

## ENDNOTES

### Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> Only one other traditional village remained in this region—Nikolski, on Umnak Island. For the depth and complexity of settlements in the Unalaska Bay area, see Knecht and Davis, “The Amaknak Bridge Site.” Called *Iliuliuk* throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the village of Unalaska had been established by Russians as a fur-trading center between 1775 and 1778. Even as it absorbed surrounding villages, its core remained a commercial center controlled by outsiders. In a smaller but similar way, Akutan Village was established by late 1876 or early 1877 to meet the needs of the Alaska Commercial Company.

<sup>2</sup> Bergsland and Dirks, *Aleut Tales and Narratives*, 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 603.

<sup>4</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 96.

<sup>5</sup> Ponomarov and Glotov, “The Voyage to Umnak and Unalaska Islands,” 62.

<sup>6</sup> Irene Makarin distinguished “Biorka” and “Borka” with the former used for the old village and “Borka” for the more recent site. *The Beginning of Memory*, 200.

<sup>7</sup> Baker, *Geographic Dictionary of Alaska*, 98.

<sup>8</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 152.

<sup>9</sup> The generic terms for volcano, *anġidachaluġ* and *anġiġii*, refer to a mountain with a place for emitting breath or smoke. According to Black’s marginalia in my copy of Sarychev’s *Account of a Voyage*, Nick Galaktionoff said the name of Makushin Volcano recorded on page 60, *Aijagin*, referred to any volcano.

<sup>10</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 605, 271.

<sup>11</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 607.

<sup>12</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 40, note \*\*. It was Sarychev who in 1792 was said to have named the location after Yeflm Koshigin who wintered at Unalaska in 1763.

<sup>13</sup> A 1986 survey from Kof Point, at the north entrance to Skan Bay, down to Konets Head at the southern tip of the island, found sixty-two sites (Douglas Veltre, Allen McCartney, and Jean Aigner, *Archaeological Survey*).

<sup>14</sup> Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America: Parts II-V*, 120.

<sup>15</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 94.

<sup>16</sup> Dumond, ed. *Archaeology in the Aleut Zone of Alaska*. McCartney and Veltre, “Longhouses of the Eastern Aleutian Islands, Alaska,” 249-265.

<sup>17</sup> Laughlin, *Aleuts*, 120-126.

<sup>18</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 301.

<sup>19</sup> Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish One*, 27.

<sup>20</sup> Pratt, “Introductory Note,” 121.

<sup>21</sup> Burch, “The Method of Ethnographic Reconstruction,” 125-129.

<sup>22</sup> Black, “Whaling in the Aleutians,” 12.

<sup>23</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 224.

<sup>24</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 184.

<sup>25</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 190. See Bergsland’s carefully annotated translation in *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 59-60.

<sup>26</sup> Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 138, 135.

<sup>27</sup> Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 64, 63.

### Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> Black translated this phrase as “and it had become impenetrably dark there” (Veniaminov, *Notes*, 219). Here I use the translation Ivan Petroff made for the Tenth Census because of its rhythmic finality.

<sup>2</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 120.

<sup>3</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 119-120.

<sup>4</sup> That is, this is how people who later lived in more westward islands had knowledge about islands that were to the east. The first Russians to arrive in the Fox Islands were told, with some detail, about islands in the east.

<sup>5</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, interview with Ray Hudson, April 2, 1976.

<sup>6</sup> "Stories from Andrew Makarin, related by him to Nick Galaktionoff," Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 54-55.

<sup>7</sup> "Stories from Andrew Makarin," Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 54-55. Note that this is an edited account and not a literal transcript.

<sup>8</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, interview with Ray Hudson, April 2, 1976.

<sup>9</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 603.

<sup>10</sup> See Black's discussion of this "ritual" rope in "Whaling in the Aleutians," 16-17, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 237.

<sup>12</sup> Umnak oral tradition held that Sasiman was the "name of one of two old men who killed the first Russians who came and anchored inside the reef (outside present Nikolski)." Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 342, citing field notes of Gordon H. Marsh from Afinogen K. Ermeloff and Anton Bezezekoff and "Ethnological Notes on the Aleuts" by Charles I. Shade. See also Laughlin, *Aleuts*, 121, for Sasiman as one of the key participants in the attack against the Medvedev party.

<sup>13</sup> Andreyev, *Russian Discoveries*, 21. Originally, the *iasak* was a tribute or tax in furs paid to the sovereign by Siberian tribesmen. This duty was laid on Aleuts as they submitted to Russian authority and, in a sense, the success of the collection of the *iasak* was a reflection of the success of colonization. In 1788 Catherine II abolished *iasak* collection in the Aleutians and gradually the practice ceased.

<sup>14</sup> For the names of the chiefs, see Andreyev, *Russian Discoveries*, 21. Makarova wrote that there were 400 Umnak people under the two chiefs and about 300 on Unalaska under the three chiefs. (Makarova, *Russians on the Pacific*, 82, note 128.)

<sup>15</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, personal conversation with Ray Hudson, August 27, 1991.

<sup>16</sup> Referring to the mossberry (*Empetrum nigrum*), Veniaminov noted, "The Aleuts pick and preserve only these berries for the winter." *Notes*, 25. Because the berry does not tear on picking, it can be preserved by immersion in water or oil. See also Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, 499, note 21.

<sup>17</sup> Whenever possible the spelling of Unangaŋ names has been coordinated with the spelling in Bergsland's *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*.

<sup>18</sup> Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, 137. Also, J. L. S., *Neue Nachrichten*, 37. Information on the 1763-1766 conflicts was also provided by Lydia T. Black in a series of lectures at Unalaska in 1985.

<sup>19</sup> Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, 139. J. L. S., *Neue Nachrichten*, 139. Solov'ev said Inghluuaguzaŋ was responsible for the attacks on Druzhinin and Korovin (Black lecture).

<sup>20</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 574. Several variations exist for the names of months.

<sup>21</sup> Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, 142.

<sup>22</sup> Black, *Aleut Art*, 132.

<sup>23</sup> Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, 143.

<sup>24</sup> Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, 144. J. L. S., *Neue Nachrichten*, 145.

<sup>25</sup> Coxe, *Account of the Russian Discoveries*, 145. J. L. S., *Neue Nachrichten*, 145, refers to "the perfidious Itchadak."

<sup>26</sup> Black, "Early History," 94-95.

<sup>27</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 252. See also Black's footnote in *Notes*, 96-97, note \*.

<sup>28</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 255.

<sup>29</sup> Berkh, *A Chronological History*, 41.

<sup>30</sup> Black, note \*, in Veniaminov, *Notes*, 252.

<sup>31</sup> Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition*, appendix VII, footnote.

<sup>32</sup> Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughn, and Vaughn, *Russian Penetration*, 369.

<sup>33</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 251.

<sup>34</sup> Black, *Atka*, 44.

<sup>35</sup> Masterson and Brower, *Bering's Successors*, 83.

<sup>36</sup> Masterson and Brower, *Bering's Successors*, 84.

<sup>37</sup> Smith, J. L., ed., *The Russian Discovery of the Aleutian and Kodiak Islands*, 62.

<sup>38</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 90.

### Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 390, n.2.

<sup>2</sup> See Elliott's description and drawing of whaling in this vicinity a century later in *Our Arctic Province*, 152-153.

<sup>3</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 390.

<sup>4</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 602-603. Possibly "bay of snouts." Udaa means "bay" in Aleut.

<sup>5</sup> Joppien and Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, 195.

<sup>6</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, 603. Clerke said Unangaġ called the village "Se'zar'nuck" (Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 1334).

<sup>7</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, interview with Ray Hudson, April 1, 1976.

<sup>8</sup> Liapunova, *Essays*, 28, 102.

<sup>9</sup> Bill Tcheripanoff and Sergie Sovoroff in Hudson, ed., *Unuguluġ Tunusangin, Oldtime Stories*, 151-152.

<sup>10</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 458, 459.

<sup>11</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1124-1125.

<sup>12</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 391-392.

<sup>13</sup> Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 20.

<sup>14</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1426.

<sup>15</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1359.

<sup>16</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1121.

<sup>17</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 459, 468.

<sup>18</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 458.

<sup>19</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 459.

<sup>20</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1444.

<sup>21</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1333.

<sup>22</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1121.

<sup>23</sup> Munford, *John Ledyard's Journal*, 93-94.

<sup>24</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1445.

<sup>25</sup> Beaglehold, *Cook and the Russians*, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1140.

<sup>27</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part One*, 450.

<sup>28</sup> Pierce, *Russian America*, 442.

<sup>29</sup> Berkh, *A Chronological History*, 104-105.

<sup>30</sup> Pierce, *Russian America*, 206.

<sup>31</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1336.

<sup>32</sup> King, "Journal of the Proceedings of his Majesty's Sloop *Discovery* from Kamchatka to Cape of Good Hope" in Joppien and Smith, 285.

<sup>33</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1446.

<sup>34</sup> Beaglehole, *Journals, Vol. III, Part Two*, 1355.

<sup>35</sup> Beaglehole, *Cook and the Russians*, 3.

### Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup> See discussions of fur hunting periods in Makarova and Liapunova. See also Black's division of periods in "The Nature of Evil," 117-122.

