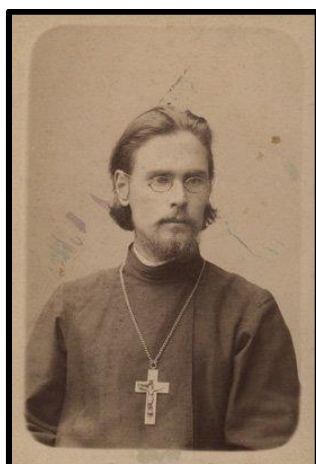


Around the Mission: from the Log-Journal of an Alaskan Orthodox Missionary

By Priest Tikhon Shalamov (Kodiak Parish)

Publishing House of American Orthodox Messenger, New York, 1904

(Translation, notes, and introduction by Dawn Lea Black, MA and Daria Safronova-Simeonoff, MA; edited by Father John Dunlop, D. Min)

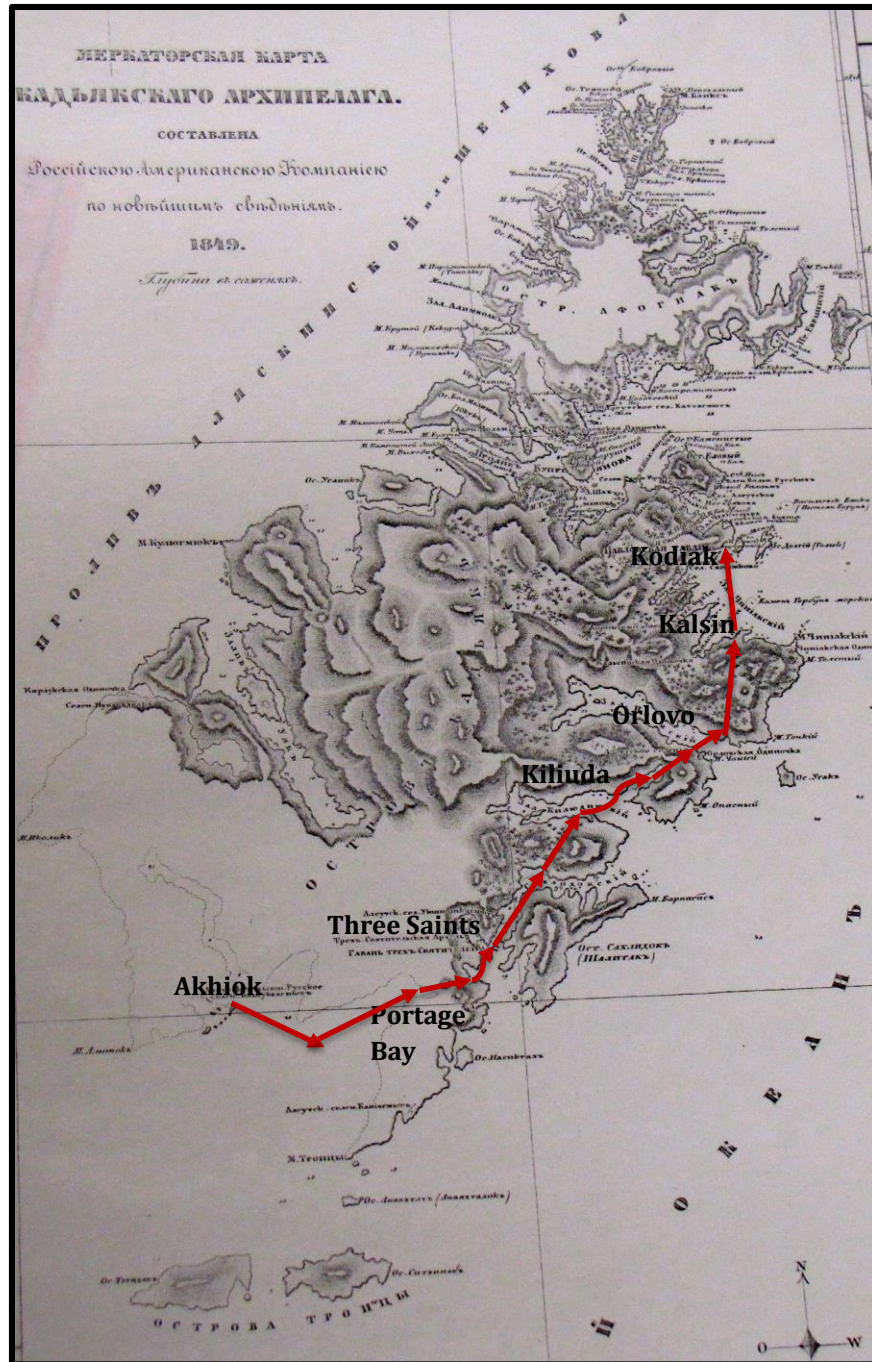


Father Tikhon Shalamov in 1905

Introduction to Part IIIb

**[Village of Akhiok to Portage Bay to Three Saints Settlement to Kiliuda Bay
Settlement to the Village of Orlovo to Kalsin Bay to Kodiak]**

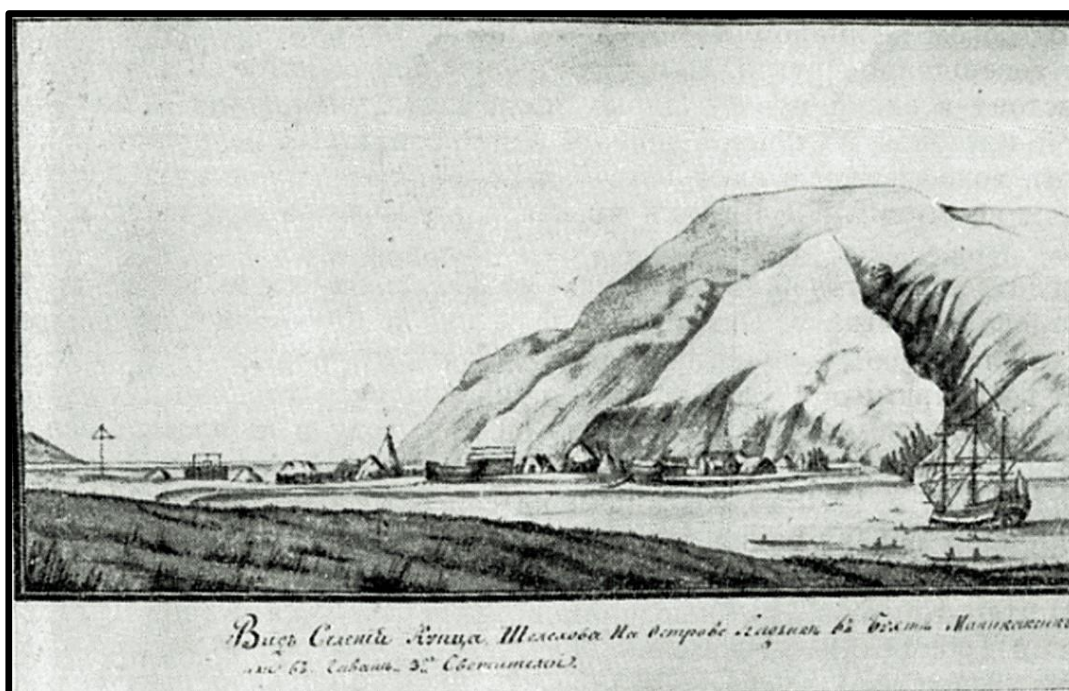
For millennia, portaging on Kodiak Island involved carrying light-weight skin boats (*baidarkas*) from one bay to another in order to either shorten the route or avoid the perils of open-ocean travel. It has been a traditional way for the ancient people of Kodiak to move around the island that had numerous capes and narrow bays. In addition, ocean waters presented considerable danger, especially near the shore because of strong tidal currents and waves. For all the aforementioned reasons, Native Alutiiq people had a well-developed system of portages, three of which are described in this section of the travelogue – Portage Bay to Kaiugnak Bay, Kiliuda Bay to Orlovo, and, finally, Ugak Bay to Kalsin Bay.



