

A DAILY JOURNAL KEPT BY THE REV. FATHER JUVENAL,
ONE OF THE EARLIEST MISSIONARIES TO ALASKA

BIBLIOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION

From the ethnographic standpoint the region which includes the Alaskan Peninsula, Kodiak Island, and Cook Inlet stands as one of the least known of North America. This is partly the result of the extensive depopulation which took place in the area after Russian discovery, and partly the result of geographic inaccessibility. At the same time, however, this hiatus in the ethnographic information is somewhat less real than many students realize, since many historical sources exist which deal with the natives of the region. Unfortunately, many of these are in the form of untranslated Russian texts or of unique manuscripts, and are therefore not easily referred to by workers in the field of Northwest Coast or Alaskan ethnography.

In the present article the Kroeber Anthropological Society presents a translation of one such source—a fragment out of the journal of Father Juvenal, one of the first Russian missionaries to Alaska. This fragment, which deals with a period covering less than a year, contains relatively little ethnographic material directly relating to the Alaskan natives. It is unusual, however, in the viewpoint it gives of the mental attitudes and beliefs of the early priests in the area and of the nature of the conversion. Such information is strikingly absent in other materials dealing with the area, since these deal largely with the problems of the Russian fur companies. Most of these latter sources, in fact, derive from these companies, and therefore cannot be expected to present a picture sympathetic to the missionaries. Most of the ecclesiastical documents seem to have remained in the archives of the Church.

Little is known about the life of Iëromonakh (Reverend Father) Juvenal, and even less about his journal. We are told by Innokentii, Metropolitan of Moscow (also known as Veniaminov), that he was originally a mining engineer (Innokentii, ms., p. 39). We also know that he arrived at Pavlovsk on Kodiak in 1794, accompanying the Archimandrite Ioassaf and seventeen other clergymen (Bancroft, 1886, p. 352). Of Juvenal's activities in Alaska, Innokentii (ms., p. 39) tells us that:

The Iëromonakh's Makar and Yuvenal traveled over the whole of Kodiak during the two months of the same year and baptized all the inhabitants. In the following year, 1795, Yuvenal went to Nushek, where he baptized over 700 souls of the Chugatch, and then crossed over to Kenai Bay and baptized all the inhabitants there. In 1796 he went to Aliaksa, to Ilyanna Lake, where he ended his apostolic career with his life, having done more service to the Church than all his brother missionaries...

We may note that Juvenal, in his journal, does not lay claim to the baptismal feats attributed to him in this passage. That Juvenal visited

Nuchek (Hinchinbrook Island, near the mouth of the Copper River, near Yakutat) is indirectly confirmed in a letter written to Baranof by Shelikof and Polevoi charging him to prepare plans of the newly built establishment in Yakutat Bay, in which activity "Father Juvenal and Stefan will not refuse you their assistance..." (Shelikof and Polevoi, ms., p. 504). Further indirect confirmation of this statement appears in Tikhmenef (1940, pp. 62-72).

After 1795 references to Juvenal become even scantier. The letter from the Bishop of Irkutsk directing Juvenal to proceed to Ilyamna is not at present known to be in existence. Nor are there independent references to Juvenal's journey from Three Saint's Bay to Ilyamna. In a letter written from Kodiak on July 24, 1800, Baranof refers to the missionary briefly (Baranof, ms., p. 619).

...the men [Baranof's] returned, partly to Kadiak, while some of them went with some friendly natives and hostages to reoccupy the Lake Ilyamna, from which a large river, the Kuichak, falls into the sea on the southwest coast of Alaska, where some of your bidar [ka]s from the Fur-seal islands sometimes call and where one of our Missionaries, Iëromonakh Juvenal, perished...

By the time of Veniaminov's arrival in the Aleutians in 1824, Juvenal seems to have become the center of a number of native legends, of which Veniaminov gives us one:

...The cause of his death was not so much (as has been said) that he prohibited polygamy, but rather the fact that the chiefs and prominent natives, having given him their children to be educated at Kadiak, repented of their action and failing to overtake them turned to him and demanded their children and finally killed him as a deceiver. They say that Juvenal during the attack of the savages upon him never thought of fleeing or defending himself, which he could easily have done, but surrendered himself into their hands without any resistance, asking only for mercy for his companions, which was granted. The Americans themselves tell that Juvenal, after being killed, rose up and went after his murderers, asking them "why do you do this?" (a question he had probably previously put to them). The savages, thinking he was still alive, fell upon him and beat him, but he again rose and went toward them, and this happened several times. Finally the savages cut him into pieces in order to get rid of him entirely, and then the preacher of the Word of God, who may be called a Martyr, was silent. But the same Americans tell us that from the place where his remains lay, a column of smoke arose, reaching to heaven. How long this apparition lasted is not known...(Innokentfi, ms., p. 39).

And finally, Tikhmenef (1861, pp. 59-60; 1940, p. 80) gives us still another version of Juvenal's demise:

The Iëromonakh Juvenal preceeded to Alaska Peninsula to preach the Evangel to the savages, and to introduce among them the rites of Christianity; but his ardor proved his destruction, and he was killed by the savages in 1796, near Lake Ilyamna... [Author's note: According to Baranoff, Father Juvenal demanded the natives give up their several wives, leaving only one].