- <sup>2</sup> Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America*, 121-125.
- <sup>3</sup> Sarychev, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery*, 78. See a modern translation of these phrases in Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America*, 130.
- <sup>4</sup> Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition*, 154. Merck noted that the people of Akun and Tigalda called themselves *Kignon* (perhaps a version of *Qigiġun*). Merck, *Siberia and Northwestern America*, 168. Billings reported that the Unalaska and Umnak people called themselves *Kaughalingn*. Merck, *Siberia and Northwestern America*, 199.
- <sup>5</sup> Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition*, 155.
- <sup>6</sup> Sauer, *An Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition*, 158.
- <sup>7</sup> Merck, *Siberia and Northwestern America*, 70.
- <sup>8</sup> Merck, *Siberia and Northwestern America*, 89.
- <sup>9</sup> Sarychev, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery*, 61.
- <sup>10</sup> Sarychev, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery*, 62. See Black's translation of a portion of this account and her discussion of the Makushin celebration in *Aleut Art*, 2003, 76.
- <sup>11</sup> See Black's translation in *Aleut Art*, 2003, 37.
- <sup>12</sup> Sarychev, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery*, 66.
- <sup>13</sup> Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 22-23.
- <sup>14</sup> Bergsland, *Ancient Aleut Personal Names*, 23.
- <sup>15</sup> Liapunova, "The Aleuts before Contact with the Russians," 8-10.
- <sup>16</sup> He recorded 695 males and 779 females. Veniaminov, *Notes*, 246.
- <sup>17</sup> The number of males was down to 682 while the number of females had risen to 812. Veniaminov, *Notes*, 245.
- <sup>18</sup> This was close to Khlebnikov's 1827 figure of 351 males, 363 females, a total of 714 (plus 30 or 40 people absent on hunting trips from Attu and Amchitka). Black, *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: the Atkha Years*, 12. Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America*, 220-221. Both Netsvetov's and Khlebnikov's figures are considerably higher than Litke's 1825 figure of 569.
- <sup>19</sup> Corbett and Lefevre, "Prehistoric Village Organization in the Western Aleutians," 251-266.
- <sup>20</sup> Luehrmann, *Alutiiq Villages under Russian and U.S. Rule*, 67.
- <sup>21</sup> Golovnin, "Memorandum of Captain 2nd Rank Golovnin," 69.
- <sup>22</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 257.
- <sup>23</sup> Sarafian, Winston Lee, *Russian-American Company Records as a Source of Aleut Ethnohistory*. Transcript. 18 November 1822, Vol. 3, No. 296, folio 120-121.
- <sup>24</sup> Luehrmann, *Alutiiq Villages under Russian and U.S. Rule*, 69.
- <sup>25</sup> Pierce, *Russian America*, 10.
- <sup>26</sup> Black, introduction, *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: The Atkha Years*, xxvi.
- <sup>27</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 248, note\*.
- <sup>28</sup> Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan, Vaughan, *The Russian American Colonies*, 362, 363.
- <sup>29</sup> For the evolving roles of toion and starshina, see Luehrmann, *Alutiiq Villages under Russian and U.S. Rule*, 88-91.
- <sup>30</sup> Veniaminov, *Journals*, 76, 83.
- <sup>31</sup> Veniaminov, *Journals*, 35, note 9.
- <sup>32</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 93.
- <sup>33</sup> Palas, quoted in Masterson and Brower. *Bering's Successors*, 44-45. There were also hidden underground locations where families could be concealed during invasions (Veniaminov, *Notes*, 264).
- <sup>34</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 84, 94, 39.
- <sup>35</sup> Veniaminov, *Journals*, 35, note 11.
- <sup>36</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 94-95.
- <sup>37</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 40-42, 95.
- <sup>38</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 42.
- <sup>39</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 95.

<sup>40</sup> Veniaminov, *Journals*, 159.

<sup>41</sup> Veniaminov, *Journals*, 191.

<sup>42</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 259-260, corrected from the text.

<sup>43</sup> Veniaminov, *Journals*, 90-91.

<sup>44</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 96.

<sup>45</sup> Michael, ed., *Lieutenant Zagoskin's Travels*, 87.

<sup>46</sup> Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, 471, note 22.

<sup>47</sup> Black, et al. *The History and Ethnohistory of the Aleutians East Borough*, 42. Records of the Russian-American Company, correspondence of the Governor's General, Communications Sent, vol. 16, no. 481, folios 191v-195, November 4, 1838. Sarafian, *Russian-American Company Records as a Source of Aleut Ethnohistory*.

<sup>48</sup> Teben'kov, *Atlas*, 77, 82, 84, 85.

<sup>49</sup> Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, 402-409. Numerous villages are omitted from this account and his inflated figure for the small village of Imagnia ("about 368") must lump several villages into one.

<sup>50</sup> Davidson, *Report*, 221-222.

<sup>51</sup> Sedanka Island is not included because the 1790 population for Biorka is difficult to ascertain. If Baranov called it Usetinskoe, it had 15 adult males; if he called it Boreshke, it had 10. There were 16 adult males in the Billings' census, plus 5 minor males. Veniaminov listed 17 men and 27 women in the table in his *Notes*.

<sup>52</sup> Veniaminov, *Notes*, 90.

## Chapter 5

<sup>1</sup> Black points out that previous to his installation as bishop, church officials had discouraged the building of village chapels as "unnecessary proliferation" at a time when they could not be staffed by clergy. Black, *Ivan Pan'kov*, 21, note 18.

<sup>2</sup> For the alliance between the church and the Russian-American Company during Veniaminov's years as bishop, see Vinkovetsky, *Russian America*, 154-163, 168-180.

<sup>3</sup> Black, *Ivan Pan'kov*, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Kedrovsky, "Historical and Statistical Description," *Russian-Orthodox American Messenger*. Vol. 1, No. 22, 1896:465.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *A Sure Foundation*, 25.

<sup>6</sup> Grinev, *Kto Est Kto*, 635.

<sup>7</sup> Grinev, *Kto Est Kto*, 273.

<sup>8</sup> Grinev, *Kto Est Kto*, 320.

<sup>9</sup> For material on Petelin families, see Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell's "Commonly Known Finnish and Baltic Names Found in the Index to Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths in the Archives of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska 1816-1866." Recovered March 23, 2012: <http://www.genealogia.fi/emi/art/article411e.htm>

<sup>10</sup> Household census prepared by Alfred Greenbaum, general agent of the Alaska Commercial Company at Unalaska, from church records supplied by Innokentii Shaiashnikov, March 20, 1878. Alaska Commercial Company Records 1868-1911, box 152, folder 1578. Archives of the Arctic and Polar Regions Collections of the Elmer E. Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. [Hereafter, 1878 household census UAE.]

<sup>11</sup> An inventory made by the Russian commissioner Alexei Pestchouroff on June 2, 1868. The church property contained the church itself, two "plank sided" houses for assistants to the priest, a third house, a vegetable garden and the cemetery at the corner of the bay. Alaska Commercial Company Records 1868-1911, box 152, folder 1574a. Archives of the Arctic and Polar Regions Collections of the Elmer E. Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

<sup>12</sup> Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 274.

- <sup>13</sup> Black, *Atka*, 103-104.
- <sup>14</sup> Alekseev, *The Destiny of Russian America*, 274.
- <sup>15</sup> Pierce, *Russian America*, 529.
- <sup>16</sup> Pierce, *Russian America*, 209, 439, 505. Vasiliï Salamatov and Illarion Arkhimandritov, both of Unanga descent and noted seamen, conducted surveys while Mikhail Kadin, of Atkan descent, drew charts for the atlas, and Grigorii Terent'ev engraved them on copper. Teben'kov, *Atlas*, xii.
- <sup>17</sup> Teben'kov, *Atlas*, 72, 74.
- <sup>18</sup> For more on the vonBartrams, Maria Alekseev, and Finns in Alaska, see the work of Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell, including *Transfigurations*.
- <sup>19</sup> Bergsland, *Aleut Dictionary*, xl.
- <sup>20</sup> *Alaska Herald*, February 12, 1874.
- <sup>21</sup> This medal is in the Alaska State Museums collection, accession number 2005-21-1.
- <sup>22</sup> September 4, 1863. Journal 1861-1863, I. Shaishnokov, priest, Unalaska. Bancroft Library, MSS P-K 209.
- <sup>23</sup> Golovin, *The End of Russian America*, 61.
- <sup>24</sup> Arndt and Pierce, *A Construction History of Sitka*, 213-214.
- <sup>25</sup> Arndt and Pierce, *A Construction History of Sitka*, 219.
- <sup>26</sup> Isaac Anderson to Nicolai Resef, June 7, 1886, Russian Church Collection, box D-49. The year building began was found in records kept by Rev. Resef.
- <sup>27</sup> Davidson, *Coast Pilot of Alaska*, 52-53.
- <sup>28</sup> Grinev, "Social Mobility," 21-38.
- <sup>29</sup> Henriques, John A. "Alaska: Facts about the New Northwest. Statement to the Kirtland Society of Natural Sciences." NARA, MF 720, Alaska File of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868-1903. Roll 25: Misc. Records.
- <sup>30</sup> Elliott, *A Report Upon the Conditions*, 52.
- <sup>31</sup> Cobb, *The Commercial Fisheries of Alaska in 1905*, 31.
- <sup>32</sup> Brown, Frank M., Deputy Collector of Customs, letter December 31, 1869, to Frank N. Wicker, Special Agent Treasury Department, Sitka. NARA, RG 36, box 423.
- <sup>33</sup> Bailey, *Condition of Affairs*, 16.
- <sup>34</sup> Dall to B.W. Evermann, U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, December 7, 1910. NARA, RG 22, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, file 290.
- <sup>35</sup> Report of Major General George H. Thomas. House Executive Document, 1 September 1869. Serial 1412:117
- <sup>36</sup> NARA, MF 720, Alaska File of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868-1903. Roll 2. The statement from St. Paul was dated October 12, 1868, and the one from St. George was dated April 18, 1869. Kondroity Kutcutine was listed on an 1878 census at Unalaska, age 54.
- <sup>37</sup> Hooper, *A Report on the Sea-Otter Banks*, 16.
- <sup>38</sup> *Alaska Herald*, December 1, 1868.
- <sup>39</sup> Buynitsky, S.N., *Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*. 50th Congress, 2nd Session. House Report No. 3883. 1889:4.
- <sup>40</sup> *Alaska Herald*, June 9, 1872.
- <sup>41</sup> Hinckley, "Ivan Petroff's Journal," 35.
- <sup>42</sup> Petroff, "An Alaskan Centennial."
- <sup>43</sup> Petroff, Population and Resources, 21.
- <sup>44</sup> Pierce, *Russian America*, 269. Grinev, *Kto Est Kto*, 272.
- <sup>45</sup> Elliott, *Our Arctic Province*, 177.
- <sup>46</sup> NARA, RG 22, box 69, folder: Sea Otters 1891-1902. There is a note attached to this copy signed by Henry W. Elliott saying the original was presented to him at Unalaska on October 16, 1876 and that he delivered it to Secretary Morrill in November.
- <sup>47</sup> An unidentified extract sent to Captain C. L. Hooper, April 27, 1895, by C. S. Hamlin, Acting Secretary of the Treasury. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1839.

- <sup>48</sup> *Nature*, November 14, 1878.
- <sup>49</sup> Hinckley, "Ivan Petroff's Journal," 33.
- <sup>50</sup> *Nature*, November 14, 1878.
- <sup>51</sup> Petroff, "The Limit of the Innuit Tribes," 572-573.
- <sup>52</sup> Samuel Applegate to George Davidson, July 20, 1907. Alaska State Library, Historical Collections. Samuel Applegate Papers, 1892-1925. MS-3, box 1.
- <sup>53</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 113.
- <sup>54</sup> *Daily Alta California*, 5 August 1884.