Shalamov's 1903 Route

on the 1849 Map of Kodiak Island by the Russian American Company:
 Akhiok to Portage Bay to Kaiugnak Bay, Kaiugnak Bay to Three Saints
 Settlement to Kiliuda Bay, Kiliuda Bay to Orlovo, Orlovo to Ugak Bay and to
 Kalsin Bay, Kalsin Bay to Kodiak (St. Paul's Harbor)
 (Map obtained through the Courtesy of the Baranov Museum, Kodiak, AK)

Some of the places Tikhon Shalamov visits during his 1903 trip, such as the Three Saints Settlement and village of Orlovo (later known as “Eagle Harbor”), no longer exist. The original place of Russian settlement, Three Saints Harbor, had been populated by Native people long time before Russians arrived. In 1788 and 1792, two *tsunamis* partially destroyed the settlement. One of these events (*tsunami* of 1788) was described in detail by Vasilii Petrovich Merkulieff, one of Shelikoff’s managers.¹ *Tsunami* of 1792 was described by a naval officer and ethnographer Gavriil Ivanovich Davydov² in his *Two Voyages to Russian America, 1802-1807*.³



**Illustration 2: “The View of the Settlement of Merchant Shelekhov
on Kadiak Island in Three Saints Harbor of Manikaksik Bay.”**

Drawing by L.A. Voronin from the travel journal of G.A. Sarychev (1790).⁴

¹ “Merkul’ev’s Letter to Shelikhov” in Aron Lincoln Crowell, *World System Archaeology at Three Saints Harbor, an Eighteenth Century Russian Fur Trade Site on Kodiak Island, Alaska* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1994, available from the University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI), 75.

² Quoted in *World System Archaeology*, 87.

³ For more details, see *World System Archaeology*, 69-73, 87-89, 90-95, 312, 313 and Katerina G. Solovjova and Aleksandar A. Vovnyanko in *The Fur Rush: Essays and Documents on the History of Alaska at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, (Anchorage, AK: Phoenix Press), 2002, 58-59, 83-84, 146-147, 212-213, 332, 336.

⁴ *Journey Across Northeast Siberia, Ice Sea [Bering Ocean] and Eastern Ocean [Pacific Ocean]*. Moscow: Geografiz, 1952

The very best description of the Three Saints Bay Russian settlement is found in *Through Spanish Eyes*.⁵ From the description of Antonio Serantes,⁶ we know that at the end of the 18th century the village had a relatively big warehouse, a school for Native children, a row of “small little houses where the Indians lived,” a couple of large houses where Russians lived and worked, and a garden. In early 1990s the site of the settlement was excavated and a big Orthodox cross was erected. Today, no sign of previous settlement remains.



Three Saints Bay

(Photo Courtesy of Daria Safronova-Simeonoff)

⁵ Wallace M. Olson, *Through Spanish Eyes: The Spanish Voyages to Alaska, 1774-1792*, (Auk Bay: Heritage Research, 2002), 250-289.

⁶ Serantes is retelling the description made by Captain Lopez de Haro, see reference above.

The village of Orlovo (Orlovskoe) is first mentioned in Lisianskii's 1805 report.⁷ After the smallpox epidemic of 1837, families from the settlements of Igak, Ugak, and Kiliuda moved to Orlovo.⁸ According to the US census records, the population of Orlovo was 147 in 1880. A cannery nearby was operated by the Eagle Harbor Packing Company.

Russian Church records indicate that the village had a chapel (St. Innocent Chapel) that was served since 1842 by an appointed clergyman.⁹ In the Alaska Russian Church Archive, there is an 1846 report by Kodiak Priest Petr Litvintsev who went to Orlovo in 1845 to celebrate the Feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos.¹⁰ According to Litvintsev,¹¹ a miracle of healing happened while he was there: an apparently incurably ill Aleut woman, who was bedridden for three years and could not receive Holy Communion, revived overnight after being carried to the chapel to attend the Divine Liturgy and receive Holy Communion. The miracle was witnessed by all the villagers. In 1846, Litvintsev's report was presented at the Consistory meeting in Sitka. After that, a detailed description of the miracle was sent to the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg, all the Deans of the Diocese, and all Alaskan priests.¹²

Apparently, the miracle at Orlovo had a long lasting effect on Orlovians: Shalamov himself in his 1899 report describes how extremely heavy timber for a new chapel was scattered along the shore due to a storm. Since the men of the

⁷ "Table 1" in Sonja Luerhmann, *Alutiiq Villages under Russian and U.S. Rule*, (Fairbanks: University in Alaska Press, 2008), 29.

⁸ *Alutiiq Villages Under Russian and U.S. Rule*, 39.

⁹ *Kodiak Island and Area, 1815-1933, Orlovskoe Selenie, Clergy Appointments: Larionov Andrei Stepanov, 1842-46*. The Alaska Russian Church Archives, (Washington, DC: Library of Congress; Manuscript Division, box D262), reel 180-181.

¹⁰ The feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos (the "falling-asleep of the Mother of God") is one of the twelve major feasts of the Orthodox Church. In Catholic Church it is known as "The Assumption of Mary." The was incorporated into the Christian liturgical cycle around 6th century A.D. and is celebrated on August 15th (Julian Calendar) or August 28th (Gregorian Calendar).

¹¹ Petr Litvintsev, *Report of a Miraculous Cure of an Aleut Woman* (Library of Congress; Manuscript Division, Alaska Russian Church Archives: Washington, D.C., Geographical File (1733-1938), Kodiak Island and Area (1815-1933), Orlovskoe Selenie, Travel Reports), Microfilm container #D262, reel #180.

¹² His Grace Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov) (Bishop of Kamchatka, Kurile and Aleutian Islands), *Ukaz* (Library of Congress; Manuscript Division, Alaska Russian Church Archives: Washington, D.C., Geographical File (1733-1938), Nushagak (1838-1930), Parish Records notifications, Acknowledgements, announcements, 1842-1904), Microfilm container #D215, reel #149.

village were all out hunting, the Orlovo women chose to pick up the timber and drag it to the chapel restoration site.¹³

Throughout his description of Three Saints Village, Shalamov vehemently criticizes the conditions of Native Aleuts and blames the situation on Americans and American policies. In his opinion, the politics of the fur businesses was directly responsible for the impoverishment of the Native people. In fact, Tikhon Shalamov was even involved in 1897 litigation regarding his purchase of furs from Native people in circumvention of commercial companies.

Shalamov seems to be unaware of the 1903-1905 US government investigation regarding the condition of Alaska Natives and the concurrent decision to intervene: a special inspector was appointed, the Senate Committee on Territories held hearings in Alaska, and, finally, the US President Theodore Roosevelt summoned “Report on the Condition and Needs of the Natives of Alaska.”¹⁴ The report was submitted to the Senate in 1905 for future legislation.

