass lying near him, and figures in the sand showed that he was making a calculation at the moment of his death. He had been suffering from heart disease, aggravated by exposure and anxiety.

Mr. William H. Dall was subsequently appointed Kennicott's successor, and the explorations were continued by him alone. The completion of the transatlantic cable put an end to the enterprise as far as the Western Union Company was concerned, and all its various detachments already in the field in the wilds of Alaska and Siberia were recalled at once.

In the same year (1866) the legislature of Washington territory forwarded a petition to Washington requesting the United States government to obtain from the emperor of Russia such rights and privileges as would enable American fishing-vessels to visit the ports and harbors of the Russian possessions. As negotiations for the purchase of the territory were already in progress no further notice was taken of this special request.

Early in 1867 a surveying party, under command of Professor George Davidson, United States coast survey, was dispatched from San Francisco by the United States steamer Lincoln, arriving at Sitka August 11 and returning late in November.

After long debates in Congress, both in the Senate and House of Representatives, still fresh in our memory, the treaty with Russia for the cession of the present territory of Alaska to the United States was finally passed and the necessary appropriation of \$7,200,000 made. The opposition to the measure was strong and fierce, and its success was almost wholly due to the efforts of Secretary Seward and Senator Sumner.

In the month of May, 1867, the treaty was signed, and on the 18th of October of the same year the ceremony of final transfer of the territory took place at Sitka. Both American and Russian troops were drawn up in line, General Rousseau acting as commissioner for the United States, Prince Maksutof occupying the same position for the Russian government. With the roll of drums and the discharge of musketry the imperial eagle of Russia descended and the stars and stripes rose into the murky atmosphere of an Alaskan autumn day. The Princess Maksutof wept at the spectacle, and all nature seemed to keep her company, drenching to the skin all the participants in the ceremony. The native Indians in their canoes witnessed it from a distance, listening stolidly to the booming of cannon and gazing with indifference upon the descending and ascending flags. Of the nature of the proceedings they had a faint and imperfect conception, but one thing they did realize—that the country they once imagined their own was now being transferred to a strange people by what must have appeared to them a singular ceremony.

The new acquisition was looked upon as an "Indian country", and a military commander was placed in charge, General Jefferson C. Davis being appointed commander of the new department, with headquarters at Sitka. The garrison consisted of one company of artillery and one company of infantry, numbering together perhaps 250 men.

A number of business men had accompanied or preceded the commissioners of the two governments, and the American flag was scarcely floating from the top of the flag-staff before new shops were opened, vacant lots covered with the frame-work of shanties, and negotiations entered into for the purchase of houses, furs, and other property of the old Russian company, and in less than a week new stores had been erected, and two ten-pin alleys, two drinking saloons, and a restaurant were opened.

Sitka, the town that for two-thirds of a century had known nothing beyond the dull, unchanging routine of labor, and a scanty supply of necessaries at prices fixed by a corporate body 8,000 or 10,000 miles away, was profoundly startled even by this small ripple of innovation. To the new American domain flocked a herd of men of all sorts and conditions, Alaskan pioneers and squatters, and aspirants for political honors and emoluments in the new territory. Before the first sunset gun was fired pre-emption stakes dotted the ground, and the air was full of rumors of framing a "city charter", creating laws and remunerative offices; and it was not long before an election was held for town officers, at which over 100 votes were polled for nearly as many candidates. The Russian population looked with wonder upon this new activity. The families of the higher officials, as well as those of the farmer and laboring classes, opened their houses to the new-comers with true Russian hospitality; but unfortunately they did not discriminate, treating officers, merchants, and soldiers alike, and in many instances their kindness was

shamefully abused. Robberies and assaults were the order of the day, or rather of the night, until the peaceable inhabitants were compelled to lock their doors at nightfall, not daring to move about until the bugles sounded in the morning.

A number of representatives of wealthy firms and corporations had started upon a race from San Francisco or the Sandwich islands to secure the property and good-will of the Russian-American Company. Mr. H. M. Hutchinson, representative of the firm of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., was the successful competitor, he having completed his bargain with Prince Maksutof even before the agent of the American-Russian or Ice Company, the previous partners of the Russians, had been able to present his claims.