As has already been stated, even less is known about the history of Juvenal's journal than about Juvenal himself. According to the note appended to the manuscript by Innokentius Shashnikof, the "manuscript was saved by the boy Nikita and subsequently delivered to Father Innokentius Veniaminov, who subsequently delivered it to me." Some additional information is given by Bancroft, who quotes no source but who probably got it from Shashnikof when the manuscript was translated. Bancroft (1886, p. 374) tells us that the boy Nikita escaped with the diary and other papers to a Russian settlement and "delivered them into the hands of Father Veniaminof on his first visit to the Nushegak villages [on Bristol Bay, north of Ilyamna]." Since Veniaminov first took his Aleutian post in 1824 and left it in 1834 (Barsukov, 1897, pp. 5,11), Nikita apparently preserved the documents for over 28 years. It is not known how Bancroft learned of the journal, or where it was translated. Its present location is unknown; possibly it may still be at Unalaska or in the Alaskan Archives at Sitka.

We note that one author on Alaskan history, Hector Chevigny, considers the manuscript to be of "doubtful authenticity" (Chevigny, 1942, p. 308). He gives no evidence for this assertion, however, and uses the account himself as a basis for a heavily fictionalized chapter on Juvenal (Chevigny, 1942, pp. 146-157). While it is true that the origin and history of the document are obscure and puzzling, it is also difficult to see how any such allegation can be made without more evidence relating to both the man and the document. Bancroft, who seems to have had more information at his disposal, accepted the account.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

Author: Juvenal, Iëromonakh (Reverend Father)

Title:

[fol. 1^r] Journal / of the / Rev Father Juvenal / one of the
earliest / Missionaries of Alaska / 1796-
[fol. 3^r] A Daily Journal Kept by the Rev. / Father Juvenal, one
of the Earliest / Missionaries of Alaska / [Translated from Manu-
script in pos-session of Rev. Shashnikoff in Ounalaska] /

Description: Manuscript, 30.7 by 20 cm., consisting of 42 leaves or 84 pages. The leaves are numbered on both sides. Collation by signatures; first 3 signatures in 12^o; last in 6^o. Collation by

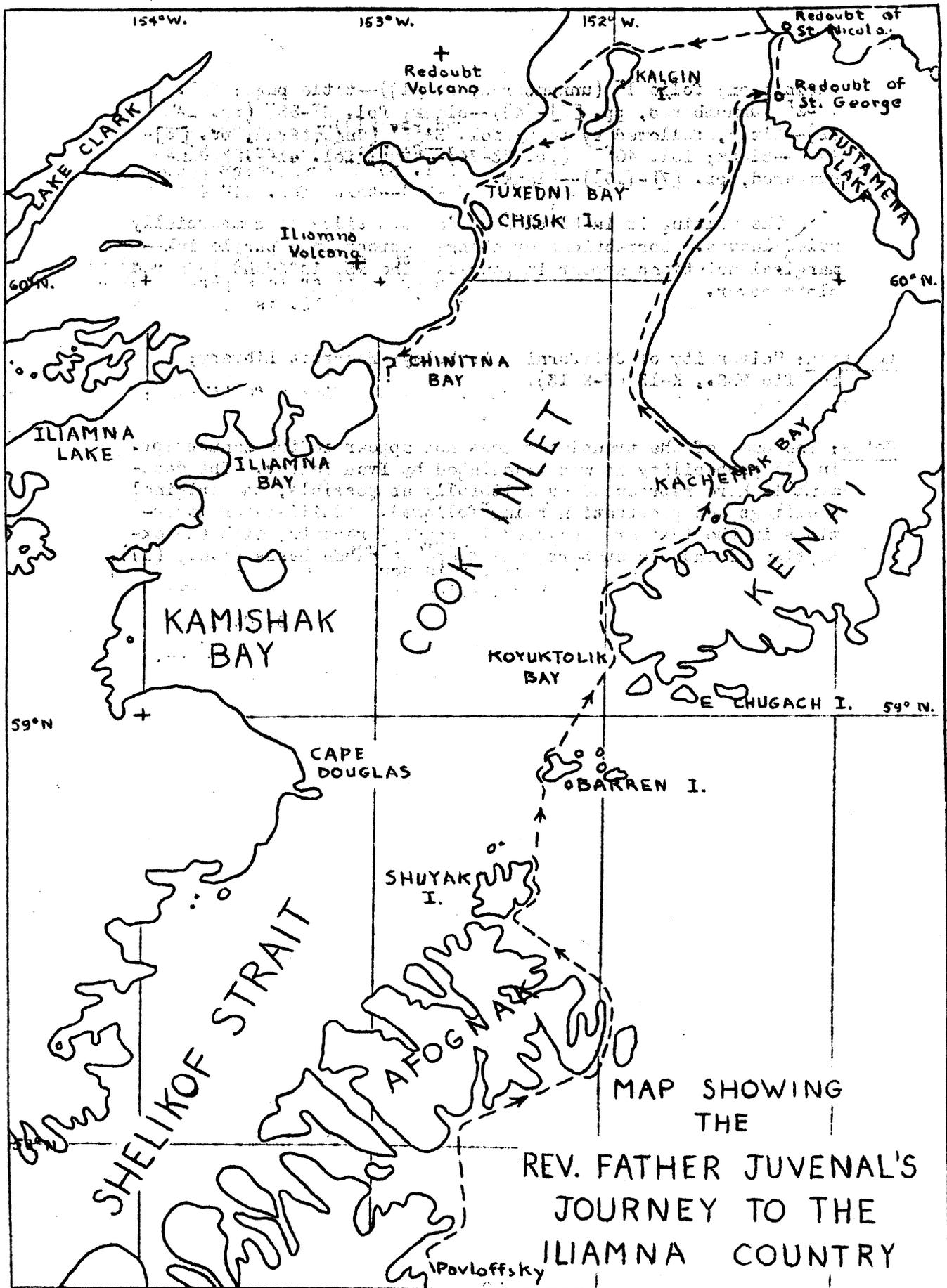
pagination; folio 1^r (unnumbered, p. [1])—title page; fol. 1^v-2^r (unnumbered, pp. [2]-[4])—blank; fol. 3^r-38^v (pp. 1-72)—title, followed by text; fol. 39^{r-v} (unnumbered, pp. [5]-[6])—blank; fol. 40^{r-v} (pp. 73-74)—text; fol. 41^r-42^v (unnumbered, pp. [7]-[10])—blank.