Finally, in this part of his travelogue, Tikhon Shalamov expresses his ultimate frustration with Protestant missionaries to whom his highly emotional rhetoric refers as “non-Orthodox vultures... upbringing innocent babes in false doctrines.” In fact, his attitude stems directly from the well-documented conflict between the Orthodox and Baptist missionaries on Kodiak Island, specifically the two court cases: in one case, Tikhon Shalamov sued Wesley Ernest Roscoe (Baptist missionary in Kodiak) for taking, in a deceitful way, an Orthodox child into the Baptist orphanage;¹⁵ in the second case, Church Reader Nikolai Kashevaroff sued Wesley Ernest Roscoe for “unlawfully assaulting and beating” him.¹⁶ The Baptists’ position regarding the case, however, was summed up their annual report as “illegal and unjust proceeding.”¹⁷

¹³ Shalamov, Tikhon, *Pokhodnyi Zhurnal* ([Missionary Priest’s] Log Journal), Vinokourov Collection, Alaska State Archive, Juneau, Alaska.

¹⁴ David S. Case and David A. Voluck, *Alaska Natives and American Laws*. Second Edition. (Fairbanks, AK: University of Alaska Press, 2002), 106.

¹⁵ *Cases: Smokoff, Olga, 1894*. The Alaska Russian Church Archives. (Library of Congress; Manuscript Division, box D248), reel 171-172.

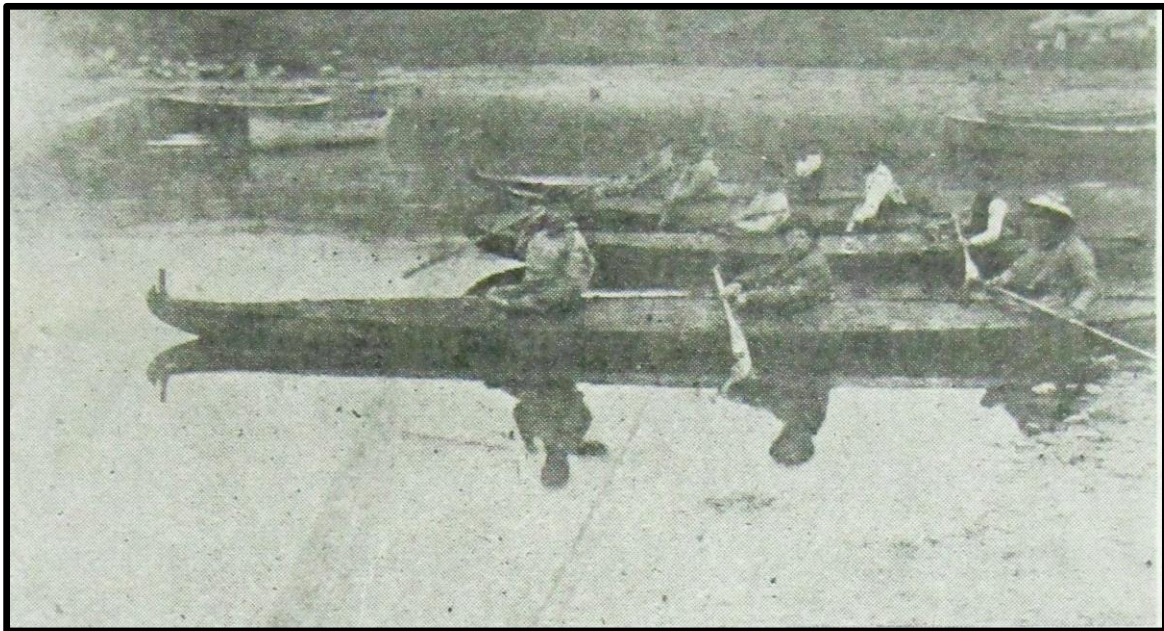
¹⁶ *Cases: Kashevaroff, Nikolai, and Roscow, W.E., 1894*. The Alaska Russian Church Archives. (Library of Congress; Manuscript Division, container D248), reel 171-172.

¹⁷ Woman’s American Baptist Home Mission Society Annual Report of 1894.

Part IIIb

[Village of Akhiok to Three Saints Settlement to Kiliuda Bay Settlement to the Village of Orlovo to Kalsin Bay to Kodiak]

A whole fairy-tale fleet – six *baidarkas* – were quickly prepared and we boarded them with all our gear. All the people [of Akhiok], including gray-haired elders and nursing babies saw us off, saying heart-felt farewells and wishing us well. The thunder of farewell gunshots shook the air. The light breeze made ripples on the ocean's surface; rowers stroked energetically; *baidarkas* quickly moved along, gliding across the waves. The *baidarka* is a very convenient and indispensable conveyance: it is light, quick, warm, resilient during storms and amidst swells, does not cause sea-sickness.... It is a shame that, once sea otters and sea lions are gone, *baidarkas* will become a bygone tale that will live only in people's memories.



"En Route in Baidarkas."

Picture taken by Tikhon Shalamov during his 1903 trip.

***American Orthodox Messenger*, Vol. VIII, #8, April 1904, New York, NY, p. 153.**

(Courtesy of Alaskan Diocesan Archive at St. Herman Theological Seminary)

By night we arrived at the portage. It was quiet in the bay. Only the splashing of salmon and cries of sleepless seagulls broke the deep silence. Little rivers were bulging with fish.

Aleuts started making dinner that was so abundantly provided by the Creator. Having forgotten arrows and spears, they resorted to the primitive method of killing fish by throwing stones.

Having had our tea, we went to sleep in our tent; as for the Aleuts, they went to sleep on the bare earth under the stars. Despite being tired, we simply could not fall asleep – mosquitoes literally chewed us up.

At 2 A.M., still before dawn, everybody was awake and at 3 A.M. left camp carrying on their shoulders their wondrously magical skin boats... Thick fog covered the mountains.



“In the Mountains.”

Picture taken by Tikhon Shalamov during his 1903 trip.

American Orthodox Messenger, Vol. VIII, #8, April 1904, New York, NY, p. 153.

(Courtesy of Alaskan Diocesan Archive at St. Herman Theological Seminary)

Dampness and the morning chill penetrated into everything. In the mountains, we followed a narrow bear path for two hours until we reached the

lagoon¹⁸, where the boats were again put into the water to carry us forward along rivers, lakes, and bays straight into the ocean. The sun was already high in the sky when we reached the sea. The heavy loads and sleepless night tired the Aleuts and we, having stopped at a lone *barabara*,¹⁹ cooked a breakfast of boiled fish.



The Portage: Portage Bay (to the right) to Kaiugnak Bay (to the left)

Lest mountainous portage is in the background:

Portage Bay Lagoon to Kiavak Bay

(Photo Courtesy of Daria Safronova-Simeonoff)

¹⁸ An Old Harbor/Akhiok hunting guide, Tikhon Simeonoff, who portaged in around 2010 from Old Harbor to Akhiok, there are still visible trails along the creeks.

¹⁹ “Barabara” is a traditional Alutiiq subterranean dwelling.

Dirt, stench, bird carcasses and bones of animals – among such an environment any appetite was easily lost. Our companions, however, were not affected at all and voraciously consumed two huge salmon.

Having fortified ourselves and, taking advantage of the complete stillness at sea, we hurried on our way. The *baidarkas* were quietly rocked by the waves. It was drizzling. The fog started descending lower and lower and soon we could see neither the shore nor the mountains – only endless, non-reflective, milky whiteness surrounded us. It was eerie, and we felt apprehensive: we had neither compass nor simple binoculars with us. The Aleuts, however, kept confidently stirring up the sea with their tiny paddles, sporadically peering into the grey impenetrable fog. They did not need a compass – each ripple functioned as such for them.²⁰ They did not need a spyglass – each of them had a pair of natural far-seeing devices [their eyes]. By 1 P.M. we were already successfully approaching the Triokhsviatitel'skoe [Three Saints] Village.