The Russian-American Company was allowed two years in which to settle its affairs and to transport all the Russian subjects who wished to return. For this purpose all its employes distributed through the territory were collected at Sitka, and from the time of the transfer to 1869 nearly 1,000 of them were living there; and to these between \$40,000 and \$50,000 were paid every month as salaries, which, being regularly spent before the next payday, made business decidedly brisk. In addition to these Russians there were two companies of soldiers and a few hundred American and other traders, while a man-of-war and a revenue-cutter were always in the harbor, yielding a golden harvest to business men and saloon-keepers. At this time high hopes of Alaska's future prosperity were entertained. The Western Union Telegraph enterprise, before its abandonment, had pushed its wires to British Columbia, to fort Stager, on the Skeena river, in latitude 53° 30'. This brought the telegraph within 350 miles of Sitka, but at present the nearest telegraph office is at Victoria, Vancouver's island, 900 miles away.

Difficulties with the Indians in southeastern Alaska began at an early day under the new government. The last acts of hostility committed by the Kolosh of that vicinity had occurred in 1864, when an English vessel called the Royal Charlie was boarded by the Kekh Indians and the entire crew slaughtered. The Russian authorities took no notice of the affair whatever, because the English craft had no right to trade in those waters, and the offenders remained unpunished.

In December, 1867, the first trouble occurred at Sitka. A sentry of the garrison observed some Indians after nightfall with a light in the vicinity of the powder-magazine, and, hailing them without receiving an answer, he fired, wounding one of the number. The remainder decamped, but the next day a demand was made by the chief for compensation for the injuries sustained by the wounded man. General Davis refused to comply with the request, whereupon the chief returned to the village and hoisted the English flag. Davis sent a messenger to notify the chief that if the foreign flag was not removed by daylight on the following day he would bombard the village; and when day dawned the rays of the sun illuminated the stars and stripes in place of the cross of Saint George, but the Indians were surly for some time after the occurrence, threatening an outbreak occasionally.

As early as the 1st of March, 1868, a newspaper appeared in San Francisco under the name of the *Alaska Herald*. It was published by a runaway monk of the Greek church, who had never seen Alaska, but who imagined that he was called upon to declare himself a champion of the former Russian possessions. A few columns of this sheet were published in the Russian language, and the most absurd proclamations addressed to the people of Alaska were circulated among its readers, and for some time its publisher succeeded in sowing the seeds of discord and dissatisfaction among the new Russian-speaking citizens of the United States by telling them that as Americans they were all entitled at once to 160 acres of land, and that they must not labor for less compensation than \$5 a day in gold, declaring with the greatest effrontery that the Constitution of the United States so provided.

In the meantime military garrisons were dispatched to other points in the territory and located among peaceable tribes, where even the first discoverers had never found it necessary to make a display of force. A battery of artillery was stationed on the island of Kadiak, and another command from the same regiment sailed from Washington territory in June, 1868, to establish a military post on Cook's inlet. The spot to be selected had not been definitely indicated on the charts, and while attempting to find the proper place a ship was wrecked upon a rock on July 16, at the mouth of what is now called English bay or Graham's harbor; no lives were lost, but nothing else was saved. After suffering much hardship the wrecked soldiers were rescued in the month of August by the steamer *Fideliter* and taken to Kadiak. For many years following the natives of the vicinity had ample supplies of military clothing, rifles, and other stores cast up by the sea.

The first American vessel that visited the seal islands was owned by the firm of Williams & Haven, of New London. The agent and commander landed on Saint Paul island on the 13th of April, 1868, and on the 2d of September sailed for the Sandwich islands with a rich cargo of seal-skins. Disputes arose between this party and the agent of the successors to the Russian-American Company, and the government found it necessary to station treasury agents on the island to preserve order and prevent, if possible, an indiscriminate slaughter of seals.

In February, 1868, the first detachment of Russians homeward bound left Sitka, numbering 200, on the ship *Tsaritza*.

The Indians of the upper Yukon river and in the vicinity of Nulato gave indications of hostile spirit at the beginning of the year 1868. The epidemic pneumonia was prevalent among them, and their shamans declared to the people that the disease had been imported and spread by the white men. The *Rédoute Nulato* had previously been the scene of bloody encounters, as in 1851, when Lieutenant Barnard, royal navy, one of the members of the Franklin Search expedition, was killed, as before described. Several murders occurred among these Indians during

the first year of American possession, but the white traders were not attacked, though frequently threatened. In the meantime the military authorities at Sitka continued to have difficulty in the immediate vicinity. It is the time-honored custom of the Thlinket to demand payment in money or goods for the death or injury of a member of the tribe, and failing to receive the desired equivalent they retaliate with violence.