## Chapter 6

- <sup>1</sup> 1878 household census, UAF.
- <sup>2</sup> June 29, 1885, Unalaska, Letters Outgoing, Copy Book, 1885-1889 [Hereafter, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.]
- <sup>3</sup> October 2, 1885, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>4</sup> October 15, 1885, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>5</sup> January 28, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>6</sup> *The Daily Alta*, April 8, 1880. William Healey Dall scrapbook. SIA, RU 7073, box 47, folder 3.
- <sup>7</sup> Goforth, Logbook, Tchernofski Station, May 5, 1887 – April 22, 1888.
- <sup>8</sup> Goforth, Logbook, Tchernofski Station, May 5, 1887 – April 22, 1888.
- <sup>9</sup> September 14, 1888, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>10</sup> August 7, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>11</sup> Bailey, *Condition of Affairs in Alaska*, 16.
- <sup>12</sup> October 2, 1885, ACC Copy Book, 1885-1889.
- <sup>13</sup> November 29, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>14</sup> M.W.H. [Mark W. Harrington] "Alaska. Twelve Months' Residence in the Territory." *Chicago Tribune*, January 24, 1873:2.
- <sup>15</sup> January 22, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>16</sup> January 22, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>17</sup> Luehrmann, *Alutiiq Villages*, 69-70.
- <sup>18</sup> July 1, 1886, September 14, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>19</sup> June 7, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>20</sup> Dall to Mrs. R. L. Nichols, November 2, 1921. SIA, RU 7073, box 5.
- <sup>21</sup> Barnes, Winslow B. "Report of Winslow B. Barnes, Lieut., St. Paul Island, June 1870." *Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska*, serial 3576:14.
- <sup>22</sup> Transcripts of Notes 1872-1902 made from log by Walter L. Hahn, p. 228. NARA, RG 22, file 291, box 49.
- <sup>23</sup> In 1891 Washburn at Kodiak asked Neumann at Unalaska to ship him medium weight skins as his order had not been filled by the home office. August 5, 1891, Kodiak Station, Letters, outgoing: Letter Book A, box 124, folder 1146, UAF.
- <sup>24</sup> June 23, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>25</sup> "Prehistoric Remains ... Report of Dr. W.H. Dall, U.S. Coast Survey." *Daily Evening Bulletin*. (San Francisco) Nov. 6, 1872. August 17, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>26</sup> March 5, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>27</sup> February 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>28</sup> February 16, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>29</sup> April 7, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>30</sup> September 29, 1885, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>31</sup> November 25, 1885, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>32</sup> *Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*, 1889:xxxii.
- <sup>33</sup> Among Pribilof workers, income varied widely. In 1889 at St. Paul a first class sealer received \$627.85 while a sixth class worker got only \$251.17. The priest that year received \$1,000. The St. George chiefs were paid between \$80 and \$100 a year while the chiefs on St. Paul were paid \$300 in 1885 and \$200

for subsequent years. An 1886-1888 ledger indicates that the Unalaska harbor or port chief received an annual salary of \$1000 which was paid by hunters from Makushin, Chernofski, Kashega, Biorka and Unalaska villages. Unalaska Ledger in Russian covering the years 1886 to 1888, page 6. Possession of Larry Shaishnikoff, Unalaska, Alaska. A translation into English was made by Lydia T. Black. Copy in Ray Hudson's collection. [Hereafter, Shaishnikoff 1886-1888 ledger.]

- <sup>34</sup> Income for the Pribilofs is from *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. V, 719, 731, 733. Akutan income is from the ACC Akutan Station Account Ledger and the Akutan Station Daily Cash Record.
- <sup>35</sup> Glidden, Henry A. "Preliminary report for 1882," in *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, serial 3576, 155-156.
- <sup>36</sup> Tingle, George. "Annual Report for 1887," in *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, serial 3576, 199.
- <sup>37</sup> *Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*, serial 2674, 80.
- <sup>38</sup> St. Paul Island Log, June 29, 1876, May 20, 1877.
- <sup>39</sup> September 14, 1888, February 16, 1889, July 18, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>40</sup> *Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska*, serial 2674, 391-392.
- <sup>41</sup> C. A. Williams, *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. III, 543-544.
- <sup>42</sup> See Jones' discussion of this in *A Century of Servitude*, 20.
- <sup>43</sup> Hugh H. McIntyre to Emma L. McIntyre, Ounalaska, May 12, 1876. Robert Collins Collection.
- <sup>44</sup> Petrof, *Population and Resources*, 19.
- <sup>45</sup> Deposition of S. Melavidoff and D. Salamatoff, *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. III, 209.
- <sup>46</sup> Deposition of Ruth [sic] Burdukofski, *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. III, 206.
- <sup>47</sup> Deposition of Kerrick Artomanoff, *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. III, 211.
- <sup>48</sup> Deposition of Arthur Newman, *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. III, 101.
- <sup>49</sup> June 12, 1885; June 26, 1886; July 7, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889. See also a table prepared by Max Heilbronner, secretary of the A. C. Company, *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. IX, 570.
- <sup>50</sup> September 13, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>51</sup> September 13, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>52</sup> July 31, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>53</sup> *San Francisco Call*, Vol. 68, No. 56, 26 July 1890.
- <sup>54</sup> April 17, 1888, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>55</sup> April 23, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>56</sup> May 13, 1879, ACC Log Book 1878-1879.
- <sup>57</sup> April 15, 1888, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>58</sup> May 4, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>59</sup> July 20, 1888, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>60</sup> Shaishnikoff 1886-1888 Ledger, p. 6.
- <sup>61</sup> Undated article, "Alaska 'King' here longs to be back with his queen" by Fred L. Boalt, n.d., 1912, from a Seattle newspaper. Copy from Kris McGlashan of Sand Point. This was a syndicated article that appeared under different titles in the fall of 1912.
- <sup>62</sup> September 14, 1888, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>63</sup> Quoted in *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. VI, 127.
- <sup>64</sup> Healy, *Report of the Cruise of the Revenue Marine Steamer Corwin*, 19-20.
- <sup>65</sup> Muir, *The Cruise of the Corwin*, 23.
- <sup>66</sup> Unalaska City School Collection.
- <sup>67</sup> Healy, *Report of M. A. Healy, 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. Commanding Revenue Steamer Rush*. Sept. 12, 1881. NARA, Alaska File of the Revenue Cutter Service, RG 26, M641.
- <sup>68</sup> Rev. Nikolai S. Risef also signed. I am including among the hunters three names of men who may not have participated in the hunt: Andrei Lodosnikoff, the assistant priest, Innokentii Sheshkin, another church official, and Alexander Shaiashnikov, who frequently worked as an agent for the A.C. Company. None of these three were listed in the winter hunting party.
- <sup>69</sup> 1886 petition of natives to President Cleveland. ACC Records, Archives of the Arctic and Polar Regions Collections of the Elmer E. Rasmuson Library.

- <sup>70</sup> Charles S. Fairchild, Acting Secretary of the Treasury Department to Collector of Customs at Sitka, July 19, 1886. On this copy of the letter is the handwritten note, "Rec'd from Bureau of Customs, Feb. 11, 1928." NARA, RG 22.
- <sup>71</sup> 1886 petition of natives to President Cleveland.
- <sup>72</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 19, 1887:8
- <sup>73</sup> Report of Joseph Murray, Special Treasury Agent, for the Year 1895, in *Seal and Salmon Fisheries*, serial 3577, 442-443.
- <sup>74</sup> June 10, 1886, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>75</sup> April 17, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>76</sup> Government Printing Office (GPO), *Report on Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census*, 204.
- <sup>77</sup> Ensign Willett to Lt. Commander Stockton, "Report on the Aleutian islands." National Anthropological Archives, MS 3547. Undated, but it appears to have been written after September 1, 1888. The other villages were Unalaska, 25 kayaks; Chernofski, 14; Nikolski (Umnak), 15; Atka, 16; Attu, 12; Nikolaievsky, 8; Belkofski, 16; Unga, 16; and Vosnessenski, 4.
- <sup>78</sup> August 7, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>79</sup> December 6, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>80</sup> Library of Congress, Russian Church Collection, receipts dated May 23, July 22, August 3, October 12, and November 6, 1878.
- <sup>81</sup> Shaiashnikoff Unalaska Ledger 1886 to 1888.
- <sup>82</sup> Dall to Mrs. R. L. Nichols, November 2, 1921. SIA. RU 7073, box 5.
- <sup>83</sup> Turner, Lucien M. *An Aleutian Ethnography*. University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks. 2008:16.
- <sup>84</sup> Hooper. Letter dated Ounalaska, May 20, 1881. Alaska File of the Revenue Cutter Service, 1867-1914. RG 36 M641.
- <sup>85</sup> Hooper identified the A.C. Co. physician as a Dr. Holman. However, William S. Hereford was the company's doctor during this period. He was stationed at St. George from 1880 to 1881, and then at Unalaska from 1881 to 1882 (during which time he traveled to Attu, Atka, Belkovski, Unga, etc.) From 1882 to 1891 he was back in the Pribilof Islands. *Proceedings of the Tribunal of Arbitration*, Vol. III, 32
- <sup>86</sup> July 12, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>87</sup> September 9, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.
- <sup>88</sup> Library of Congress, Russian Church Collection. Nikolai Rysev to the Alaska Spiritual Office, 1/13 October 1888. Translation courtesy of Zoya Johnson who made the connection to whooping cough.
- <sup>89</sup> September 5, 1877. Logbook Tshernoffsky Station 1877-1878. In J. Penelope Goforth, "Description of Logbooks." Bringing Aleutian History Home: the Lost Ledgers of the Alaska Commercial Company, 1875-1895.
- <sup>90</sup> Bergsland and Dirks, *Aleut Tales and Narratives*, 313. An account from Andrew Makarin, conveyed by Nick Galaktionoff (Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 58) states that Andrew's father was among those who drowned but this is not correct as Terentii Makarin lived much longer.
- <sup>91</sup> Comment credited to Innokentii Shaiashnikov. Anonymous, "Scientific Expedition to Alaska," 475.
- <sup>92</sup> April 17, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889. This death was also recorded in the 1886-1888 Shaiashnikov ledger, page 13.
- <sup>93</sup> April 2, 1878. ACC Unalaska Station Log Book 1878-1879.
- <sup>94</sup> "Translation of Petition of Inhabitants of Ounalaska for the Removal of Ivan Ladingin, an Objectional Character," The Bancroft Library. This may have been among the materials collected by Ivan Petrof and is therefore in need of verification from other sources.
- <sup>95</sup> Information supplied by J. Penelope Goforth from a transcription of Book II, Accounts, Individuals: Winter Hunting Party 1886-1887. Bringing Aleutian History Home: the Lost Ledgers of the Alaska Commercial Company, 1875-1895.
- <sup>96</sup> Hooper, *Sea-Otter Banks of Alaska*, 18. He is listed as being born at Atka.
- <sup>97</sup> June 16, 1885, January 28, 1886, June 23, 1887, January 1888, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.

<sup>98</sup> *The Alaska Appeal*, April 22, 1879.

<sup>99</sup> Petroff, *Early Times on the Aleutian Islands; Life of Peter Kostromitin, 1798-1878*. 1878. Bancroft Library, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, BANC MSS P-K 14.

<sup>100</sup> Grinev, *Kto Est Kto*, 393.

<sup>101</sup> The 1900 U.S. census has him living at Unalaska, age 46 (born May 1854), with his wife Natalia and daughter Acolina.

<sup>102</sup> April 19, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.