The writing is in black ink, on both sides of commercially ruled leaves. Corrections or changes appear in a purple ink—marginal notations appear in pencil. The MS. is bound in a red cloth cover.

Location: University of California, Berkeley; Bancroft Library; Pacific MSS., K-13 (P-K 13).

Notes: The name of the translator does not appear in the manuscript. In all probability it was translated by Ivan Petrov. The document is here reproduced as faithfully as possible; the original spellings and punctuation being followed. Additions or insertions in the text are enclosed in square brackets, with the exception of endnote numbers, which are in parenthesis (i.e., (1)).

B. G. H.



[p. 1]

A DAILY JOURNAL KEPT BY THE REV.

FATHER JUVENAL, ONE OF THE EARLIEST

MISSIONARIES TO ALASKA, 1796-

[Translated from Manuscript

in possession of Rev. Shashnikov

in Unalaska.]

Thru Samito Harbor [Three Saints Bay], June 19, 1796—With the help of God a school was opened to-day at this place, the first since the attempts of the late Mr. Shelikoff to instruct the natives of this neighborhood. Eleven boys and several grown men were in attendance. When I read prayers they seemed very attentive and were evidently deeply impressed, though they did not understand the language. God made them understand the meaning of it all and I am hopeful of success. Seven of the boys live with me; they are very willing to do any work required about our establishment.

June 20, 1796—Two more youths joined my school to-day. They had received some little instruction previously from the much lamented late Mr. Shelikoff and had observed some of the usages of the Orthodox Church ever since. When school closed I went to the river with my boys and with [p. 2] the help of God we caught one hundred and three salmon of large size which some of the women assisted us in cutting up ready for drying. May the Lord bless us equally the remainder of the season. The dried fish which is here called "youkala" is all we must depend upon for subsistence during the long winter. I shall endeavor to construct a smoke house, in order to prepare some fish for my own use in a more palatable manner and perhaps teach the natives a better mode of living.

June 21, 1796—This has been a day of rich harvest for the Lord. Not less than six of the most prominent men among the Koniagi in this neighborhood came to me to-day, and after conversing with me for some time on religion, they offered me their favorite sons to educate and enlighten in the True Orthodox Faith. One of them, Kashle-ah by name, said that he considered himself too old to hope ever to understand the good words I was preaching, having been used to other ideas all his life, but he desired that his son, after him, should know better and lead a new kind of life if he could. [p. 3] I endeavored to tell them through the interpreter of the rich promises made by God through his Apostles and the Holy Gospel to all followers of Christ and the heathens seemed to be impressed; but I do not know how much of my speech the interpreter could render without going beyond the understanding of these men. May God give me good understanding that I may quickly

learn the language of these people, for surely it must be easier for me, a man used to study from his boyhood, to acquire their speech than it is for them to learn ours. However, their boys seem to acquire a smattering of Russian in a remarkably short period of time.

June 22nd—To-day being Sunday I read the service of the Orthodox Church in the morning and afternoon, and spent the remainder of the day in devout self-communication. During service the boys were very attentive and even several grown people drew near and listened to what is as yet to them an unknown tongue. Far away on the hill side, where the sound of my voice certainly did not reach a group of men and women sat motionless the whole time—a very encouraging sign of the presence of the grace of God among this people. The day has been as clear and warm as I have ever seen one in Kamchatka in midsummer.

June 23—This morning after fervent prayer I continued my labors in the school. The boys are bright and eager and give me every reason to feel encouraged, if I only could speak to them directly, but the most ardent and inspired sentences seem to fall flat when passing through the untutored mouth and mind of another. As an offset to study I wandered into the woods in the afternoon and felled trees enough to build me a smoke house. The boys carried the logs upon their shoulders to the spot I had previously selected. I find that bodily exercise is of great help to me to clear the mind besides diverting the soul of sinful man from idle speculations.

June 24—To-day I suspended exercises at the school, but held services of St. John the Baptist to whom the day is consecrated. I prayed that I might be permitted to follow in the Saint's footsteps in a humble way and announce the coming of the Lamb of God to these benighted people and prepare them for the teachings of some other man better qualified for the work than I am. I find it exceedingly difficult to awaken due interest in the minds of the natives (and especially in the boys under my care) in the lives and deeds of the numerous Saints and apostles which I must necessarily mention whenever the days consecrated to their memory come around. Their minds seem unable to grasp their number and their innumerable glorious deeds and sufferings, and failing to understand give up to indifference. Were it not sinful to consider, I would almost wish that I and my present charges were in the condition of the apostles and the first converts, with nothing to preach but the Holy Trinity alone.