On the 1st of January, 1869, the chief of the Chilkhat tribe was on a visit to Sitka with sixty or seventy of his warriors, and paid his respects to General Davis, who made him a present of a few bottles of whisky. The American commander had adopted from the Russians the rule of allowing no Indian inside of the palisades surrounding the settlement between sunset and sunrise. On that day the visitors began to feel the influence of the whisky, and both the Sitka and the Chilkhat chiefs refused to retire, and snatched the gun from the sentry who endeavored to enforce the order. The Sitka chief was immediately arrested, but on attempting to seize the other chief the soldiers were met by an armed body of Indians, and in the mêlée the Sitka chief was knocked down and one of the soldiers was wounded, when both parties retreated. On the following morning the Sitkans came to the fort with a flag of truce, requesting an audience with General Davis, declaring that they desired peace and protection. A messenger was sent to demand the immediate surrender of the Chilkhat chief, and, when he refused to come, orders were given to shell the house in which he was staying. The troops were all under arms, guns double shotted, and citizens prepared for defense. The vessels of war in the harbor had orders to prevent the escape of Indians from the village, but during the following forenoon several canoes put off from the beach and were fired into from the Saginaw. One canoe was sunk and three of the inmates killed, one belonging to the Sitka, one to the Chilkhat, and one to the Kehk tribe. Obtaining no payment, the Kehks killed two white men, prospectors, who had ventured into their country. At the same time a small schooner, the *Louisa Downs*, was wrecked in one of the interior channels, and it was reported that the whole crew had been massacred. General Davis placed a company of troops on board of the United States steamer *Saginaw* and started from Sitka on the 11th of February. The first village was found to be deserted by all the inhabitants with the exception of one squaw, and the houses were laid in ashes and everything of value destroyed. Subsequently two other villages were found alike deserted and were treated in a similar manner. Not a hostile warrior was seen. Some time later it was discovered that the shipwrecked crew had not been killed, but rescued by these savages and treated kindly. The return to Sitka was delayed only through fear of the natives caused by the bloodless campaign narrated above.

In the month of July of the same year the Chilkhat Indians, who had still a life to their credit on account of the trouble in Sitka in the month of January, boarded a small trading-vessel and demanded a life or money. A written guarantee for the settlement of the claim was given and the matter reported to the commanding officer at Sitka, who, however, refused to have anything to do with it. Upon this the trader who had given the security paid the claim, thus securing peace to the country, and after this the Indians submitted to the general's demands.

On the 29th of April, 1869, the first number of the *Sitka Times* was published at Sitka, by T. G. Murphy, who combined the avocations of tailor, lawyer, and editor. The little sheet was the organ of an aspirant for gubernatorial honors, through whose efforts the city government was organized in Sitka, with W. S. Dodge as mayor. The new government labored under difficulties, being confronted at every step with military orders threatening arrest and confinement in the guard-house. A truce between the contending powers was observed during the visit of Secretary Seward, in the month of July, 1869, who came to view the purchase so intimately connected with his name. Congratulatory speeches were exchanged between Mr. Seward, the military commander, and the "mayor and the board of aldermen". But the Russian church was robbed of some richly-jeweled paraphernalia of worship, and minor thefts were of common occurrence. Among the officers wordy disputes were frequent, and one duel was fought with fatal result.

General Thomas, who was then in command of the military division of the Pacific, made a tour of inspection throughout the territory, and after careful investigation of the state of affairs deemed it wise to abandon all military posts in Alaska with the exception of that at Sitka.

The year was not to end, however, without additional difficulty with the Indians of southeastern Alaska. An occurrence took place at fort Wrangell which delayed the abandonment of that post for some time. Some white miners passing the winter at that place had sold liquor to the Indians about the fort, and one of the drunken savages beat his squaw until the blood rushed from her mouth. The post-trader, Leon Smith, interfered and had the woman carried into the house of one of the laundresses of the garrison. The brutal husband then feigned regret for the ill treatment of his wife, and offered to shake the hands of the laundress who had protected her. During this friendly ceremony he suddenly seized one of the woman's fingers in his mouth and bit it off, and then fled for the Indian village. A detachment of soldiers was sent to arrest him, but the Indians displayed considerable hostility. The trader Smith then set out for the village, hoping to pacify the savages, but after advancing a few steps he was shot down. After considerable delay, and bombardment of the Indian village from the garrison, the murderer was delivered, tried by court-martial, and hanged, the chief of the tribe acquiescing in the sentence.

In the spring of 1870 another murder was committed at Sitka by a soldier who had been dishonorably discharged. This man, William Bird, had a grudge against the commander of his company, and meeting him in a saloon he drew his pistol, threatening to kill him. The officer struck at Bird and pushed him out of the door; the man then fired through the door, instantly killing a lieutenant of the revenue service who happened to be standing in range. The

murderer, though threatened with mob law, was secured by the guards, and subsequently repeatedly tried in military and civil courts at Sitka, Portland, Oregon, and San Francisco, but was finally released on account of conflicting rulings concerning jurisdiction.