Three Saints Village is located in a very picturesque place: wondrous, saw-toothed, pyramid-shaped mountains of dark-green, black, and white. Poplar²¹ and birch-tree groves. A quiet strait with sandy shores.

The first Russian colonists from the times of Grigorii Ivanovich Shelekhov,²² having arrived on Kodiak, thought of turning this poetic place into their haven. However, the shallowness of the strait made them reconsider, and they moved to the neighboring harbor, deep-watered and protected from winds. But even there they did not stay long and moved the haven to present-day Kodiak. In the old haven, or, as Russians used to call it, “Old Artel”, currently there is neither a Russian, nor even an Aleut soul left.²³

²⁰ To these day, Native seafarers know how to navigate by the direction and the strength of converging ripples coming towards them from various surrounding land masses.

²¹ What Shalamov calls “poplars” are, in fact, their close relatives – cottonwoods.

²² Dual spelling of Grigorii's last name exists: in modern American place names, such as “Shelikof Strait” and “Shelikof Street” in the city of Kodiak, the name is spelled with an “i;” in modern Russian historiography, both spellings are used interchangeably, with “Shelikhov” given more preference. Tikhon Shalamov spells his name with an “e,” and thus, in this text, the spelling “Shelekhov” is used.

²³ See *Introduction* to Part IIIb above.

People, as was the custom, were crowding the *laida* waiting for the priestly blessing.

Unhealthy, sickly faces, similar to those in Kagyak, lethargic movements, dirty, ragged clothes. Depressing atmosphere, sad picture to look at.

In the village, nobody had not only a handful but not even a spoon of flour.²⁴ Everybody, from the *toion* to the nursing baby eats only fish.²⁵ We shared with the destitute our tea and sugar. We were almost out of flour. The most impoverished received [from us] calico, old used clothes sent [with us] by compassionate people. Heartfelt thanks to the [Russian Orthodox] female community of San Francisco that recently sent us a huge box of various new and used things for the poor. It would have been wonderful if women from other American [Russian Orthodox] parishes would collect the old clothing for which they no longer have any need and send it to us. Through this simple Christian action every naked body of the poor would be covered.

Having rested a bit, we went to the chapel. It stands on top of the hill and more or less crowns the village and overlooks the graveyard where Russian bones rest as well.²⁶ It is light and clean inside with the beautiful icons in the old Russian style donated by the early Russian colonizers. Especially wonderful from the composition perspective is the image of the Mother of God, a most holy woman with light-brown hair and deep, clear angelic eyes. These icons were transferred by the Aleuts to Kodiak church, where they bring joy and peace to those praying in the left side of the nave.²⁷ We anointed children and buried the deceased. Three people were born²⁸ and eight people had died.²⁹ The percentage of deaths is horrifying. It

²⁴ Shalamov would need flour to make *prosphora* (bread prepared for use in Divine Liturgy).

²⁵ This is an obvious exaggeration by Shalamov: Native people of Kodiak diversified their fish diet with seal oil, whale blubber, various beach greens, chocolate [Kamchatka] lily bulbs, berries, birds, seagull eggs, sea-weeds, and other subsistence food with which Shalamov, coming from Russia's northwest inland region (city of Vologda) would not be familiar.

²⁶ For more details, see the description of the Old Artel archeological site in *Introduction* to Part IIIb.

²⁷ A "nave," where most worshippers usually stand, is the central and largest part of the church.

²⁸ The Metrical Record from Three Saints Settlement identifies the newborns as Liubov', daughter of Aleut Nikolai Inna and his lawful wife Kharitina (both Orthodox), Petr, son of Aleut Pavel Kamluk and his lawful wife Feodosia (both Orthodox), and Nikolai, son of Aleut Mikhei Chakvak and his lawful wife Evgenia (both Orthodox) (Kodiak Parish Vital Statistics, Box 9, Folder 6, Part I: Births, f. 9v, f. 10r).

seems that at this point nothing, no power can stop the extinction of the Alaskan Native Aleuts.³⁰

Shall he be employed by the canneries instead of imported Chinese and Japanese? But this is possible only with the help of the Government, because the avaricious fish trading companies have no concern for people's personal gain, especially for the personal gain of the uncivilized Native. On the contrary, the Government of this free country lets one to save oneself in the cruel struggle for survival and observes with indifference the demise of the weak.³¹

Four deceased people in one family – father, mother, son, and daughter: they ate a rotten pickled goose and got ptomaine poisoning.³² These miserable people suffered greatly: severe vomiting, spasms and writhing and then general paralysis of the body. The horrible scene of death scared the Aleuts so much, that nobody dared to bury them for a long time. Even a legend began to circulate that one of the deceased was affiliated with the dark forces.

²⁹ The Metrical records from Three Saints Settlement identifies the deceased as Innokentii Chigikhtuk (age 61, died of consumption), Theodosia (daughter of Anastasia Kuliaudzhi, age 11, died of cold), Aleut Anton Nankuk (age 41), his wife Maria (age 39), his son Alexander Nankuk (age 18), and his daughter Martha (age 10). Their cause of death is indicated as "ptomaine poisoning" (Kodiak Parish Vital Statistics, Box 9, Folder 6, Part III: Deaths, f. 29v, f. 30rv, f. 31r).

³⁰ See *Introduction* to Part IIIb regarding the 1903-1905 intervention of the US government on behalf of "Alaska Native afflictions."

³¹ Here, Shalamov contradicts his own observations about the employment of Natives from Akhiok with American canneries. See *Part IIIa* for more details.

³² See reference above.

Мѣсяцъ и число		Вѣкъ, полъ, свѣдѣніе о семействѣ усопшаго	Мѣсто погребенія	О чемъ свѣдѣн.	Кто похоронилъ и приносилъ	Кто совершилъ погребеніе, и гдѣ погребенъ
9	13. 14	Сестра Прасковья Васильевна Миронова Канкунъ Мария	39	погребена въ погребеніи	Мироновъ Михаилъ	Сестра Прасковья Васильевна Канкунъ
16	13. 14	Сестра св. Иоанна Канкунъ Иоанна Васильевна	18	погребена въ погребеніи	Мироновъ Михаилъ	Сестра Прасковья Васильевна Канкунъ
10	13. 14	Сестра св. Иоанна Канкунъ Иоанна Васильевна	18	погребена въ погребеніи	Мироновъ Михаилъ	Сестра Прасковья Васильевна Канкунъ
11	26. 28	Сестра св. Иоанна Канкунъ Иоанна Васильевна	11	погребена въ погребеніи	Мироновъ Михаилъ	Сестра Прасковья Васильевна Канкунъ
12	23. 25	Сестра св. Иоанна Канкунъ Иоанна Васильевна	5	погребена въ погребеніи	Мироновъ Михаилъ	Сестра Прасковья Васильевна Канкунъ
17	14. 15	Сестра св. Иоанна Канкунъ Иоанна Васильевна	5	погребена въ погребеніи	Мироновъ Михаилъ	Сестра Прасковья Васильевна Канкунъ

1903 Kodiak Parish Metrical Records Journal,

Part III: Deaths

Kodiak Parish Vital Statistics Records, Box 9, Folder 6, F. 31v, F.32r

(Courtesy of the Alaskan Diocesan Archive at St. Herman's Theological Seminary)

Only a daughter and son (complete orphans) remained alive from the ill-fated family. Relatives suggested that I take the girl (the son is already grown) to [Monk] Herman's Orphanage,³³ but our orphanage is overflowing, and so I refused and made arrangements with her uncle and brother.