June 25th—This day began with a refreshing prayer and several hours of quiet teaching in the school, but this was followed by a sore trial of my patience. A cry arose somewhere that the Tugidok people were coming in four bidaras (bidarkas, or kayaks) and without asking permission or even waiting until I finished my sentence my boys all jumped up and [p. 6] scampered off in the greatest hurry toward the beach. I was sorely tempted to seize my staff and bring them to their senses by the infliction of bodily pain, but in a short time I mastered my hasty temper and followed quietly down to the beach

where the whole populace, old and young, male and female had assembled, all chattering and shouting to the visitors who were slowly approaching. The trader who had never met any of the Tugidok people heretofore, kept out of sight for a time, not knowing how the newcomers might like the presence of Russians. He asked me to conceal myself also for a time, but I considered it beneath my dignity as a messenger of God to do so, and consequently remained in full sight, attired in my priest's robe and a bronze cross in my hand. The people who landed were clad entirely in skins. They were of all ages and sexes, but all presented a very savage appearance. As soon as the whole party was landed the pagan natives began to dance and sing before them and beat upon drums made of bladders of seal, and the strangers danced and sang in reply. Then great feasting began [sic] [p. 7] and all the fish and flesh in the village was set before the guests. Only two of my boys—Grigor and Theophilus returned with me—the others stayed at the feast, oblivious of everything but eating and listening to the stories of the strangers.

June 26—All my boys attended prayers this morning, but school was a failure as they ran off again. There was a general exchange of skins and other commodities between our people and those from Tugidok. The latter have sea otters and parkas made from squirrel skins and large numbers of bladders full of oil. The agent of the Shelekhoff Company or as they now style themselves, the Russian American Company, was also among them showing his goods of Russian manufacture, which many of the strangers have never seen before. One of my boys brought me a fine sea-otter skin and a squirrel parka as an offering to the Church, but I would not accept either until I had ascertained that the youth had come honestly by these valuable articles.

June 27—As the presence of the visitors makes it impossible to secure a [p. 8] full attendance in my school I asked a few of the boys and some women to assist me in fishing. A fine kind of salmon is in full run up the various rivers and creeks, making it possible to catch an abundance almost with the bare hands. While thus engaged I endeavored to relate to my assistants the story of the Apostle Peter's fishing and his call to the work of God, and I think they caught some idea of that memorable occurrence. Our labor was blessed with a catch of 218 large fish, so that I was obliged to call in additional help to clean and prepare them for drying.

June 28th—To-day the whole population, including the visitors, were engaged in fishing with great success. They have a habit of tearing out the heart and liver of any fish they catch and devouring them raw, which was very disgusting to me. Toward evening I gathered my boys about me and read the services customary on the eve of the Sabbath.

June 29th—This morning I could not help but regret very much that we have as yet no bells to inaugurate divine service in a proper manner. The weather was fine and [p. 9] I officiated in the open air,

and my chanting attracted some of our people as well as a few of the strangers who looked on in wonder and asked some of the Koniagi for an explanation of the meaning of my actions.

When the service was concluded, I asked one of our chiefs to bring up some of the strangers that I might talk to them through an interpreter. Quite a number of them came, but it was sad for me to discover their utter ignorance of anything divine or any religious principle. They have Shamans or sorcerers who pretend to cure diseases, but they worship nothing and have not even a word for prayer. They asked me if I could cure a man when he was very sick, and I answered that with the help of God I might. At this they shrugged their shoulders and one man said: "We have a Shaman at home who once brought a dead man back to life; and he did it all alone!" I dismissed them and spent the remainder of the day in anxious prayer.

June 30th—One of the Tugidok Chiefs to-day brought me one of his sons to keep and teach, but the little fellow was so much frightened and cried so [p. 10] bitterly that I was compelled to take him back to his father. It is much to be deplored that the trader at this place does not assist me in my work. Though born and brought up in the Orthodox Church he does not even attend service. His example might do as much good as it now works evil. Our fishing to-day was attended with great success—the only drawback is that we cannot clean them all fast enough to save them. However the fish are still running in such abundance that with but little labor on our part we need feel no apprehensions as to provisions for the winter.

July 1—With great trouble I taught some of the boys today the first ten letters of the Slavonic alphabet. If I can only succeed in making them understand the letters I could spell many of the native words with them and a very important step would be gained. As a reward for my success in the morning I indulged in some exercise in the afternoon and quite finished my smoke-house so that to-morrow I shall be able to make my first experiment in preserving fish in a more palatable [p. 11] manner than the mere drying affords.

July 2nd—The weather is very hot and I am afraid some of our fish will spoil as flies are abundant. Some of my boys have just returned with heavy loads of spruce boughs which I need to give my smoked salmon an agreeable flavor. The Tugidok people departed to-day with great ceremonies, singing and beating of drums, causing such an heathen uproar that I did not feel called upon to pronounce a blessing. The Chief has left his boy with a friend here with instructions to turn him over to me as soon as he has become accustomed to live among strangers. With God's help I shall gain influence over the Tugidok people through this boy.