<sup>103</sup> April 19, May 20, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.

<sup>104</sup> May 4, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.

<sup>105</sup> McIntyre to Greenbaum, April 27, 1878. Letters from Alaska Commercial Company Records, Kodiak. MF #135.

<sup>106</sup> Letters from Alaska Commercial Company Records, Kodiak, MF #135, April 15, 1877.

<sup>107</sup> \$429 for 22 otters on May 17; \$2340 for 104 otters on June 17. ACC Unalaska Station Log Book 1878-1879.

<sup>108</sup> April 13, 1878. ACC Unalaska Station Log Book 1878-1879.

<sup>109</sup> ACC Unalaska Station Log Book 1878-1879. April 11, 1879. Eliza Otis wrote about Shaiashnikov during her visit in 1880, "He is a good man, and spends all the money that he does not need for his own family to make his poor people comfortable." E.A.O. [Eliza A. Otis]. "Our Boys and Girls, A Gossipy Sketch from the Far and Frozen North." *Los Angeles Times*. November 30, 1884.

<sup>110</sup> Petrof, *Population and Resources*, 19-20.

<sup>111</sup> September 13, 1887, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.

<sup>112</sup> August 19, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.

<sup>113</sup> August 19, 1889, ACC Copy Book 1885-1889.

## Chapter 7

<sup>1</sup> Thornton, "The Trip to Alaska," 392,394.

<sup>2</sup> His house, with a few trees, was where the Town Park is now located. Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 28. Swanson recalled Olgin commenting on the large population that once distinguished Biorka. Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 64.

<sup>3</sup> Applegate, "The Third District," 88.

<sup>4</sup> Applegate, "The Third District," 89.

<sup>5</sup> Tanner, *Report... Steamer Albatross*, 244-245.

<sup>6</sup> The icon appears in an 1896 inventory of the Church of the Holy Ascension. On the back in Russian is "On the Island of Unalaska to the Church of the Transfiguration of our Lord, 1870 July 27 Moscow" [translation by Barbara Sweetland Smith] along with a stamp with the signature of Metropolitan Innokentii. Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 1058-1059.

<sup>7</sup> Marti Murray, citing a translation of an 1896 Unalaska church book by Lydia T. Black. "Lost Villages: Mini-biographies of the last inhabitants of Attu, Biorka, Chernofski, Kashega, and Makushin." Draft, 2 August 2005.

<sup>8</sup> Letter to the Alaska Commercial Company, August 21, 1891. Library of Congress, Russian Church Collection, D-49.

<sup>9</sup> Hooper, *Sea-Otter Banks of Alaska*, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Townsend, C.H., memorandum, April 13, 1896. Submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury by the U. S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries. NARA, RG 22.

<sup>11</sup> Gray, Maria Freeman. *The Alaskan and Herald Combined*. September 12, 1896.

<sup>12</sup> *Report of the Governor of Alaska to the Secretary of the Interior*. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1897:38.

<sup>13</sup> Gross, Nancy. "Samuel Applegate: Practical Dilettante" A paper presented to the Alaska Historical Society symposium, Commerce in Alaska's Past, October 21, 1988:5. Applegate's extensive correspondence documents the final years of sea otter hunting. In 1893 he initiated a long-term

commitment to Nikolski Village that continued until hunting was banned in 1911.

<sup>14</sup> Fortune, *Chills and Fever*, 215-226

<sup>15</sup> *San Francisco Call*, 29 July 1900.

<sup>16</sup> W.H. Cushing to Secretary of the Treasury, September 8, 1900. NARA, MF 720 (Alaska File of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868-1903), Roll 8.

<sup>17</sup> *The Alaskan and Herald Combine*, October 27, 1900.

<sup>18</sup> "Rapid Decline of the Aleuts." *San Francisco Call*, October 7, 1901.

<sup>19</sup> A. Lanson Weeks, report of June 28, 1901. NARA, MF 720 (Alaska File of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1868-1903), Roll 9.

<sup>20</sup> April 21 and June 21, 1906, North American Commercial Company, Log Copy Book, August 11, 1905 – October 23, 1906.

<sup>21</sup> January 8, 1906, North American Commercial Company, Log Copy Book, August 11, 1905 – October 23, 1906.

<sup>22</sup> C.C. Harman to [name blurred], November 1908. Correspondence Copy Book, 1903-1910. Pat Locke Archival Collection, Museum of the Aleutians.

<sup>23</sup> January 13, 1906, North American Commercial Company, Log Copy Book, August 11, 1905 – October 23, 1906.

<sup>24</sup> January 12, 1906, North American Commercial Company, Log Copy Book, August 11, 1905 – October 23, 1906.

<sup>25</sup> Davidson, "Volcanic Eruption in the Bering Sea," 271.

<sup>26</sup> Copybook. Letter to J. A. Sterling. September 17, 1910. p. 457 Papers of Samuel Applegate, 1875-1925. 0003 MS Alaska State Historical Library.

<sup>27</sup> *Seward Gateway*, April 30, 1910.

<sup>28</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 29-33

<sup>29</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 30-31.

<sup>30</sup> Foley to the Secretary of the Treasury. September 8, 1910. RG 26, file 611, box 1834.

<sup>31</sup> Recorded conversation with Platonida Gromoff, Sophia Pletnikoff, and Nick Galaktionoff [with Ray Hudson]. January/February 1974.

<sup>32</sup> Foley to Secretary of the Treasury, October 20, 1910. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1834.

<sup>33</sup> H.O. Schaleben to W. T. Lopp, July 12, 1912. NARA RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Entry 804.

<sup>34</sup> Foley to Secretary of the Treasury, October 9, 1911. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1835.

<sup>35</sup> Foley to Secretary of the Treasury, June 28, 1910. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1834.

<sup>36</sup> Foley to Secretary of the Treasury, August 10, 1911. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1835.

<sup>37</sup> P.A. Carter, surgeon on the *Unalga* to his commanding officer, May 30, 1913. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1838.

<sup>38</sup> Foley to Secretary of the Treasury, September 16, 1911. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1835.

<sup>39</sup> Foley to Secretary of the Treasury, October 20, 1910. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1834.

<sup>40</sup> B. J. Duffy, assistant surgeon on the *Tahoma*, to the commanding officer, June 15, 1912. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1837.

<sup>41</sup> Crisp to M.E. Reynolds, July 12, 1913. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1838.

<sup>42</sup> Reynolds to Secretary of the Treasury, November 19, 1913. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1838.

<sup>43</sup> Schroeder to the Bureau of Fisheries, October 4, 1910. RG 22, box 46, folder 259: Sea Otter 1910-1923.

<sup>44</sup> Schroeder to Secretary of Commerce and Labor, November 12, 1910. RG 22, box 46, folder 259: Sea Otters 1910-1923.

<sup>45</sup> Bolshanin, N.E. September 10, 1911. Papers of Samuel Applegate, 1875-1925. 0003 MS Alaska State Historical Library. Box 2, folder 10. (Copy received from Jeff Dickrell.)

<sup>46</sup> Foley to Secretary of the Treasury, October 9, 1911. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1834.

<sup>47</sup> Copybook, letter to Brother John, September 10, 1905. Papers of Samuel Applegate, 1875-1925. 0003 MS Alaska State Historical Library.

<sup>48</sup> “Debts owed to me when ceased hunting,” Papers of Samuel Applegate, 1875-1925. 0003 MS Alaska State Historical Library.

<sup>49</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 33. Photograph from Davenport Collection, Unalaska City School. Gift of Margaret Boaz.

<sup>50</sup> Statement of business for the past 5 years. Papers of Samuel Applegate, 1875-1925. 0003 MS Alaska State Historical Library.

<sup>51</sup> May 29, 1911. NARA, RG 26, file 611-62, box 1835.

<sup>52</sup> Brown to Harlan Updegraff, January 11, 1910. Supply Agent of the Department of the Interior to Updegraff, December 6, 1909. NARA RG-75, Letters Received. Entry 804.

## Chapter 8

<sup>1</sup> At Unalaska where conditions were better than in any other village, there were 125 births and 171 deaths between 1900 and 1910. R.H. Creel, “Surgeon’s report for work done 10 August to 30 September, 1910” in D.P. Foley, October 20, 1910. (NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1834) This loss accurately reflects the difference between the U.S. Census for 1900 (358) and the population figure Creel received from church records in 1910. Using the U.S. Census for 1910 [263], an even greater loss is seen.

<sup>2</sup> James G. Blaine to William A. Kelly, Unalaska, July 21, 1900. Following “Unalaska” in the 12<sup>th</sup> census records.

<sup>3</sup> When two persons had identical names, they were designated “first” and “second” according to age.

<sup>4</sup> Anne S. McGlashan, interview with the author, April 30, 1986. She described him as “a big, tall man with bright red hair and beard and blue eyes.”

<sup>5</sup> The fear of deportation from the Pribilof Islands was so great that even in 1986, concerned about his descendants, Anne McGlashan cautioned me about revealing his origins.

<sup>6</sup> Ioann S. Borenin’s name is found in Murray and Corey, “Aleut Weavers,” 4.

<sup>7</sup> Hooper’s 1897 census lists him as 9. The Jesse Lee Home records give his age as 6 in 1898.

<sup>8</sup> Ledger Book. U.S. Marshal. Criminal Docket, Unalaska, July 8, 1901-June 76, 1909. Pat Locke Archival Collection, Museum of the Aleutians.

<sup>9</sup> On Aug. 18, 1918, “Chief Denasoff at Kashega” was treated for a migraine. RG 26, file 611, Box 1845.

<sup>10</sup> Petition, November 19, 1916, to H.C. Kavanaugh and Paul Buckley. Attachment to letter from Paul Buckley to Secretary of the Treasury, January 12, 1917. RG 22, #91.

<sup>11</sup> Ledger Book, May 18, 1901-July 2, 1901. Pat Locke Archival Collection, Museum of the Aleutians.

<sup>12</sup> Diary of James Wickersham, January 1 through September 29, 1901. Alaska State Library—Historical Collections. MS 107, Diary 2.

<sup>13</sup> *San Francisco Call*, September 3, 1901.

<sup>14</sup> Galaktionoff, Nick, recorded in Aleut, March 26, 1976, translated by Ishmael Gromoff.

<sup>15</sup> Grinev, *Kto Est Kto*, 314.

<sup>16</sup> Petition, November 19, 1916, to H.C. Kavanaugh and Paul Buckley. Attachment to letter from Paul Buckley to Secretary of the Treasury, January 12, 1917. RG 22, #91.

<sup>17</sup> Jones, *Aleuts in Transition*, 28.

## Chapter 9

<sup>1</sup> Bailey, *Introduction of Foxes*, 14-15. Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuttlefish Two*, 53.

<sup>3</sup> They were married “in the village of Dutch Harbor,” June 12, 1910 by J.L. Brown, deputy U.S. Commissioner. Misc. Records #2, Peninsula Precinct, Third Division, Alaska, page 11.