³³ It was Shalamov who started in Kodiak [St.] Herman's Orphanage for boys (1898), Ioasaph's Parish School, and [St.] Herman's Orphanage for girls (1901). Avgustine Nikitin (Archimandrite), "Missionary Activity of Priest Tikhon Shalamov (Kodiak Island, 1893-1904)," *Neva*, no. 10 (2015).

Currently, there are twenty girls at [St.] Herman's Orphanage (one girl is sponsored through the personal funds of the Right Reverend Tikhon³⁴). Most of them are Creoles born of Russians and Natives. The orphanage is subsidized by the Moscow Missionary Society. However, the subsidy is not enough; it is of vital necessity to increase it. A well-functioning and populous orphanage would be of great benefit to the Orthodox cause in Alaska, for it would take [back] from the non-Orthodox vultures their most recent means of seduction – the upbringing of the innocent babes in false doctrines.³⁵

We hope that once the [Auxiliary] Bishopric of Alaska is established,³⁶ the church life will blossom, new funds will start flowing in and orphanages will expand. Of course, people's needs back in Russia are great and, for this reason, it seems to be criminal, to take bread from [Russian] children and give it to alien people abroad. "... yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table,"³⁷ and the salvation of these [Alaskan] people is possible in the blessed bosom of Orthodoxy only. Thus, we cannot but wish for these kinds of new Canaanites³⁸ to be cured and

³⁴ The Right Reverend Tikhon (Bellavin), Bishop of the Aleutians and Alaska (1898-1900), Bishop of the Aleutians and North America (1900-1905), Archbishop of the Aleutians and North America (1905-1907) was known for his great support of education. In 1917, Bishop Tikhon became Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. In 1981, Patriarch Tikhon was glorified by the Council of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR); in October 1989, the Council of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) also glorified Patriarch Tikhon and numbered him among the saints.

³⁵ For a number of years (1885-1894), the US government allocated the education of Alaska Natives and other children residing in Alaska to various Christian denomination (Orthodox Church was not one of them). Kodiak, in particular, was assigned to the American Baptist Church. Orthodox priests (Tikhon Shalamov, Nikolai and Andrei Kashevaroff, Vasilii Martysh, and others) had conflicts with non-Orthodox missionaries and educators (see pp. 86-87 in *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska (1794-1917)* by Bishop Gregory Afonsky, St. Herman Theological Seminary, 1977; Dauenhauer, Richard. *Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education, Occasional Paper #3* (Fairbanks, AK: The University of Alaska Center for Cross-Cultural Studies (1980)); "Sheldon Jackson in Historical Perspective: Alaska Native Schools and Mission Contracts, 1885-1894" by Stephen W. Haycox, *The Pacific Historian*, Vol. XXVIII, Number 1, pp. 18-28.

³⁶ The Diocese of Alaska had its name changed several times. Up to 1839, there was no separate Diocese of Alaska; it has been part of the Diocese of Irkutsk, Nerchinsk, and Yakutsk. In 1840, the Diocese of Kamchatka and the Kuril and Aleutian Islands was established; in 1870 – the Diocese of the Aleutians and Alaska. In 1900 the name was changed to "The Archdiocese of the Aleutians and North America." In 1903, Archbishop Tikhon (Bellavin) established the Auxiliary Bishopric of Alaska (see pp. 78, 88-89 in *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska (1794-1917)* by Bishop Gregory Afonsky, St. Herman Theological Seminary, 1977).

³⁷ Matthew 15:27

³⁸ Canaanites were the polytheistic people living in the Ancient Near East. They were viewed as idolaters and pagans by the Israelites.

healed in the bosom of Orthodoxy but on one condition only – they have to be overflowing with gratitude to their benefactors.³⁹ Otherwise, we should just shake the dust off our feet.⁴⁰

July 11. From early morning – confession. The moral condition of the people is relatively upscale: the two horrible hydras of humanity – drinking and fornication – are missing (with some minor exceptions). Still, the enemies of Orthodoxy, of whom there is a legion in Alaska (all those heretics – pastors of various Protestant denominations and variations) shamelessly sow [the idea] in publications that Orthodoxy is blatant paganism.⁴¹ However, unbiased, honest, and knowledgeable people can always see that even unenlightened Aleuts are in no way lower in their Christian ethics than all those representatives of Protestant societies⁴² that roam around Alaska, without God, and do their deeds in company of evil demons. In the meantime, the Orthodox Church successfully sows, despite the rocky soil, the eternally good Christian seeds of sobriety and chastity. Thus, in Kodiak, there are up to 200 members of the Sobriety Society named after Saint Tikhon,⁴³ the great seeker after Christ's truth. The ruinous vice [of alcoholism] was discredited in [Kodiak] people's consciousness, and their hearts were inclined to sobriety and moderation

³⁹ This is more of a colonial perspective than Orthodox (see *Introduction*).

⁴⁰ Reference to Matthew 10:14 “And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet (King James Bible).

⁴¹ Usually, the accusations of “paganism” involve the idolatrous veneration of icons and veneration of the Orthodox Saints by the Orthodox Christians.

⁴² Alaska was “divided” among various Christian (Protestant and Catholic) denominations in mid 1880s. The Baptists operated in the Cook Inlet and Kodiak Island; the Episcopalians along the Yukon River and Arctic Coast; the Methodists in the Aleutians; the Moravians in the Kuskokwim region, the Nushagak River, and Bethel; the Congregationalists at Cape Prince of Wales; the Swedish Evangelists in the Unalakleet area; the Quakers in Kotzebue; the Lutherans and the Covenant Church in the Nome area; the Roman Catholics in the Lower Yukon; the Presbyterians in Southeast Alaska, St. Lawrence Island, and the northern Arctic Coast. For various reasons (one of them, directly expressed by Rev. Sheldon Jackson in the January 1899 issue of *New York Evangelist*, was that Russian missionary priests and Bishops were, for the most part, Russian citizens and thus owed their allegiance to the czar of Russia), the Russian Orthodox Church was not included in the “division,” which, naturally, increased the friction between the pre-existing Orthodox and the newly established missions.

⁴³ Saint Tikhon of Zadonsk (1724-1783), the preeminent Russian theologian, was well known for his advocacy of sobriety – during his time as Bishop of Voronezh, many of his parishioners stopped buying wine altogether. Likewise, Tikhon Shalamov inspired many Orthodox on the island of Kodiak to start and join sobriety societies. Later, upon his return to Russia, he continued his anti-alcohol campaign in Vologda.

due to a good example by [Kodiak] clergy and their families in combination with the ongoing emphasis on sobriety in public readings and weekly sermons.

Of course, the slander of the enemies of the church is quite clear and transparent: the goal is to lure simple-hearted and sentimental Native American women, under the guise of evangelism, to donate an extra dollar for the church “business.”⁴⁴

Before the vigil,⁴⁵ in the house of the *toion*,⁴⁶ I talked about the angel-like life of St. Seraphim,⁴⁷ a great and miraculous proponent of the ultimate truth of Orthodox teaching to the infidel and foreign world.

The villagers were inspired to zealously prepare for the mystical communication with their Lord Jesus. After the vigil, I blessed the water. It was becoming overcast, and soon the night descended. We were almost ready to retire for the evening, when suddenly the *toion* came with his 10-year old daughter. The girl clearly and distinctly read evening prayers before the holy icons... Her father, listening to the holy words of the prayers, was praying on his knees... The candle was quietly burning before the icon of the Savior.... I could not fall asleep for a long time: the image of the girl and her elderly father took my thoughts far, far away, to the very dawn of Christianity.