July 3d—This being the day of St. Anastassia I held services and read the account of her martyrdom, but owing to the imperfect interpretation I was unable to give my hearers a clear idea of the

persecutions of early Christians. The poverty of ideas existing among these poor people makes the work of the Missionary very difficult indeed.

July 4th—In spite of the heat which [p. 12] is really oppressive for this region I labored all the morning with the boys over the slavonic alphabet and I think a few of them have mastered it. Fishing continues from morning till night, and I have my first batch in the smoke-house. Vassili, one of the boys, told me to-day that his father who lives on the other side of the bay is very sick and that he wishes to see me. I am afraid that he considers me only as another kind of Shaman or sorcerer and in that case I should refuse to go. However I will consider the matter in prayer to-night.

July 5th—After a night of prayer and watching I concluded to go and see Vassili's father. The boy took me across the water in a bidarka and we landed within a few fathoms of the "barabara" where the sick man lived. It was a very large building, nearly all underground, but from sixty to seventy feet long. We descended through a hole in the roof, but the stench nearly drove me out again. At least fifteen or sixteen families lived in that one compartment, separated from each other only by a single piece of driftwood or a scanty mat. Filthy children sat and rolled about in all [p. 13] and in the half darkness I stepped upon some of them making them cry very piteously. The sick man lay in a dark corner of this repulsive abode, but by the light of a smoking oil lamp, made out of a hollow stone, I saw that he had a fever and was very feeble. I told the boy that if they would place his father under a tree as long as the sun was shining he would suffer less, but I could not promise that he would get better. The people in the house had a great deal to say but finally the patient was taken out. I said a short prayer and blessed the couch where he had lain and then departed to prepare for Church service to-morrow.

July 6th—Service this morning was well attended, especially by women. The people all seem to know when Sunday comes again though I am sorry to say that the traders do not observe the day or make the natives do it. Whenever a chance to trade offers itself it is made the most of, whether it is Sunday or not. I have even seen hunting expeditions fitted out on that day. The fault lies with the man at the head. When the late Mr. Shelikoff was here he enforced [p. 14] strict observance of all religious forms and holidays and he himself won many of the savages over into the fold of the Orthodox Faith; but since Mr. Baranoff has assumed control religion is being sacrificed to business, though for their own interested purposes the traders profess to be very anxious for the conversion of all the natives. They set a bad example to the people by indulging in all kinds of wickedness and sin and then blame us Missionaries for not meeting with better success.

July 7th—All the boys have now returned and there would be a

fair prospect of good work in the school were it not for the necessity of providing for our subsistence. The salmon which is now in full run is the best of its kind to be had in the country and as nobody else provides for me and my little flock, we must work first to satisfy our bodily wants. When I left Kamchatka I was assured that the Russian American Company, a rich firm, and under special protection of His Majesty the Emperor, would provide supplies for all members of the clergy and their pupils, but beyond a pile of dried half-rotten fish I have received nothing.

July 8th—The fishing still continues. [p. 15] In answer to fervent prayer for better opportunities for spiritual work, I conceived the idea of building a trap for salmon as I have seen them in the rivers of Kamtchatka. I proceeded to the woods immediately to cut the necessary timber.

July 9—To-day I had my first dispute with the natives. I began to build the fishtraps and had already constructed one half of the dam when a crowd of natives came up to where I was working and told me I must not do that as it would interfere with their own fishing. I tried to reason with them, but in vain, and in a few minutes I saw the work of many hours destroyed. God granted me patience to curb my temper and I returned to my hut to pray. In the afternoon the trader called upon me and told me that I would surely get into trouble if I persisted in trapping fish in the main stream, but that I might select some smaller stream a short distance away and still catch enough for my need. I am afraid I did not give the man a very civil answer, but I see now that he is right. My boys have been fishing with spears all day, but have not met with good success.

July 10th—This morning I was surprised in [p. 16] a way that made me sorry for my anger with the natives yesterday. Shortly after I had concluded my morning prayers a crowd of boys and women came to my door and deposited on the grass over two hundred large salmon already cleaned. I was deeply moved. To-day I spoke to one of the old men of the village who come occasionally to listen when I teach the boys. I asked him if he thought he was too old to learn and he said "No, he would like to hear all I could say, but he did not like to hear it through the mouth of another, one of their own people who did not know as much as he did himself." The old man is full of scars which he says are the marks of wounds received in wars with the people of Ounalashka and other islands to the southward. I asked him what caused them to fight and he said the trouble always began with the stealing of some women. The same root of evil all over the world.

July 11th—This is the day of Christoforus and I read and explained the legend of that Saint to my boys, but the latter only expressed their astonishment that there was no bidarka to take people across the river. The moral of the legend is far [p. 17] beyond their understanding. To-day I took out my first batch of smoked salmon and found them all that could be desired considering that I had no

salt. The natives will not eat them. One of my boys partook of some, but I am sure he only did it to please me.

July 12th—The brigantine [sic] "Andrefian and Nastassia" (1) arrived to-day with Mr. Baranoff on board and letters for me from His Eminence the Bishop of Irkutsk [or Irkustsk] and Eastern Siberia. His Eminence orders me to another station among natives who have not yet been in contact with Missionaries of the Orthodox Church. All our speculations are idle. But yesterday I was making plans how to do good to the people here, in accordance with my feeble capacity and now I must leave them again. God's will be done. I must pray for grace to do any duty wherever I go. At evening service to-day I was deeply moved and told the people that I must shortly leave them. I heard no expression of sorrow on their part, but I have no doubt they feel a regret all the same. My boys seem to be really sorry. I do not know yet what is to become [p. 18] of them.