<sup>4</sup> Stevenson, Donald H. “Reindeer at Unalaska Islands.” March 23, 1921. SIA, RU 7176, box 20, file 1.

<sup>5</sup> A.C. Goss to Samuel Applegate, Unalaska, November 9, 1916, inclosing a letter from Goss to Harry J. Christoffers. Papers of Samuel Applegate, 1875-1925. 0003 MS Alaska State Historical Library.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Buckley to William G. McAdoo, Jan. 12, 1917. NARA, RG 22, Bureau of Fisheries, #91.

<sup>7</sup> Donald H. Stevenson, *Aleutian Islands. Report of Fox Propagation, Character of The Island Etc—*. SIA, RU 7176, Field Reports, Report on Islands within the Aleutian Islands Reservation, 1921-1924, box 20, folder 2.

- <sup>8</sup> June 22 and June 29, 1903, North American Commercial Company, Log Copy Book, May 31, 1903—September 16, 1903.
- <sup>9</sup> April 23, 1906, North American Commercial Company, Log Copy Book, August 11, 1905 – October 23, 1906.
- <sup>10</sup> August 15 and 17, 1903, North American Commercial Company, Log Copy Book, May 31, 1903—September 16, 1903.
- <sup>11</sup> Mrs. R.H. Young to E.E. Brown, Bureau of Education, February 8, 1909. NARA, RG-75, Letters Received.
- <sup>12</sup> Misc. Records, 3<sup>rd</sup> Judicial District at Unalaska, pp. 23-25.
- <sup>13</sup> Misc. Records, 3<sup>rd</sup> Judicial District at Unalaska, p. 35.
- <sup>14</sup> Petition addressed to William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, September 29, 1915. NARA, RG 22, 10439.
- <sup>15</sup> A.C. Goss to Applegate, Unalaska, November 9, 1916, inclosing a letter to Harry J. Christoffers, assistant agent, Bureau of Fisheries, “A few notes concerning Bolshanin, Deputy Collector of Customs, stationed at Unalaska 1916.” Alaska State Library, Samuel Applegate Papers, MS-3, box 2, folder 2.
- <sup>16</sup> N.E. Bulshanin to Robert Forbes, Unalaska, Alaska. October 29, 1915. NARA, RG 22.
- <sup>17</sup> *Record Book 1*, District Court of Alaska, 3<sup>rd</sup> Division, Book #79574:8, 11, 17.
- <sup>18</sup> Record 1, Dist. Court of Alaska, 3<sup>rd</sup> division, Book #79574:25, 27.
- <sup>19</sup> Report of B.L. Reed, June 27, 1916. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1843.
- <sup>20</sup> E.G. Dodge, report July 3, 1917. NARA, RG 22, box 24. folder 99: Aleutian Islands Reservation—Misc. Fishing Permits, 1917-1921.
- <sup>21</sup> Applegate to Commissioner of Fisheries, Oct.26, 1917. NARA, RG 22, box 24, folder 99.
- <sup>22</sup> E.G. Dodge, Cruise Report, *Unalga*. May 26, 1916. NARA, RG 22, box 1843.
- <sup>23</sup> Harry J. Christoffers to Commissioner of Fisheries. July 5, 1916. NARA, RG 22, box 18. Division of Alaska Fisheries, correspondence, reports, and other records. Folder 89.
- <sup>24</sup> Gust Munson to Commissioner Smith, Nov. 26, 1918. NARA, RG 22, box 24, folder 99.
- <sup>25</sup> Petition, November 19, 1916, to H.C. Kavanaugh and Paul Buckley. Attachment to letter from Paul Buckley to Secretary of the Treasury, January 12, 1917. RG 22, #91.
- <sup>26</sup> H.F. Moore to E. Lester Jones, April 2, 1917. NARA, RG 22, Entry #91.
- <sup>27</sup> RG 22, Box 24, Folder 100. Paul Buckley to E.F. Sweet. August 27, 1918. The permit for English Bay was issued June 5, 1918.
- <sup>28</sup> *Record Book 1*, District Court of Alaska, 3<sup>rd</sup> Division, Book #79574:35.
- <sup>29</sup> Smith to Applegate, September 5, 1919. NARA, RG 22, box 24. folder 99: Aleutian Islands Reservation—Misc. Fishing Permits, 1917-1921.
- <sup>30</sup> Lars Mikkelsen, report to Department of Commerce, January 27, 1921. NARA, RG 22, box 24. folder 99: Aleutian Islands Reservation—Misc. Fishing Permits, 1917-1921.
- <sup>31</sup> Stevenson, Donald H. “Fish” SIA, RU 7176, box 19, folder 8. Fish of Alaska Waters near the Aleutians. 1920.
- <sup>32</sup> Commanding Officer, *Haida*, to Commander, Bering Sea Patrol Force. Unalaska, Alaska, August 21-22, 1922. RG 26, 611 Box 1851.
- <sup>33</sup> Stevenson, Donald H. “Extract from Report of Donald H. Stevenson, Reservation and Fur Warden Aleutian Islands Reservation, Unalaska, Alaska. September 10, 1923.” RG 22
- <sup>34</sup> Harry J. Christoffers to Commissioner of Fisheries. July 15, 1916. NARA, RG 22, box 36, folder 175.
- <sup>35</sup> Harry J. Christoffers to Commissioner of Fisheries, August 28, 1915. NARA, RG 22, box 36, folder 175, pelagic sealing.
- <sup>36</sup> Donald H. Stevenson to E.W. Nelson, Chief, Bureau of Biological Survey. Unalaska, January 13, 1924. Smithsonian Institution Archives. Record Unit 7176, US Fish and Wildlife, Field Reports, Report on Islands within the Aleutian Islands Reservation, 1921-1924, box 20, folder 2.
- <sup>37</sup> A thorough history of sheep ranching in the Aleutians, *Alaska's Wild West*, has been written by Cora Holmes.
- <sup>38</sup> The community overview of Nikoski prepared for the Aleutians West Coastal Resource Service Area,

Vol. II, Resource Inventory and Analysis, August 2006, for example, dates the beginning of organized sheep ranching to 1926 when the Aleutian Livestock Company was said to have built a ranch at Nikosliki.

<sup>39</sup> Paul Buckley to William G. McAdoo, January 12, 1917. RG 22, #91.

<sup>40</sup> W.R. Sproat to Milton Holmes, February 22, 1952. Copy courtesy of Milton Holmes.

<sup>41</sup> H.M. Smith, commissioner of fisheries, to Samuel Applegate, September 5, 1919. NARA, RG 22 # 91.

<sup>42</sup> R.C. Knox, Post Office Department, Seattle, to Louis Greene, A.C. Co., San Francisco. Sept. 15, 1918. J. Hugh Jackson Library JL-6.

<sup>43</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 60.

<sup>44</sup> Guy Allingham was in charge of the sheep. On April 19, 1919, he took out a trade and manufacturing claim a half mile from Chernofski Village. Third Judicial District records, Record Book 79574, page 91.

<sup>45</sup> "Report by W.B. Rider to Moore Peterson Co. on Trip to Alaska", October 1918. SIA, RU 7176, box 4, folder 2.

<sup>46</sup> Harris, Arthur J. "Sheep on the Chain," *Matanuska Valley Record*. September 1952, Vol. II, No. 6:1. The annual report for the teachers at Unalaska, dated June 30, 1919, noted "The winter was the most severe known in the past thirty years. Snow drifted till some of the houses were completely covered." Agnes Danford, "Annual Report. Unalaska." NARA, RG 75, Entry #802. File: Unalaska Box 103, 1918-1919.

<sup>47</sup> Harris, Arthur J. "Sheep on the Chain." *Matanuska Valley Record*. September 1952, Vol. II, No. 6:1.

<sup>48</sup> "Report by W.B. Rider to Moore Peterson Co. on Trip to Alaska", October 1918. SIA, RU 7176, box 4, folder 2.

<sup>49</sup> "Memorandum for Mr. Hedington." Feb. 24, 1928. NARA, RG 22, Fish and Wildlife Service, Division of Wildlife Refuges, Entry #146, box 1, folder: Aleutian Islands, 1922-29 permits.

<sup>50</sup> Information from Mike Lekanoff, provided by Frederick Lekanoff, October 12, 2012.

<sup>51</sup> Andrew Makarin in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 57.

<sup>52</sup> *The Pacific Fisherman* Vol. 17, No. 11, November 1919:62

<sup>53</sup> Medical Journal, U.S. C.G. cutter *Algonquin*. RG 26, file 611, box 1847 and box 1849.

<sup>54</sup> Commanding Officer, U.S.S. *Unalga*. Report of operations of this vessel during Influenza epidemic. NARA RG 75 General Correspondence. 1919-1920, box 97. Folder: U.S. Coast Guard.

<sup>55</sup> "Ship's Log, U.S. Coast Guard Cutter *Unalga*, F. G. Dodge, Sr. Captain."

<sup>56</sup> RG 26, file 611, box 1847. June 26, 1920 Medical Journal U.S.C.G.C. *Algonquin*.

<sup>57</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recording April 2, 1976.

<sup>58</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 107.

<sup>59</sup> Report of F.L. Washburn, medical officer, *Unalga*. Nov. 21, 1920. NARA. RG 26, 611, box 1847.

<sup>60</sup> Moore had been an incorporating partner of the Oregon Portland Cement Company. McCaslin, F.E. "A Brief History of the Oregon Portland Cement Co." *The Ore Bin*. Vol. 27, No. 2, February 1964:27. Moore served as president of the company from 1910 to 1916.

<sup>61</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 129.

<sup>62</sup> Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 21.

<sup>63</sup> W.R. Sproat to Milton Holmes, February 22, 1952.

<sup>64</sup> Henry Swanson in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 21.

## Chapter 10

<sup>1</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluŕ Tunusangin*, 237.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluŕ Tunusangin*, 226-227.

<sup>3</sup> Dora Kudrin, interview with Ray Hudson, December 8, 1975.

<sup>4</sup> Pletnikoff, Sophie, "A Life in Kashega," Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 37.

<sup>5</sup> Wm. C. Witte, Ass't Surgeon, to F.G. Dodge. Report of medical work done on Alaskan cruise, July, August and September, 1915. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1841.

<sup>6</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluŕ Tunusangin*, 238.

<sup>7</sup> Report of B.L. Reed, Capt. *McCulloch*, June 27, 1916. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1843.

<sup>8</sup> Mary Diakanoff, e-mail to Ray Hudson, July 9, 2012.