In the summer of 1870 the organ of the tailor journalist was removed from Sitka to Seattle, Washington territory, and shortly after passed out of existence. This event, unimportant as it seemed in itself, marks the end of the brief period of sudden rise and fall of commercial prosperity in Sitka. The causes instrumental in creating a temporary bustle and hopeful feeling in business circles have been explained above; but when one ship after another took the Russians away to their native country the flow of cash from their pockets ceased; the garrison was being continually reduced in numbers, and in 1870 business was dead. There remained about sixty soldiers, about two hundred Russian half-breeds of the lowest order, and a few Americans, and the town which had once held nearly a thousand Russians, the governor with a large retinue of officers and officials, a bishop with his train of priests, and which then was the scene of gay society life, was now almost deserted. The people who had been so sanguine of success, saying that the fisheries, the fur-trade, the timber, and the minerals needed but American enterprise to yield fortunes, had been singularly blind as to the real cause of this spasmodic prosperity of Sitka, and but few could understand that the resources of a northern country are few and slow to develop.

During the year 1870 the western military garrisons were withdrawn, and the substantial buildings erected at great expense of labor and money were abandoned. It would be difficult to point to a single benefit conferred upon the people of those regions by the temporary sojourn among them of the military forces. A small detachment of soldiers had also been stationed on the seal islands to enforce such regulations as had then been promulgated by the treasury department for the protection of both sealers and seals. This measure benefited only the soldiers themselves, who were employed by the traders in killing and skinning the seals, and in this way assisted in the threatened extermination rather than in the protection of these animals. Fortunately for the existence of the valuable fur-seal industry, the government about this time hit upon the only practical plan to preserve the animals from destruction. The islands were declared a treasury reservation, and by an act of Congress approved July 1, 1870, the islands of Saint Paul and Saint George were leased for a term of twenty years to a corporate company. The lease was awarded to the highest bidder, the Alaska Commercial Company, located at San Francisco; and since that time all danger of extermination or a decrease in the number of the seals has been averted, and in fact, at present a steady, gradual increase can be observed.

During the brief period of prosperity, between September, 1867, and August, 1869, the arrivals of vessels at Sitka were 71, with an aggregate tonnage of 13,339, the departures during the same time being 67, with an aggregate tonnage of 12,371; but from that time forward the shipping of the port was confined almost entirely to the monthly mail-steamer, the only means of communication between Sitka and Washington territory, and all intercourse between Sitka and the western portion of Alaska was absolutely at an end.

In 1872 another difficulty with the Sitka Indians occurred, originating in a fight between a soldier and an Indian. In the fracas ensuing three Indians were wounded and an attack upon the garrison was threatened. The affair was settled, however, without additional bloodshed. The garrisons at Sitka and Wrangell are still maintained, but on the 5th of February, 1873, the last mayor of Sitka, George A. Edes, resigned, and the "council" held its last meeting on February 18 of the same year. As the functions of these officers had been exceedingly limited, no social revolution followed this event, and matters went on much as usual under military rule.

In the beginning of the year 1874 the garrison at Wrangell was withdrawn, but owing to disorder among the natives it was re-established the following year.

In the year 1874 an attempt was also made to colonize Alaska with Icelanders, who were then leaving their own country in large numbers, and two of these people were taken to Alaska on a United States man-of-war, and given every opportunity to view the country. They were pleased with what they saw, declaring that the Kadiak archipelago and the coast of Cook's inlet were far superior in natural resources to their former home, but before their favorable report was in the hands of the government their people had found more pleasant homes in the western states and in the British possessions. The Alaska Commercial Company at that time offered to transport a colony of five hundred Icelanders to any portion of Alaska free of charge, but unfortunately the offer was not accepted, and the opportunity of securing additional permanent population for at least some portions of Alaska passed by. During the same year four miners from the Cassiar "diggings", in British Columbia, made their way to the headwaters of the Yukon, and descended that stream. They discovered small "prospects" of gold in a few localities, but found it more profitable to engage in the fur-trade, in which pursuit they still continue.

During the years following several bills were introduced in Congress looking to the establishment of some sort of civil authority in Alaska, one of them being to make it a county of Washington territory, and another to annex the country to Washington territory altogether. All the various measures proposed fell through without action on the part of Congress until 1877, when the troops were finally withdrawn.