July 13th—We had a very solemn and impressive service this morning. Mr. Baranoff and officers and sailors from the ship attended and also a large number of natives. We had fine singing and a congregation with great outward appearance of devotion. I could not help but marvel at Alexander Andreïevitch [Baranoff—translator's addition] who stood there and listened and crossed himself, gave the responses at the proper time and joined in the singing with the same hoarse voice with which he was shouting obscene songs the night before when I saw him in the midst of a drunken carousel with a woman seated in his lap. I dispensed with services in the afternoon, because the traders were drunk again and might have disturbed us and disgusted the natives.

July 14th—Early in the day I went to Mr. Baranoff's tent to find out from him what disposition was to be made of the boys left in my charge, but the great man was sleeping off the effects of yesterday's debauch and could not [p. 19] be seen. I did not assemble my school, but after the noonday meal I set out once more upon the same errand. Baranoff was sitting before his tent while his servant was preparing tea for him. He did not ask me to be seated or to partake of tea, though it was nearly a year since I had tasted any. He only asked me gruffly what I wanted so early in the morning! I told him of my anxiety with regard to the boys and he said that the station at Three Saints Bay would be abandoned and that a new settlement was in course of construction at Pavloffsky Harbor, several days travel farther north. He said that another Missionary, Father German, had already arrived on the Island and established himself at Pavloffsky Harbor, where he had opened a school for girls and he would doubtless be willing to take the boys also. This announcement he followed up with some obscene jokes which put him into such good humor that he finally offered me some tea. I felt that I ought to refuse under the circumstances, but my longing for the beverage was too strong—I degraded [p. 20] myself before God and man for the sake of a drink of tea. Refreshed but ashamed of myself I left the wicked man to pray in my humble retreat for strength and pride in the sanctity of my calling.

July 15th—The brigantine is preparing to leave and I, too, must prepare to abandon the field on which I had barely broken ground in hopes of a harvest at some future time. Mr. Baranoff informed me that I might accompany him to Pavloffsky Harbor and await an opportunity to proceed to the Kenai country. Once arrived there I must trust to the traders of the Lebedeff-Lastochkin Company, who are still stationed there, to give me transportation to my new field of labor, which is to be at a village situated upon the shore of a lake called Ilyamna. Tomorrow will be the day of our departure should wind and weather favor us.

July 16th—On board of the brigantine Andreian and Anastassia. (1)—At sunrise this morning I held service in the open air; all the natives attended, but not one of the traders. In conclusion I blessed [p. 21] the people and took leave of them one by one. A few of the boys shed tears and my own eyes were moist. My young pupils are to be forwarded to Pavloffsky Harbor in bidarkas and turned over to the care of Father German. Mr. Baranoff is too shrewd to release the hold he gains upon the natives by having their favorite boys under his hand. When I arrived on board I was shown a small space between some bales of goods and a pile of dried fish in the hold, where to put myself and my few belongings. The place is dark and dismal and full of foul air, but the cabin is taken up by Mr. Baranoff and his servants and followers. I can barely see to write this by the light of a wretched lantern, but surely I have no right to complain—my Master before me suffered worse than this. Upon the request of the sailors I pronounced a blessing upon the ship when we weighed anchor and we are now running with a fair wind which whistles through the cordage, while from the Cabin ribald songs can be heard with which the Chief Manager's retainers amuse him. [p. 22]

July 17th—To-day the wind has changed and the sea runs high against us. Everybody seems in bad humor. Mr. Baranoff sent for me and asked me if I had blessed the ship and when I told that I had done so he swore at me and told me to light a taper before the image of Nikolai Ugodnik, which hangs in the Cabin. I complied with his command without a word and then retired to this miserable corner, which, foul as it is, seems more pleasant to me than the presence of that man.

July 18th—Overnight we got out of sight of land and in consequence there was great storming and swearing this morning. The sea is still heavy, but fog surrounds us so that nobody knows how near the coast may be. Mr. Baranoff, in his coarsest manner, publicly alluded to me as another Prophet Jonah and said there were plenty of whales about. Many of the sailors and passengers on board were very indignant over this insult, but nobody dared to say anything before the great man of this country. I have not been able to partake food since I stepped [p. 23] on board of the ship, though I am often fairly buried under a heap of dried fish, whenever the sea tosses us about.

July 19th—Land is in sight once more and our navigator knows our position. The contrary wind has driven us back and we are now farther from Pavloffsky Harbor than we were at starting. Mr. Baranoff said

something about putting me ashore, but he seems to have changed his mind as we are again standing out to sea. We are still being violently tossed, but the sailors tell me that the wind is now favorable, so that there is a hope of being released before long from this state of misery. Our brethren far away in Russia who have their peaceful cells, their coarse, but abundant food, and secretly grumble at the healthy exercise of labor in field and garden, have no idea of what a Missionary's life is in this desolate region.