- <sup>9</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluġ Tunusangin*, 233.
- <sup>10</sup> The November 25, 1900, *The Sunday Oregonian* (Portland) carried an advertisement for Mrs. Frohman's Indian Basket Rooms.
- <sup>11</sup> Examples may be seen in the collection of the Hood Museum, Dartmouth College.
- <sup>12</sup> Peter the Great Museum, *Treasures of the Kunstkamera*, 86.
- <sup>13</sup> Catalog number H16.831.
- <sup>14</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluġ Tunusangin*, 239.
- <sup>15</sup> Pletnikoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 71.
- <sup>16</sup> Pletnikoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 69.
- <sup>17</sup> Tape recording of Sophia Pletnikoff and Nick Galaktionoff with Platonida Gromoff, January/February 1978. Ray Hudson's collection.
- <sup>18</sup> John Tcheripanoff, student paper, "What Human Life was Like in Kashega," 1971, author's collection.
- <sup>19</sup> George Gordaoff, interview with Rachel Mason, November 5, 2008.
- <sup>20</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluġ Tunusangin*, 227.
- <sup>21</sup> There is confusion about this event. Both Sophie and Eva repeated the story of Eva's birth after the death of her father; genealogical information places Alexei's death in 1928.
- <sup>22</sup> Tcheripanoff, in *The Beginning of Memory*, 50-51.
- <sup>23</sup> Mary Diakanoff, e-mail to Ray Hudson July 11, 2012.
- <sup>24</sup> Swanson in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 50-51.
- <sup>25</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluġ Tunusangin*, 223-224.
- <sup>26</sup> McCracken, *God's Frozen Children*, 244.
- <sup>27</sup> McCracken, *Roughnecks and Gentlemen*, 363-364.
- <sup>28</sup> Weyer, "An Aleutian Burial," 225-238.
- <sup>29</sup> *The Carp Review*, Montreal, November 1, 1928:4.
- <sup>30</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 132-133.
- <sup>31</sup> Southwestern District News Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 10, October 1930:3. NARA, RG 75. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Alaska Division. General Correspondence, 1931-1932. Box 215. Folder: Juneau Office, monthly news bulletins. In 1930 Henderson had students draw pictures "of the new church."
- <sup>32</sup> Southwestern District News Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 2, February 1932:7. NARA, RG 75. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Alaska Division. General Correspondence, 1931-1932. Box 215. Folder: Juneau Office, monthly news bulletins. Gregory Kochergin served Nikolski from 1936-39. Prior to that, he may have served Unalaska.
- <sup>33</sup> Mary Diakanoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, June 22, 2012.
- <sup>34</sup> Arletta Carter. Narrative Report for FY ending June 30, 1933. NARA, RG 75. Records of the Alaska Division. Reports and Statistical Records. Annual School Reports, 1933-37.
- <sup>35</sup> NARA, RG 75. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Alaska Division. General Correspondence, 1931-1932. Box 215. Folder: Juneau Office, monthly news bulletins.
- <sup>36</sup> Southwestern District News Bulletin. February 1932.
- <sup>37</sup> Southwestern District News Bulletin. December 1931.
- <sup>38</sup> Murray, Marti. *Mini-biographies*. "Kashega Notes" from *Seward Gateway*, November 12, 1932.
- <sup>39</sup> Dora Kudrin, interview with Ray Hudson, December 8, 1975.
- <sup>40</sup> John Tcheripanoff, student paper, "What Human Life was Like in Kashega," 1971.
- <sup>41</sup> Mary Diakanoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, June 22, 2012.

## Chapter 11

- <sup>1</sup> Captain Foley to the Secretary of the Treasury, August 10, 1911 and September 16, 1911. NARA. RG 26, file 611, box 1835.
- <sup>2</sup> Wm. C. Witte, Ass't Surgeon, to F.G. Dodge. Report of medical work done on Alaskan cruise, July, August and September, 1915. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1841.

- <sup>3</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 129.
- <sup>4</sup> Stevenson, Donald H. "Fish" SIA, RU 7176, box 19, folder 8. Fish of Alaska Waters near the Aleutians. 1920.
- <sup>5</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 105.
- <sup>6</sup> *Seward Gateway*, June 1 and October 16, 1937.
- <sup>7</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, interview with Moses Dirks, November 23, 1999. Alaska Native Knowledge Network. *Sharing Our Pathways: A Newsletter of the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative*, Volume 5, Issue 1, January/February 2000.
- <sup>8</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 106.
- <sup>9</sup> Third Judicial District, Record of Deaths, Book 3, February 1, 1935-August 29, 1944.
- <sup>10</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded March 31, 1976.
- <sup>11</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded April 2, 1976.
- <sup>12</sup> Information from Pat Roppel and Rachel Mason, e-mail September 1, 2012.
- <sup>13</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 76.
- <sup>14</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 99.
- <sup>15</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 130.
- <sup>16</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 114.
- <sup>17</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 114.
- <sup>18</sup> NARA, RG 26, 611. *Tahoe*: Report of Bering Sea Cruise, August 1, 1933.
- <sup>19</sup> U.S. Coast Guard, Cruise Reports, 1933 Season. Bering Sea Patrol Force. *Tahoe*, Alaskan Cruise Report – Season 1933. NARA, RG 26
- <sup>20</sup> See letters Dec. 16, 1932, and Jan. 15, 1933, from A.H. Proctor to the A.C. Company. Alaska Commercial Company Letters, Unalaska, Alaska 1932-1934. Unalaska City School.
- <sup>21</sup> A.H. Proctor to the A.C. Company. [Jan.] 30, 1933. Alaska Commercial Company Letters, Unalaska, Alaska 1932-1934. Unalaska City School.
- <sup>22</sup> March 31, 1932, Misc. Records, Third Judicial District, Miscellaneous Records, March 31, 1932, 2887.
- <sup>23</sup> Commander, Bering Sea Patrol, to Commandant. December 3, 1932. NARA, RG 26, 611 Bering Sea 1931-32. File 611 General. Box 1864.
- <sup>24</sup> NARA, RG 26, 611. *Tahoe*: Report of Bering Sea Cruise, August 1, 1933.
- <sup>25</sup> Official records give Nick Galaktionoff's birthdate as December 19, 1925, and that was the date he frequently used. However, he said that his mother told him he was actually born November 30 and that the December date referred to his baptism.
- <sup>26</sup> Nick Lekanoff, interview protocol: Church Restitution Project. January 25, 1992. Smith and Petrivelli, 1993:1041.
- <sup>27</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded April 2, 1976.
- <sup>28</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 140.
- <sup>29</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 99, 101.
- <sup>30</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 118.
- <sup>31</sup> Nick Lekanoff and Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 96, 118-119.
- <sup>32</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 98.
- <sup>33</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 145.
- <sup>34</sup> Undated fragment [prior to August 8, 1933]. A.H. Proctor to the A.C. Company. Alaska Commercial Company Letters, Unalaska, Alaska 1932-1934. Unalaska City School.
- <sup>35</sup> Undated fragment [Fall 1933]. A.H. Proctor to the A.C. Company. Alaska Commercial Company Letters, Unalaska, Alaska 1932-1934. Unalaska City School.
- <sup>36</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 104-105.
- <sup>37</sup> Golodoff, *Wildflowers of Unalaska Island*, 96.
- <sup>38</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 134-135.
- <sup>39</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 29.
- <sup>40</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 29.

<sup>41</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 103.

<sup>42</sup> When I edited this story for *Cuttlefish Two: Four Villages*, I mistakenly thought the story was about Pete Olsen.

<sup>43</sup> Murray, *Mini-biographies*.

<sup>44</sup> Carter, Arletta to Paul W. Gordon, Office of Indian Affairs. September 5 and 8, 1933. NARA, RG 75.

<sup>45</sup> The length of her stay is unclear because the letter indicating her presence was about how the hospital's accounting was off. Binder May 1-15, 1936. NARA RG 75 Bureau of Indian Affairs. Alaska Division, Correspondence of the Division. Chronological File. Copies of letters and telegrams sent by Chief of Alaska Section of the BIA, 1935-1937.

<sup>46</sup> *Seward Gateway*, January 18, 1936.

## Chapter 12

<sup>1</sup> Swanson, *The Unknown Islands*, 191.

<sup>2</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *Cuttlefish Two*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Lerchen, *Biorka Mine*, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 167.

<sup>5</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded in *Unangam tunuu*, March 26, 1976, translated by Ishmael Gromoff.

<sup>6</sup> Wm. C. Witte, Ass't Surgeon, to F.G. Dodge, Report of medical work done on Alaskan cruise, July, August and September, 1915. NARA, RG 26, file 611, box 1841.

<sup>7</sup> Dodd, "Alaskan Naval Radio Expedition, 1912."

<sup>8</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recording April 2, 1976. See also Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 59.

<sup>9</sup> Murray, *Mini-biographies*.

<sup>10</sup> Record of Proceedings in Criminal Cases, Third Division, Unalaska Precinct, N. Gray Commissioner, 198-201.

<sup>11</sup> Hudson, *Family After All*, 311-312.

<sup>12</sup> Davenport, Clara Ellen and Noah Cleveland Davenport, *Unalaska Days: A Diary* (August 7, 1910-August 7, 1912). Xerox copy, Unalaska City School Library.

<sup>13</sup> *Record Book 1*, District Court of Alaska, 3<sup>rd</sup> Division, Book #79574:80.

<sup>14</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 60.

<sup>15</sup> Irene Makarin in *The Beginning of Memory*, 199.

<sup>16</sup> Anfesia Shapsnikoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, November 25, 1969.

<sup>17</sup> *Seward Gateway*, November 27, 1926.

<sup>18</sup> Murray, *Mini-biographies*.

<sup>19</sup> Irene Makarin in *The Beginning of Memory*, 186-205.

<sup>20</sup> Moses Gordieff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 210.

<sup>21</sup> State of Alaska, Third Judicial District. Miscellaneous Records, 239.

<sup>22</sup> NARA, RG 26, Records of the Bering Sea Patrol 1926-1940 (1932-1933). 531-621, NC-31, Entry #29, file 611-601 Cruise Reports, 1933 Season, Bering Sea Patrol Force.

<sup>23</sup> NARA RG 75, Alaska Reindeer Service, box 54, Sedanka (Unalaska).

<sup>24</sup> NARA, RG 26, box 43. Daphne Reports 13 SPF 1936. September 4, 1936, R.J. Mitchel, Asst. Surgeon, USPHS, medical officer to Commander, BSPF.

<sup>25</sup> NARA, RG 26, box 48. Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, Records of the Bering Sea Patrol 1926-1940. 1937. 601, 64, 6641. File: Northland-General BSPF 1937 Folder 1 of 2.

<sup>26</sup> Lerchen, *Biorka Mine*.

<sup>27</sup> Third Judicial District, Miscellaneous Records, 502.

## Chapter 13

<sup>1</sup> W.H. Proctor to Alaska Commercial Company, San Francisco. October 7, 1932. Alaska Commercial Company Letters, Unalaska, Alaska, 1932-1934. Unalaska School/Community Library Alaska History Collection. 1977.