July 12. During the night, the fresh “northeaster”⁴⁸ started to blow. By morning, it turned into a terrible ravaging storm. Rain turned into a downpour. The wind was rampaging. It seemed as if it was not July, but November outside. Despite the darkness of the inclement weather, the chapel bell was periodically chiming softly and thus calling the Christians. They came to God’s house in crowds, with

⁴⁴ Here, Shalamov uses the English word “business” (he even spells it in Latin characters) to emphasize the “capitalistic” nature of Alaska-based churches.

⁴⁵ The Vigil service combines Great Vespers with Festal Matins.

⁴⁶ *Toion* is a (hereditary) village chief.

⁴⁷ St. Seraphim of Sarov (1754-1833) is one of the most renowned monastics of the 19th century. Though he was glorified only in 1903, Orthodox Russians revered him as a Saint even during his life. Coincidentally, St. Herman of Alaska and St. Seraphim of Sarov were, for a short time, novices at the same monastery, and even shared spiritual counselling from the same spiritual father, Elder Nazarius.

⁴⁸ Here, Shalamov, yet again, uses English words (spelled in Latin characters) to describe the weather phenomenon alien to his previous, Russian experience based only on northern continental weather.

glowing faces and spiritually relieved souls,⁴⁹ ready to partake of the mystery of the Last Supper [communion] foreshadowing the Lord's death. Outside – noise and turmoil, but here, in the blessed temple – peace and quiet.

Accompanied by the incense, fervent prayers and sorrows of the poor quietly ascended to the Throne of the Eternal God.

After the end of the liturgy, I taught about the meaning of the parable of the Good Samaritan, about the need to help all the unfortunates, the sick and the poor without disclosing their national origins or faiths. In the afternoon, we performed a wedding⁵⁰ and checked the church's accounts. In it we found no less than 1 dollar and 15 cents.

Having finished serving the needs, I got busy with photography – I needed to put new slides into frames. While I was sitting in a dark *banya* building (a substitute for a photographic dark room), an elderly lady, our hostess, had opened, out of curiosity, a couple of exposed but undeveloped negatives. She was extremely perplexed about the mysterious apparatus; I was frustrated – not, however, with her, an unenlightened village woman, but with the murky ignorance spread throughout the world.

The wind continues to rage and we, literally, sit by the sea waiting for the [favorable] weather, so that we could continue our journey and make it to the final settlement, Orlovo.

At 7 P.M. – an evening service of glorification of the Lord [vespers], Who had, until then, shown us His favor.

July 13. In the morning it [the storm] has completely subsided; only empty fog from yesterday's storm remained on the mountain tops. Having prayed with people in the chapel, we left the settlement... The marvelous Saklidakskii [Sitkalidak] Strait, as if it were a river, was sleeping, undisturbed, along its green shores. The *bidarkas* almost noiselessly glided through the water. We quickly passed

⁴⁹ According to the Russian Orthodox Christian tradition, the faithful prepare to receive Holy Communion by confessing their sins.

⁵⁰ According to the Metrical Record from Three Saints Settlement, Priest Tikhon Shalamov and Reader Tikhon Sherotin married Ioann Likhnak, Aleut from the village of Orlovo (age 24, Orthodox, first marriage) and Pelagiia Agiavikhtuk (age 15 and a half, Orthodox, first marriage) (Kodiak Parish Vital Statistics, Box 9, Folder 6, Part II: Marriages, f. 20v, f. 21v).

by the mysterious cave, which Vasilii, the Aleut, and I visited when travelling by sloop.⁵¹ And here is again the entrance to the shrewish sea – the great ocean. It is still overly excited and angry following the recent storm. One by one, the waves advance toward us slowly and gradually, like living hills and mountains; some quietly and calmly, some with grumbling and dull rumbling. *Bidarkas*, like magical bubbles, courageously fly up the gray crests of the waves and equally courageously descend downward. The Aleuts, immersed in their sorrowful thoughts, keep rowing indifferently in silence. We were not intimidated by waves much longer: soon we entered Kimodinsk Bay [now Kiliuda Bay], where we found the same quiet and smooth waters.

By three o'clock, after six hours in a *baidarka*, we got to the end of the bay or, as they call it here, "kooltook."⁵²

Here there was a portage – a bear path to Orlovo.⁵³ The rowers quickly made some tea and cooked fish from local streams that were teeming with them.

It looked like rain, and so we hastened on our way, this time on foot. Wonderful views and majestic scenery: mighty, tall, branched cottonwoods, light-green scrub willows; sandy banks of crystal-clear, rushing mountain streams.

Beneficial, aromatic air was so dense and penetrating that even an Aleut, having sniffed it, said, "what good stuff..." However, we were far from any "goodness" or poetic daydreaming and visions – it was getting dark and we had to hasten to Orlovo. At the same time, we all got wet when crossing small streams – up to 50 of them, with water sometimes up to our waists.

We arrived at Orlovo at 10 P.M., hungry, tired, with our bodies battered.

People were still awake: there were lights in the houses. It turned out that passing miners arranged a merry ball for the Aleuts... Unfortunately, the ball was

⁵¹ See *Part I* for the detailed description of the cave "exploration."

⁵² "Kooltook" is a Tatar (also, Baikal, Aral, and Caspian Sea area) word for a shallow "cul-de-sac" of a bay. Kodiak Alutiiq Elder, Florence Pestrikoff has confirmed the existence of a portage at Shearwater Bay. She did not confirm, however, the existence of the word "kooltook" in the Alutiiq language vocabulary. She did mention, though, a similar-sounding word "koodykhtook" – to portage. The word "kooltook" might have appeared in Kodiak through the many Tatar and Baikal-area people who worked for various Russian *promyshlenniki* and their companies.

⁵³ Most probably, the portage was from what is now called "Shearwater Bay."

unexpectedly interrupted at the very beginning. As soon as the prearranged three gunshots were heard and thus the arrival of the priest was blatantly made known, the ladies and their escorts immediately disappeared from the ball, having left the discouraged organizers to continue the merriment alone, without the ladies or the guests.

In the last 5-6 years Alaska became filled with wandering miners... The Yukon, the Klondike and Nome turned the heads of Americans – these ardent worshippers of Mammon.⁵⁴ Currently, they see golden mountains all over Alaska.⁵⁵ It is cruel and hurtful that native Aleuts – the real owners of Alaska – do not even have the right to own mines...⁵⁶ They only can find them and then transfer them to their white enslavers...

Overall, the Native of Alaska is quite constrained and oppressed. In addition to being deprived of civil rights, he is not free in his general human rights. Offended, he cannot find any justice... Expensive courts are not for him. Whites are always justified there; Aleuts are always in the wrong. In Alaskan magistrate courts, the fair skin and strict face of Themis⁵⁷ is desecrated and spat upon... The doleful list of the unlawful acts of the Alaskan court is so long and wide that I will run out of time and space if I start talking about it. In a similar way, here, in Kodiak, so much injustice is perpetrated that the locals are of the firm opinion that Kodiak and Chinese courts⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Mammon* is a word of unknown (most probably, Middle Eastern) etymology signifying material wealth or richness, sometimes worshipped as a deity. This word is usually used pejoratively.