In 1878 the Sitka Indians began to comport themselves in the most insolent manner; defacing the graves in the Russian cemetery, pulling down the stockade separating the town from the Indian settlement, and committing other similar outrages. At that time not even a revenue-cutter was present in the harbor, and the inhabitants, becoming very much alarmed, sent an appeal for immediate protection to the commander of an English man-of-war

in the harbor of Victoria. The assistance was promptly rendered, just in time, it was claimed, to prevent disaster; opinions on that subject were, however, divided. In due time the English man-of-war was relieved by a similar vessel of the United States navy, and since that time a vessel of that class has been constantly stationed in the harbor of Sitka, affording protection and assisting the inhabitants of southeastern Alaska in various ways.

Ledges of gold-bearing quartz had been discovered in the vicinity of Sitka before the removal of the troops, but considerable difficulty was encountered in securing the necessary capital to open the mines; but finally some capitalists in Portland, Oregon, formed a company, and for a time the prospects of Sitka were once more brightened. A stamp-mill was erected, but, though numbers of other claims were located and opened, the ore existing here was found to be of a very low grade, and would not even pay for the most economical mode of working. For years the enterprise was kept up in the constant hope of "strikes" of better ore, but at present the Sitka quartz-mines are practically abandoned. On the coast of the mainland in the vicinity of Wrangell a surface-mining camp of small extent has been in existence for several years, yielding a small profit to two or three proprietors of the claims. The most promising discovery of the kind was made at the end of the season of 1880 on the coast between Takoo and Chilkhat inlets. The gold found here is said to exist both on the surface and in quartz-veins, and rich specimens were forwarded to Portland and San Francisco, resulting in a rush of miners and speculators during the spring of 1881, and a town sprang up which has boasted of three names during its brief existence—Harrisburg, Rockville, and Juneau City. The mail-service was extended to this place, and shipments of bullion were actually made, the exact value of which cannot be ascertained. Of the value of this discovery it is impossible to judge at such an early date, but upon its success depends the development of at least this section of Alaska in the immediate future. In the meantime, in the absence of all legislation on the subject, Alaska remains as it has been, an abnormal appendage to our states and territories—not a territory even in name—only a district for the collection of customs.

CHAPTER V.—NOTES ON ALASKAN ETHNOLOGY.

The native tribes of Alaska offer a vast field for the labors of students of North American ethnology. Thus far they have only been roughly grouped in families and tribes by various writers, many of whom, possessing no personal knowledge of the subject, have built up theories from the notes of incompetent and casual observers. As an instance of this we may cite that casual remark of travelers on the facial similarity existing between certain Aleutian individuals and the Japanese resulted in the positive and reiterated assertion by scientific writers that the former migrated to their present homes from eastern Asia—a theory now thoroughly exploded by recent authorities.

Our knowledge of the distribution and classification of the tribes in the extreme northwest is still very limited, and years of careful investigation will be required to enable us to arrive at any satisfactory result and to attain to any degree of accuracy. Some fragmentary ethnological material from Russian-America has been furnished in times past by Russian and German writers; Veniaminof, Davidof, Zagoskin, Wehrman, Baer, Wrangell, Holmberg, and others have given to the scientific world valuable contributions on this subject. Veniaminof (who died but a few years ago in Moscow as the metropolite or primate of the Russian church) was one of the most reliable and painstaking investigators, but his personal observations were limited to the Aleutian islands and the Alexander archipelago. Davidof, an officer of the Russian navy, visited the island of Kadiak and the adjoining continental coast at the beginning of the present century, and Holmberg also devoted himself chiefly to the Kadiak and Sitka districts. To L. Zagoskin, a lieutenant of the Russian navy, we owe our first definite knowledge of the tribes of Norton sound and the lower Yukon region. Another naval officer, Lieutenant Wehrman, compiled in 1857 the first map showing in colors the distribution of native tribes in Russian America, a map quite accurate in its main features. Next in order is the manuscript map, also in colors, compiled by Dr. George Gibbs from information obtained from the Russian authorities at Sitka.

Since the purchase of Alaska by the United States the most valuable contributions to its ethnology thus far published have come from the pen of Mr. William H. Dall, of the United States coast and geodetic survey, who also compiled a map in colors, which was printed with Volume I of *Contributions to North American Ethnology*. A vast amount of ethnological material relating chiefly to the Yukon basin in the extreme northwest has been collected by Mr. E. W. Nelson, of the United States signal service; but this has not yet been given to the public. During repeated and extended journeys in Alaska I have been enabled to glean some fragmentary knowledge of this subject; but until intelligent investigation can be extended systematically over all sections of Alaska, and the results carefully compared and sifted, the work cannot be looked upon as complete.