- <sup>2</sup> NARA, RG 75, Letters received. Telegram, February 19, 1934, Hawkesworth to Paul W. Gordon.
- <sup>3</sup> Arletta Carter to Paul W. Gordon, September 5 and 8, 1933. NARA, RG 75.
- <sup>4</sup> Dora Kudrin in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 43.
- <sup>5</sup> Dora Kudrin, recording with Ray Hudson, December 8, 1975.
- <sup>6</sup> "Kashega Notes" in *Seward Gateway*, April 26, 1933.
- <sup>7</sup> A.H. Proctor to the A.C. Company. Jan. 16, 1933. Alaska Commercial Company Letters, Unalaska, Alaska 1932-1934. Unalaska City School.
- <sup>8</sup> Carter to Paul W. Gardner. September 8, 1933. NARA, RG 75. Letters Received.
- <sup>9</sup> The paper reported the claim was for Kallalach Bay, but this was probably a misprint for Kuliliak Bay.
- <sup>10</sup> *Seward Gateway*, September 15, 1933.
- <sup>11</sup> Leontiy Sivtsov to Jochelson, January 14/27, 1910, in Bergsland and Dirks, *Aleut Tales and Narratives*, 300-301.
- <sup>12</sup> 15 September 1933 report of the *Tahoe*. NARA RG 26, Cruise Reports, 1933 Season, Bering Sea Patrol Force.
- <sup>13</sup> H. D. Gray, "Population and Economics in the Aleutians." SIA, RU 7176, box 13, folder 9.
- <sup>14</sup> A.H. Proctor to Alaska Commercial Company, San Francisco. January 193[3]. Alaska Commercial Company Letters, Unalaska, Alaska, 1932-1934.
- <sup>15</sup> Mary Diakanoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, Unalaska, June 13, 2012. See *Kasakam Unikangis, Russian Stories Told in Atka Village*, (John Nevzoroff and Knut Bergsland), National Bilingual Materials Development Center, Rural Education Affairs, University of Alaska, Anchorage. 1978.
- <sup>16</sup> Stepetin, Alfred. January 21, 1988. Elders in Residence Program Collection. Oral History Collection of the Alaska and Polar Regions Department. Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- <sup>17</sup> *Seward Gateway*, July 2, 1935.
- <sup>18</sup> Mary Diakanoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, June 22, 2012.
- <sup>19</sup> George Gordaoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, July 2, 2012.
- <sup>20</sup> Alan G. May papers (1902-1990) box 17, folder 16, 1938, page 115. Consortium Library, University of Alaska Anchorage, Archives and Special Collections, Consortium Library.
- <sup>21</sup> Hrdlička, *The Aleutian and Commander Islands*, 400-401.
- <sup>22</sup> Haas, R.B. "Sociological Report" August 21, 1939. NARA, RG 26, entry #292, file 611-601, box 60.
- <sup>23</sup> Eva Tcheripanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 50-89.
- <sup>24</sup> Eva Tcheripanoff, Sophie Pletnikoff, and Ray Hudson, conversation recorded May 23, 1982.

## Chapter 14

- <sup>1</sup> P. J. Olsen to Verne Robinson, October 23, 1940, courtesy of Marti Murray.
- <sup>2</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 138.
- <sup>3</sup> Commander, Bering Sea Patrol, to Commandant. December 3, 1932. NARA, 611 Bering Sea 1931-32. RG 26, file 611, box 1864.
- <sup>4</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recording 1977. See also Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 32.
- <sup>5</sup> Arletta Carter to Paul Gordon, Office of Indian Affairs, September 5, 1933. NARA, RG 75.
- <sup>6</sup> Corson, *Alaska to the Rhine*, 96, courtesy of Chris Wooley.
- <sup>7</sup> Mitcherl, R.J., Ass't Surgeon U.S.C.G. Cutter *Daphne*, to Commander Bering Sea Patrol Force. 4 Sept. 1936. NARA, Pacific Alaska Region. RG 26 U.S. Coast Guard. Records of the Bering Sea Patrol 1926-1940 (1936). Box 43
- <sup>8</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recording 1977. An edited version of this recording is found in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 25-33.
- <sup>9</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 101. This was also confirmed by Nick Galaktionoff, *ibid.* 140.
- <sup>10</sup> The family consisted of Simeon, his wife Okalena, and children Nicholai, Arthur, Timothy, Steven, Vassa, and Stepinida.
- <sup>11</sup> Credit Sales Journal, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1940, Alaska Commercial Company Records, JL006. J. Hugh Jackson Library, Stanford.

<sup>12</sup> Scheffer, Victor B. Report on Observations in the Aleutian Islands, August – September 1938. SIA RU7176, box 18, folder 13.

<sup>13</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 91. The date the men left Makushin has been given as April 23 (report of William Brown) or April 24 (U.S. Coast Guard investigations), a Friday or Saturday. Nick dated the event by relating it to the church calendar. April 23 is unlikely because of Good Friday church services.

<sup>14</sup> Unless otherwise noted, this account is based on interviews with Nick Lekanoff and Nick Galaktionoff.

<sup>15</sup> Brown, W.C., “Report concerning triple drowning and conditions as observed...., May 26, 1937.” NARA, Pacific Alaska Region. RG 26, file 611, box 48. Records of the Bering Sea Patrol 1926-1940. File: 611, 64, 6641. Cooperation with other departments, passengers & guests. BSPF 1937, 1 of 2.

<sup>16</sup> C.F. Edge, to Commandant. 26 August 1937 NARA RG 26, box 611. Bering Sea Patrol General Correspondence, 1936.

<sup>17</sup> Swanson, “More on Makushin,” Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 34.

<sup>18</sup> Swanson, “More on Makushin,” Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 34.

<sup>19</sup> The Galaktionoff children were Melania “Molly,” Nicholai, Peter, Evadokia “Eva,” Marina Irene, Oleta Julia, and Paul Akenfer. Natalia Borenin’s children were Nicholai, Eva, Sammy, Akinfa Matfey, and Matrona. Her son John Matfey had been adopted by the Olsens. The name of Tina Borenin’s infant is unknown, but in January 1940 she had a two year old son Ignaty Borenin.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, W.C., “Report concerning triple drowning and conditions as observed...., May 26, 1937.”

<sup>21</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 137.

<sup>22</sup> A.J. Carpenter, Commanding Officer *Morris*, to Commander Bering Sea Patrol Force. May 17, 1937. NARA, Box 611, Bering Sea Patrol General Correspondence 1937, 611-601.

<sup>23</sup> NARA. RG 26. U.S. Revenue Cutter logs. *Ingham* 1937. M.J. Ryan, Cmdr. 2-3 June 1937.

<sup>24</sup> N. G. Ricketts, *Diary*, July 20, 1937. Copy in possession of Ray Hudson.

<sup>25</sup> N.G. Ricketts to Commander Bering Sea Patrol, 3 August 1937. NARA. RG 26. Box 611, Bering Sea Patrol 1936, General 1215.

<sup>26</sup> Art Harris to Bob Kranich, March 26, 1938, courtesy of Ray Kranich and Cora Holmes.

<sup>27</sup> *Hermes*. Allen Winbeck. NARA, RG 26 611, Box 611-601 Hamilton to 611-601 Shoshone.

<sup>28</sup> R.B. Haas, *Itasca* August 29, 1939. RG 26 611, Box 611-601 Hamilton to 611-601 Shoshone.

<sup>29</sup> Endom, E.S. “Sociological Report, Makushin, Alaska” 16 July 1940. NARA, Pacific Alaska Region. RG 26 U.S. Coast Guard. Records of the Bering Sea Patrol 1926-1940 (1940). 495-800 (messages) File: Sociological-Census.

<sup>30</sup> Official Logs, St. Paul Island, Alaska, 1939 and 1940. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries. June 26, 1940.

<sup>31</sup> Pete Olsen to Don Green, October 30, 1941, courtesy of Cora Holmes and Ray Kranich.

<sup>32</sup> P. J. Olsen to Verne Robinson, October 23, 1940, courtesy of Marti Murray.

## Chapter 15

<sup>1</sup> Natalia’s son Sammy had eaten poison and died at the age of five the previous year.

<sup>2</sup> The census report calls him George Denisoff, John’s adopted son.

<sup>3</sup> Durrell Finch to Dear Nephew Gerald, Unalaska, April 4, 1935. Marine Works Collection, Museum of the Aleutians, 1998.001.432.

<sup>4</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 33.

<sup>5</sup> The exceptions were Kathryn (Dyakanoff) Seller who taught school briefly in the 1920s and Olga (Rankin) Bolshanin who served as postmaster around 1910. Both were married to outsiders. William Brown, a deputy U.S. marshal in the 1930s, also had Unanga ancestry.

<sup>6</sup> Archives, University of Alaska Fairbanks. Olaus Murie Papers, MS-230, Box 8, FF#29. *Diary*. page 58, June 2, 1936.

<sup>7</sup> Philip G. Armstrong to Commissioner Kernes. Alaska State Archives. RG 05, RS 1 box AS4477. The child was eventually enrolled in the public school.

- <sup>8</sup> Violet V.N. Assenmacher, letter to Ray Hudson, October 8, 1979.
- <sup>9</sup> Jones, *The Urban Native*, 1.
- <sup>10</sup> Clara Goss to L.D. Henderson, Commissioner of Education, Juneau. April 21, 1923.
- <sup>11</sup> U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1931. GPO, Washington, 1931: 45.
- <sup>12</sup> Mary Diakanoff, conversation with the Ray Hudson, June 22, 2012.
- <sup>13</sup> Jessica Jorgensen to A.E. Karnes. October 27, 1937. Alaska State Archives. RG 05, RS 01, box AS4477. Folder: Unalaska 1937-39. 4586-60.
- <sup>14</sup> Record of Grades, 1937-1938. Unalaska City School records, in the collection of Ray Hudson.
- <sup>15</sup> Nick Lekanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 107.
- <sup>16</sup> *Alaska's Village Voices*, a supplement to Alaska newspapers, Bill Hess, editor. November 2002:28.
- <sup>17</sup> German Stepetin, an accomplished Unangañ dancer, died in 1935.
- <sup>18</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded in 1980 and translated by Ishmael Gromoff. Collection of Ray Hudson.
- <sup>19</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded in 1980 and translated by Ishmael Gromoff. Collection of Ray Hudson.
- <sup>20</sup> Davenport, Clara Ellen and Noah Cleveland Davenport, *Unalaska Days: A Diary* (August 7, 1910-August 7, 1912). Xerox copy, Unalaska City School Library.
- <sup>21</sup> Arnold, *The Legacy of Unjust and Illegal Treatment of Unangan*, 34.
- <sup>22</sup> Eva Tcheripanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 53.
- <sup>23</sup> Diary of Verne Robinson, 1940. Unbound forms. Pat Locke Archival Collection, Museum of the Aleutians.
- <sup>24</sup> NARA, RG 338 (U.S. Army Commands), Alaskan Dept. Drafts of the Official History. *Fort Mears*. Endnote 1.
- <sup>25</sup> Denfeld, *The Defense of Dutch Harbor*, 35.
- <sup>26</sup> The first group did not leave St. Paul for Unalaska until August 9. Others left on August 20, September 21, December 11. *St. Paul Log*.
- <sup>27</sup> Bereskin, Peri, "The Akutan Whaling Station," in Ruberg, ed., *Taniisiñ*, Vol. IV. 1984:5.
- <sup>28</sup> Andrew Gronholdt, conversation with Ray Hudson, April 18, 1996.
- <sup>29</sup> NARA RG 26. Records of the U.S. Coast Guard, Records of the Bering Sea Patrol 1926-1940. Census and Sociological Reports, Alaska Villages. U.S.C.G.C. *Shoshone*. 1 August 1940.
- <sup>30</sup> *The Alaska Fishing News*. Ketchikan, Alaska. May 24, 1943.
- <sup>31</sup> Denfeld, *The Defense of Dutch Harbor*, 30-59.