⁵⁵ Russians also mined Kodiak for gold but found sale of pelt more profitable. During the Gold Rush, American prospectors sometimes stopped in Kodiak on their way to Nome. In Kodiak, gold was never found in abundance. ("Alaska's Quiet Gold Rush" by Mike Coppock, *True West: History of the American Frontier*, March 1, 2009)

⁵⁶ In 1906, The Native Allotment Act was passed, which "granted the authority for the Secretary of the Interior to allot up to 160 acres of vacant... land in Alaska... to any Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo..." (William L. Iggiagruk Hensley, "What Rights to Land Have the Alaska Natives?: The Primary Question." May 1966 paper published on www.Alaskool.org, accessed November 28, 2015). Failure to appropriate the funds necessary for land surveys, however, resulted in the failure to execute the law.

⁵⁷ In Greek mythology, Themis is a goddess of justice that personifies divine law.

⁵⁸ The unsavory reputation of the Chinese courts might be connected with the unpleasant memories of the emperor-initiated and, consequently, court-enforced closure of the Sino-Russian fur trade at the end of the 18th century, specifically from 1785 to 1792 (for more details, see *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol.10, Part I, Chapter 7 "Sino-Russian Relations, 1800-62", Ed. John K. Fairbank, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne, 1978). Also, Chinese laws and courts, throughout the history of Chinese civilization, were remarkably stratified according to the social hierarchy, which, in modern terms, can be labeled as codified discrimination (for more

are similarly disreputable. Thus, one infamous commissioner, Mr. G.,⁵⁹ has greatly succeeded in reinforcing this poor opinion! The clique of Kodiak judicial officials operates in a similar manner: they misrepresent justice by acquitting obvious and undoubtedly guilty criminals from among the white people.⁶⁰

The village of Orlovo [Eagle Harbor] is located on the shores of an enormous bay, surrounded, as it always happens in Kodiak, by mountain ranges of various shapes and sizes. Overall, if it were not for the harsh and damp Alaskan climate, this would have been a glorious corner of the world.

We stayed at the house of a local *zakazchik*,⁶¹ Prokopii, who turned out to be quite a serious and reliable man. His one-room house was light and clean: good wall-paper, oil-cloth on the table, white-washed floor, kept orderly. Such a house is ideal for Creoles, and not even all Americans can afford it. Our hostess boiled some water, and we sat down to have tea. Our guests have not had tea for 2-3 weeks, and now were sipping the aromatic drink with gusto. People here live exclusively off the land. However, even in this last [remaining] subsistence economy there are impediments: last year, the U.S. government together with the Canadian government⁶² introduced a new law that allows for the sale of furs of select animals only two-three months a year, specifically in the summer and not in the fall, when animals have the most valuable and thick fur. The purpose of the law is to preserve the endangered species

details, see pp. 74-75, 84-85, 106-107, 110-111A *History of Chinese Civilization*, Vol. I by Jacques Gernet, The Folio Society, London, 2002).

⁵⁹ Here, Shalamov, most probably, is referring to Philip Gallaher, a US Commissioner in Kodiak during Shalamov's time as missionary in Kodiak.

⁶⁰ The first US Judge in Kodiak is discussed in Fred Roscoe's *From Humboldt to Kodiak: 1886-1895: Recollections of a Frontier Childhood and the Founding of the First American School and the Baptist Mission at Kodiak, Alaska* (editor Richard Pierce, Alaska History #40 (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1992)), 133-34, 171.

⁶¹ "Заказчик" (*zakazchik*, same as *prikazchik* – see *Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка Владимира Даля* (*Vladimir Dahl's Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language*) is a local managing agent who is hired by a major trade company (in this case, ACC - the Alaskan Commercial Company) to oversee its business affairs in a particular settlement. It is known that in 1899, the ACC *zakazchik* in Eagle Harbor was Pavel Chechenev (for more details, see pp. 101-103 in *Alutiiq Villages under Russian and U.S. Rule*).

⁶² Contrary to Shalamov's information on existing international regulations, the first international treaty to address the issue of wild-life conservation ("The Convention between the United States and Other Powers Providing for the Preservation and Protection of Fur Seals") was ratified in 1911. (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the U.S. Department of Commerce: North Pacific Fur Seal Treaty of 1911).

from their ultimate extermination. However, by banning the sales only and not the hunting, the goal is circumvented and the extermination continues unabated. They should have definitely forbidden the hunting of certain animals for a select term – then, at least, these animals would have survived. Otherwise, now the animals are gone, and the Aleut is oppressed. Overall, in the exploitation of the fur resources, it would have been advisable to follow the [guidelines of the] Russian-American Trade Company, which, from time to time, imposed the so-called *zapuski* – interruptions in fur procurement in certain places and thus gave animals an opportunity to recover and procreate.⁶³

July 14. Glorious morning. The shining of the beneficent sun, so exceptionally joyous in Alaska, quietude, aromatic transparent air, chiseled outlines of the mountains with snow-covered mountaintops, ocean surface smooth as butter.

A small chapel bell rang loudly in the morning air summoning us for prayer. The people already started filling the temple.⁶⁴ We chrismated the children⁶⁵ and sung “memory eternal”.⁶⁶ Then we approached the mystery⁶⁷ of confession. – The morality of the Orlovians is noble: purity of family life, sobriety. By 5 P.M., the confession in Orlovo was completed.

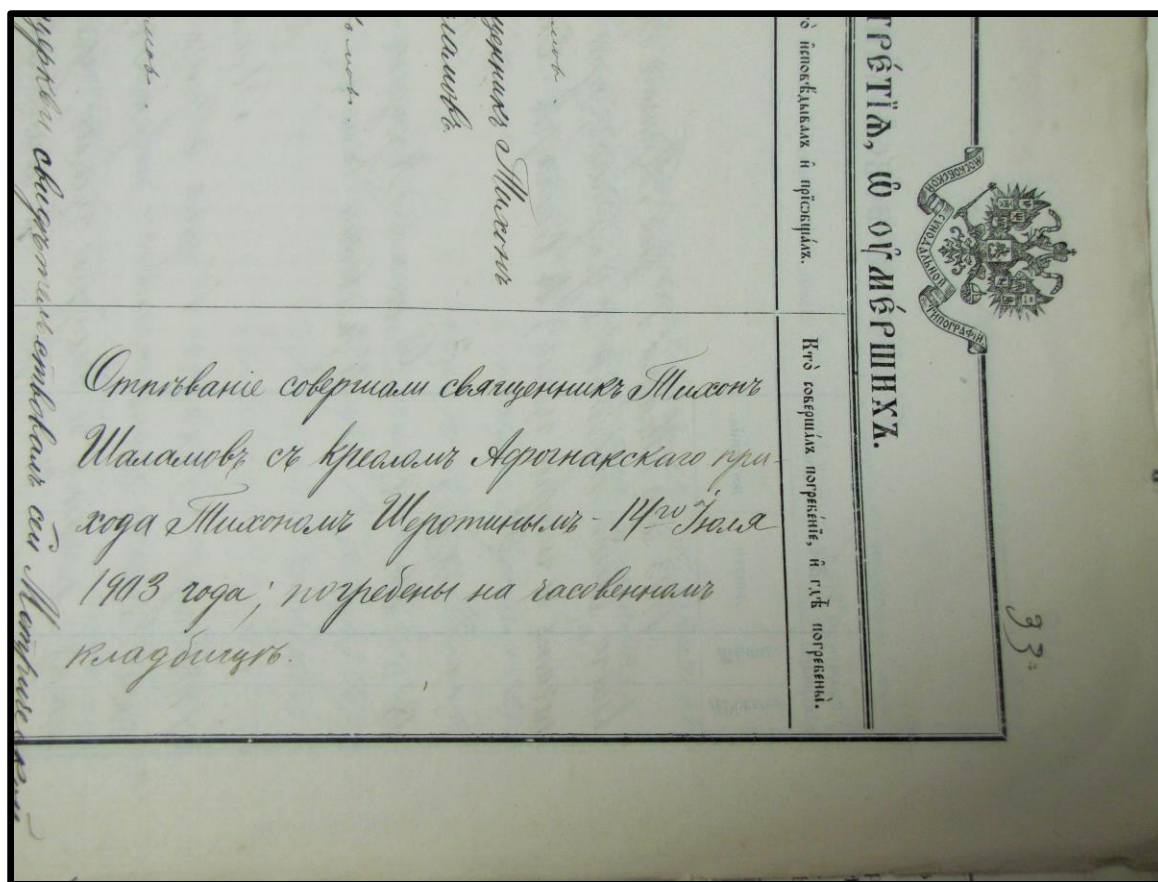
⁶³ According to a prominent Alaskan historian Lydia Black, “measures to conserve fur seals and sea otters were instituted from 1824 to 1828” (Lydia T. Black, *The History and Ethnohistory of the Aleutians East Borough*, Alaska History #49 Series, (Kingston, Ontario and Fairbanks, Alaska: The Limestone Press, 1999), 15.