July 20th—This morning the sea was smooth, only a light breeze filling our sails, and as it is Sunday I held services on the deck, which Mr. Baranoff attended devoutly [p. 24] enough. Immediately after service the islands which form Pavloffsky Harbor came in sight. In the afternoon we landed. Building is going on here on every side and the whole place is in confusion. I was shocked to see that the Sabbath day does not make the slightest difference in the bustle and uproar. I was assigned to a half-finished hut intended for a salthouse, where swarms of mosquitoes are now tormenting me and there is no prospect of repose.

July 21st—My heart was gladdened this morning by the joyful tidings that a party of bidarkas is to leave here for the north in a few days, affording me an opportunity of proceeding to my destination. The country about here looks pleasant enough, but life is short and I do not wish to stay where I cannot labor. Here under the eyes of Baranoff I feel that I could not do any good if I tried. Father German came to the station this afternoon and called upon me. He seems to be a man of the world and our souls have nothing [p. 25] in common. He boasted much of his establishment on one of the islands in this bay. He is evidently on the best of terms with Mr. Baranoff who has done much for his comfort and convenience. I asked him if he had any matron in charge of his school for girls, when he laughed and said there was no need of a matron; he was well able to take care of the little ones. I did not like his laugh when he told me of this.

July 22—This being the day of Martha and Maria I held services, but owing to the work going on uninterruptedly there was but a small attendance. I intended to recommend my boys at Three Saints Harbor to the special attention of Father German, but his repulsive manner caused me to change my intention and now I pray that the poor little fellows may never be entrusted to his care. The nightly torment of mosquitoes still continues so that I find it difficult to obtain even an hour or two of repose.

July 23—I am still wearily waiting for the welcome signal of departure [p. 26] from this place. If our news from Russia is correct there is now on the seas an expedition from St. Petersburg to this country, around the world. As the expedition is said to consist of vessels of war there may be hope that an end will be put to the self-willed and cruel acts of the heathen traders. Some change is needed in order to enable even the most zealous and best qualified Missionary to reap the fruits of his labors.

July 24th—To-morrow our party is to start and my heart is full of joy. In vain have I endeavored to obtain some information with regard to the language spoken in the region to which I am bound. Some people tell me that the Kenaítze language is spoken at Ilyanna, but I have my doubts on the subject. At any rate what little I have acquired of the idiom of the island will do me no good there as the tribes on the main land are said to be of an entirely different race. Whatever the difficulties are I trust that I shall be granted the ability to overcome them. This evening I took leave of [p. 27] Mr. Baranoff. He wished me success, but told me that he could insure me a passage only as far as his bidarkas go, the redout (2) St. George on the Gulf of Kenai. From there he said I must depend upon the traders of the Lebedeff-Lastochkin Company, and with a malicious grin he informed me that those traders were considered to be little better than robbers and murderers. He cannot frighten me with such hints; I feel rather inclined to trust anybody not connected with his Company in preference to himself.

July 25th—Afognak Island—Before setting out this morning I held service on the beach and recommended our little party, consisting of six bidarkas to the mercy of the Most High. The sea was calm and smooth as glass. At first it was embarrassing to me to sit as motionless as is necessary in order to keep the balance of the frail bidarkas, but I soon became accustomed to it and enjoyed the smooth and rapid motion very much. Where we camp tonight there is no sign of human habitation, but a beautiful stream furnishes an abund- [p. 28] dance of fish. The natives who accompany me are kind and considerate. They all have been Christians for several years and told me many incidents of the travels of the lamented Father Ioassaff among them.

July 26th—We are still lying at the same place, a strong wind having come up during the night, which would make it dangerous to travel in our crafts. During our enforced idleness I have been talking to my Companions who have a fair knowledge of the Russian language. To my sorrow I find that though baptized a long time ago they have not got beyond the adoption of outward forms, possessing scarcely an idea of the meaning of our faith. I read the customary Saturday evening prayers to them, which seemed to please them very much.

July 27th—Very much against my will we resumed our journey this morning and we now camped near the northern extremity of Afognak Island. I proposed to remain on the beach during the Sabbath and hold service as usual, but the leader of our party seemed so ex- [p. 29] tremely anxious to make use of the good weather that I brought myself to yield to him at last. Our journey today was short, however, and we encamped early. After prayers to-night my companions informed me that to-morrow we must cross over to an island which is barely in sight—a crossing which can only be accomplished with the finest weather.

July 28th—Sakhtnak [Shuyak] Island—This being the day observed in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Kazan I recommended our little party to her special care and thanks to her Divine protection we are here safely

encamped after a boisterous [?] passage during which I expected to go to the bottom more than once. I do not consider my life my own, and whenever my time comes I hope the end will find me prepared.

July 29th—A long and tedious pull has brought us to the extreme point of this island and now there lies before us the most dangerous part of our journey, the crossing over to a group of islands, called the "Barren Group" from their desolate [p. 30] appearance. The distance is so great that the crossing consumes a whole day even under favorable circumstances. God will protect us—as He has done before, unless my time has come. I am afraid my bodily strength is giving out, exerting a weakening influence upon the mind, as oftentimes of late I have caught myself wishing that my time was near and I relieved of all worldly cares and sufferings. A wicked wish as long as I have work to do and I pray for strength to overcome this weakness of the soul.