## Chapter 16

- <sup>1</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded April 10, 1976.
- <sup>2</sup> Mary Diakanoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, June 13, 2002.
- <sup>3</sup> "Alita," *The Aleutian Eagle*, June 3, 1982:7.
- <sup>4</sup> Chercasen, Dorofey, WW II Hearings Testimony.
- <sup>5</sup> Kirtland and Coffin, *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts*, 33.
- <sup>6</sup> Nick Lekanoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 1040.
- <sup>7</sup> Nick Borenin in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 173.
- <sup>8</sup> Olga Mensoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 180.
- <sup>9</sup> Eva Tcheripanoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 1049.
- <sup>10</sup> Eva Tcheripanoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 52.
- <sup>11</sup> Eva Tcheripanoff, Sophie Pletnikoff, Ray Hudson, conversation recorded May 23, 1982.
- <sup>12</sup> Quoted in Arnold, *The Legacy of Unjust and Illegal Treatment of Unangan*, 109-110.
- <sup>13</sup> Sovoroff, Leonty, WWII Hearings Testimony.
- <sup>14</sup> Quoted in Arnold, *The Legacy of Unjust and Illegal Treatment of Unangan*, 38.
- <sup>15</sup> Ray Hudson conversation with Alex Kudrin, October 11, 2012.
- <sup>16</sup> This account is based on recollections from Irene Makarin in *The Beginning of Memory*, 188-191.
- <sup>17</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, "Memories of Biorka," in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 62.

<sup>18</sup> Eva Tcheripanoff, Sophie Pletnikoff, Ray Hudson, May 23, 1982.

<sup>19</sup> Olga Mensoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 180.

## Chapter 17

<sup>1</sup> Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Dushkin, Lavera, WW II Hearings Testimony, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> Statement of Captain F.A. Zeusler before the Ketchikan City Council, as reported in *The Alaska Fishing News*, May 24, 1943.

<sup>4</sup> Sovoroff, Leonty, WW II Hearings Testimony, 1981.

<sup>5</sup> *The Wrangell Sentinel*, July 17, 1942.

<sup>6</sup> *The Wrangell Sentinel*, August 7, 1942.

<sup>7</sup> *The Alaska Fishing News*, Ketchikan, July 31, 1942:2.

<sup>8</sup> Chercasen, Dorofey, WW II Hearings Testimony, 1981.

<sup>9</sup> "Aleut Camp at Ward Cove Causes Much Discussion at Meeting of City Council," *The Alaska Fishing News*, May 21, 1943.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River*, 105.

<sup>11</sup> Luke Shelikoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 182-188.

<sup>12</sup> Ermeloff, William, WW II Hearings Testimony, 1981.

<sup>13</sup> Dushkin, Lavera, WW II Hearings Testimony, 1981.

<sup>14</sup> *The Alaska Fishing News*, Ketchikan, September 11, 1942:6.

<sup>15</sup> Freddie G. Yatchmenoff and Irene Makarin, Vol. VI, Depositions at Unalaska and Nikolski.

<sup>16</sup> Lavera Dushkin, WW II Hearings Testimony, 1981.

<sup>17</sup> Ermeloff, William. WW II Hearings Testimony, 1981.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Arnold, *The Legacy of Unjust and Illegal Treatment of Unangan*, 112.

<sup>19</sup> *The Alaska Fishing News*, Ketchikan, October 5, 1942:3.

<sup>20</sup> *The Alaska Sportsman*, April 1943:17.

<sup>21</sup> Hudson, ed., *Unuguluŕ Tunusangin*, 223.

<sup>22</sup> Smith with Petrivelli, *A Sure Foundation*, 45.

<sup>23</sup> *The Alaska Fishing News*, Ketchikan, February 17, 1943:3.

<sup>24</sup> *The Alaska Sportsman*.

<sup>25</sup> *The Wrangell Sentinel*, September 11, 1942:6.

<sup>26</sup> Luke Shelikoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 184.

<sup>27</sup> Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River*, 128.

<sup>28</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 184-185.

<sup>29</sup> Harry G. McCain to Governor Ernest Gruening, May 19, 1943. *The Relocation and Internment of the Aleuts During World War II, Vol. III—Conditions at the Camps*. 1981:73-75.

<sup>30</sup> *The Alaska Fishing News*, Ketchikan, June 7, 1943:3.

<sup>31</sup> *The Alaska Fishing News*, Ketchikan, May 21, 1943:5.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Arnold, *The Legacy of Unjust and Illegal Treatment of Unangan*, 112-113.

<sup>33</sup> NARA, Pribilof Islands Logbooks, 1870-1961, St. Paul, Funter, Alaska. April 28, 1944.

<sup>34</sup> Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River*, 130.

<sup>35</sup> George A. Dale to Governor Ernest Gruening. May 13, 1944. Alaska State Archives. RG 101, box 571.

<sup>36</sup> Cloe, *The Aleutian Warriors*, 321.

<sup>37</sup> Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Five*, 136.

<sup>38</sup> Copy provided by AB Rankin, July 2009.

## Chapter 18

<sup>1</sup> Copy from Jeff Dickrell. NARA, RG 75. Marion V. Benedict to Don Foster, June 15, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Kohloff wrote that April 15, 1945, was Easter Sunday. However, Orthodox Easter 1945 fell on May 5 (or April 23 in the Julian calendar). Western Easter fell on April 1.

- <sup>3</sup> Archimandrite John Zlobin to Anfesia Shapsnikoff, April 9, 1945. Anfesia Shapsnikoff collection.
- <sup>4</sup> Tutiakoff in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish One*, 55.
- <sup>5</sup> Lydia Borenin Vincler, conversation with Ray Hudson, August 29, 2012.
- <sup>6</sup> Luke Shelikoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 184.
- <sup>7</sup> Information from Pat Roppel and Rachel Mason, e-mail September 1, 2012.
- <sup>8</sup> Olga Mensoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 181.
- <sup>9</sup> George Kudrin in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 175.
- <sup>10</sup> Walter Dyakanoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, June 9, 2004.
- <sup>11</sup> Bank, "The Past Ages of Unalaska," 36.
- <sup>12</sup> *The Mailboat Monitor*, September 1956.
- <sup>13</sup> Stepetin, Alfred. January 21, 1988. Elders in Residence Program Collection. Oral History Collection of the Alaska and Polar Regions Department. Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- <sup>14</sup> *The Mailboat Monitor*, November 1956.
- <sup>15</sup> John Moller, e-mail to Ray Hudson, December 22, 2011. The cupola was placed inside the churchyard. Plans to enclose it in a small memorial were never finalized and it eventually made its way to the city landfill.
- <sup>16</sup> NARA RG 75. School Census of Indian Children, Akutan, Alaska, May 23, 1942.
- <sup>17</sup> Nutchuk, *Back to the Smoky Sea*, 216-217.
- <sup>18</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, June 3, 1993.
- <sup>19</sup> George A. Dale to Ted Bank II, May 28, 1948. Archives and Special Collections Department, University of Alaska Anchorage, Theodore Paul Bank, II, Papers. HMC-0068, Series 2, Folder 3.
- <sup>20</sup> "Candy" Ermeloff died June 3, 1951, at Unalaska, at the age of 39. He had been married to Kathryn Yatchmenoff [Tutiakoff], daughter of Helen Golley and John Yatchmenoff II of Kashega. Murray, *Mini-biographies*.
- <sup>21</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, conversation with Ray Hudson, June 3, 1993.
- <sup>22</sup> Irene Makarin in *The Beginning of Memory*, 197-198.
- <sup>23</sup> Moses Gordieff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 206-207.
- <sup>24</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 125. Irene Galaktionoff died in 1967.
- <sup>25</sup> Murray, *Mini-biographies*.
- <sup>26</sup> Nick Galaktionoff, recorded April 7, 1976.
- <sup>27</sup> Anna Jean Bereskin, e-mail to Ray Hudson, March 3, 2012.
- <sup>28</sup> Galaktionoff, Nick, "Memories of Biorka," in Hudson, ed., *Cuttlefish Two*, 63.
- <sup>29</sup> Fletcher, John, "The Big Blow," *The N.C. Company Flag*, Northern Commercial Company, June 1952.
- <sup>30</sup> *Totem Telegraph*, August 1952:2.
- <sup>31</sup> Nick Galaktionoff in *The Beginning of Memory*, 131-132.
- <sup>32</sup> Nick Lekanoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 1039.
- <sup>33</sup> Tracy Tutiakoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 1053.
- <sup>34</sup> Nick Lekanoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 1058.
- <sup>35</sup> Anna Jean Bereskin, e-mail to Ray Hudson, March 1, 2012.
- <sup>36</sup> *The Mailboat Monitor*. December 1957:3.
- <sup>37</sup> Valentine, John (J.V.), *The N.C. Company Flag*, Northern Commercial Company, March 1959.
- <sup>38</sup> Shapsnikoff, Anfesia, *Diary*, June 3, 1963.
- <sup>39</sup> Michael Swetzof, conversation with Ray Hudson, September 11, 2012.

## Chapter 19

- <sup>1</sup> Alfred Stepetin, January 19, 1988. H90-06-180, Elders in Residence Program Collection, Oral History Collection of the Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.
- <sup>2</sup> Anfesia Shapsnikoff to Ray Hudson, Sept. 13, 1967.

<sup>3</sup>Veniaminov, *Notes*, 320-321.

<sup>4</sup> Luke Shelikoff in Smith and Petrivelli, *Making It Right*, 173.

<sup>5</sup> Transcribed by Ray Hudson and used with permission of William M. Marutani, September 17, 1981.

<sup>6</sup> *Personal Justice Denied*, 358-359.



Cupola from the Kashaga Chapel in the Unalaska churchyard.  
Photograph by Ray Hudson, n.d.