⁶⁴ Here, the word “temple” (Russian *xрам* “khram”) refers to the church building.

⁶⁵ According to the Metrical Record made in the village of Orlovo on July 14, 1903, Priest Tikhon Shalamov and Reader Tikhon Sherotin chrismated Stephan, son of Aleut Mikhail Chavikhpak and his lawful wife Martha (both Orthodox) and Martha, daughter of Aleut Kos’ma Ianvak and his lawful wife Anisia (both Orthodox) (Kodiak Parish Vital Statistics, Box 9, Folder 6, Part I: Births, f. 10v, f. 11r).

⁶⁶ “Memory Eternal” is the closing hymn from the *panikhida* (Orthodox memorial service for the departed). According to the Metrical Record made in the village of Orlovo on July 14, 1903, Priest Tikhon Shalamov and Reader Tikhon Sherotin served panikhida for Alexandra, daughter of Ioann Akui (age 5, died of cold), Simeon, son of Nikolai Likhnak (age 5, died of cold), Vera, daughter of Aleut Mikhail Chavikhpak (age 6, died of cold), Ekaterina, wife of Aleut Ioann Anikht (age 53, died of fever), Khristina, daughter of Aleut Nikolai Likhnak (age 1 and a half, died of cold) (Kodiak Parish Vital Statistics, Box 9, Folder 6, Part III: Deaths, f. 31v, f. 32rv, f. 33r).

⁶⁷ There are seven *mysteries* (sacraments) in the Orthodox Church: baptism, chrismation, confession, eucharist (communion), holy unction (anointment with holy oil), marriage, ordination.



1903 Kodiak Parish Metrical Records Journal, Part III: Deaths

Kodiak Parish Vital Statistics Records, Box 9, Folder 6, F. 33r

Inscription in Russian says: "Panikhida was served by Priest Tikhon Shalamov and Afognak Parish Creole Tikhon Sherotin on July 14, 1903; [the deceased are] buried in the chapel graveyard."

(Courtesy of the Alaskan Diocesan Archive at St. Herman's Theological Seminary)

After the vigil, Tikhon stayed to read "The Rule"⁶⁸ for the communicants [those who planned to partake of Holy Communion the next day], and I went home to prepare for tomorrow's service. On my way, I met Mikhei, an Aleut, who, pointing at his stomach, kept telling me that "bloated here" or "stabbing pain there." Having suppressed a smile, I led him home and gave him some laxative pills. In such far-off corners [of the world], a missionary has to be universally knowledgeable: he is a doctor and a vet, technician and agriculturalist, political scientist and lawyer, and

⁶⁸ These are specific pre-communion prayers.

many different things. Thus, two years ago, my Reader and I gave 300 inoculations of *detrin*⁶⁹ in the villages.

July 15. We served Liturgy at 6 A.M. The whole village was admitted⁷⁰ to the communion with God through the Holy Mystery of the remembrance of His Crucifixion.⁷¹ In my sermon, I spoke of the ten maidens and how one has to be always prepared⁷² to be “called” by God to exchange the earthly dwelling for the eternal, heavenly one. At the end of the Liturgy, I gave a final, farewell speech. Even though the weather was gloomy and foggy, it was relatively calm and so, having finished all of our tasks there, we, in two boats, were seen by the whole village to the *laida*. From there we left for the portage,⁷³ so that we could cross the mountains towards Kodiak into Kalsin Bay on foot. Portaging is, in general, a very serious affair, and that of Kalsin especially so. In eight hours, we had to cover thirty miles of bear paths, barely noticeable Aleut trails, or, sometimes, complete wilderness. All along [we were] stumbling through the rocks, or the clumps, or the grass that is sometimes as tall as a person, or sometimes [we were] sinking knee-deep in the swamps.

Many a time you fall, and then there is the danger of breaking or twisting your arm or leg.

⁶⁹ Inoculations of *detrin* were a serum used against smallpox. It is unclear from where Shalamov received this serum and who authorized him to give inoculations when Alaska was already American territory. Before the sale of Alaska, however, the Russian American Company trained priests and Natives to give inoculations to the Native population.

⁷⁰ In the Orthodox Church, church members prepare for Holy Communion by the Sacrament of Holy Confession.

⁷¹ During each Divine Liturgy, Orthodox Christians remember Christ’s crucifixion, death, burial, and resurrection. On the same night on which Jesus Christ was betrayed, he took bread and said, “Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, this cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord’s death till he come” (1 Corinthians 11: 23-26).

⁷² Shalamov is referring here to the parable about the ten virgins waiting for the arrival of the bridegroom: only five of them carried extra oil for their lamps and were thus adequately prepared for a long wait in the night. The other five, who brought just lamps, had to go back to fetch the oil and missed the bridegroom (Matthew 25:1-13).

⁷³ They must have first crossed the Ugak Bay to Portage Bay (a sort of “subbay” of Ugak Bay) and from there portaged to Kalsin Bay (a “subbay” of Chiniak Bay).

Tree branches snap back into your face; mosquitoes and horseflies bite your body; the heat, the cold, the dampness, the rain, and the wind are getting on your nerves. The sweat keeps dripping off your tired face; wet underwear sticks to your body; your legs are aching; your head is empty, and your thoughts are rambling. Diminished and sometimes vanishing stamina is sustained only by water, tea, and sometimes fish. This is the regular condition while portaging.

Overall, the Alaskan mission is not an easy field, and those working in it are worthy of particular honor.

To visit the faithful in Alaska is not similar to riding in a luxurious train compartment, or a carriage with a spring suspension, or a horse-drawn tram, or even on horseback – all those amenities of a civilized life.

By seven in the evening, we arrived at a *barabara* that smelled like a grave – musty and damp. Having drunk some tea which tasted like dishwater, [we] sent the Aleuts to fetch a boat from a certain P. Nikiforov, a Kodiak Creole who lived on Kalsin Bay Cape. Meanwhile, it got dark. Having put our suitcases under our heads, we, amidst smoke and soot, still fully dressed, of course, went to sleep or, more exactly, awaited the dawn, because even though completely exhausted, one would find it extremely difficult to fall asleep in such conditions.

Fortunately, it was July, so we did not have to wait long: early on, the Lord woke up the tired earth and, by illuminating her, chased away the darkness of the night with His Divine lamp.

Nikiforov was likewise prompt with his boat. The morning breeze filled our sail and by 9 A.M. delivered us, safe and sound, to Kodiak.

* * *