July 30th—We are still on this island the weather being unfavorable to our dangerous undertaking. All attempts to catch fish today proved a failure so that we were compelled to subsist upon the flesh of a miserable little seal, which was in poor condition and apparently diseased. Early in the morning there was a slight frost and the indications are that the coming night will be a cold one. We offered up a common prayer for favorable weather to-morrow.

July 31st—Our prayers of last night were rewarded with beautiful weather [p. 31] to-day. In the morning it was somewhat foggy and it appeared rather hazardous to set out in crafts like ours without land in view ahead of us, but my companions knew the course well enough and by the time the fog cleared away we had already traversed a good piece of the distance to the Barren Islands. Over a glistening sea and under a scorching sun we made the crossing without the least trouble and drew up our bidarkas on the beach of the largest of the Barren Islands with a thankful heart. The supplies of provisions are rather short should we be detained here any length of time. A few scraps of our seal remain and our fishermen have so far met with no success.

August 1st—Barren Islands—We can see Cape Elizabeth looming up in the North, but the sea is high and we cannot think of resuming our journey. Two small fish was all our combined efforts could secure this morning. My native companions seem to feel rather despondent over our prospects. Even the water is bad in this desolate spot, having a strong [p. 32] flavor of iron which is rather difficult to account for.

August 2d—Our enforced residence here continues. One of my companions succeeded in killing a large seal and another brought in a halibut, so that we indulged in quite a feast that enabled us to look more calmly upon the chopping sea which still interposes a barrier between us and the main land. In the evening I read the Saturday evening service.

August 3d—Though my congregation is very small I went through the

whole Sunday service without omitting anything and my companions seemed to enjoy it. As this is the first time that Divine service has ever been held on this desolate spot, I trust that it will produce some good fruit now or in times to come. Our store of provisions is again reduced to one fish which will scarcely suffice to appease our appetites to-night. May God grant us food or traveling weather to-morrow.

August 4th—Cape Elizabeth—With the help of God we have reached this point. Early in the morning the sea was smooth as glass and we hurried [p. 33] to launch our bidarkas without stopping to look for any food. When about half the distance remained yet to be traversed, a strong wind came up suddenly almost in our faces and from that time our progress was very slow. When evening approached my Companions, who had fasted since the preceding noon, began to exhibit signs of weakness and before the shore was reached at last the poor fellows were almost entirely exhausted. We were all too tired to fish, but I managed to gather some berries which grow here in great abundance, and this slight refreshment must satisfy us until morning. I offered thanks to God for our safe passage of all the dangerous crossings on our journey. From this out the natives anticipate no further trouble.

August 5th—Some Kenaitze from a village situated within [this] vicinity came to us this morning with a supply of fresh salmon and we concluded to stay over and recruit our bodies from the effect of the hardships suffered so far. The natives at this place inform me that they and the Ilyamna people [p. 34] understand each other perfectly well, but I cannot discover the slightest resemblance between the Kenaitze language and that of Kadiak. These natives have also been baptised by Father Ioassaff, but their understanding of the Faith they profess is very limited.

Aug. 6th—Yakome Muiss—With fine weather and a perfectly smooth sea our party made rapid progress to-day. We did not even stop to eat, but took a bite of fish that had been cooked the night before. All the bidarkas were close together, almost within arms length and I took the opportunity of telling my companions the story of the Beheading of John the Baptist to the memory of which event this day is consecrated. They listened very attentively and then made comments in their own language to each other. We are now camped on a sandy beach, much exposed to the wind which blows cold from the North. Unless the wind changes we shall be obliged to pass another day in a very unpleasant situation.

Aug. 7th—We set out this morning early, but the wind freshening up we were compelled to put back again, to my great disappointment. While returning to the beach I saw for the first [p. 35] time in my life a beluga—a kind of white whale, very much smaller than the gray and black. This one was about 20 feet long and I was very much startled when its smooth white back came up to the surface of the sea within a few feet of my bidarka. My companions became quite excited at the sight and would have given chase immediately had they been prepared with the necessary weapons and lines. They paddled to the shore in a great hurry

and set to work making spears, etc., out of the scanty material they had with them. They attached strong seal skin lines to the spearheads and then turned the oil out of several large bladders belonging to their stores into one of the bidarkas, with the intention of using them as floats. The sea was running quite high, but in the ardor of the chase these men did not heed that. They launched their bidarkas and in less than half an hour returned with the carcass of a beluga, so large and heavy that we could barely drag it upon the beach. Some thin slices of the blubber I found quite palatable and almost equal to the meat of fat hogs.

August 8th—A dream aroused me this (p. 36) morning some time before my Companions awoke. I dreamed that I was stretched out on a narrow ledge of rock, with the sea beating up on either side. I seemed to feel perfectly safe, however, and made no effort to get up. All at once I saw St. Innokentius of Taurus standing at my feet and he asked me to make room for him. I replied somewhat crossly: "Surely there is not room for both of us!", when I heard a terrible voice from the water saying: "Who are you and what have you done that you should hesitate?". At this I rolled off the ledge and fell into the sea, and then awoke to find I had been only dreaming. The dream disturbed me very much and I walked off a little ways to a rocky place and there knelt down in prayer until my companions called me to proceed on our journey. In a few hours we arrived at the so-called redout (sic) St. George, a trading station situated on a high bluff and consisting of two small log-buildings surrounded by a stockade. This is as far as the men belonging to Mr. Baranoff's Company will take me and I cannot meet with the Lebedeff-Lastochkin traders until I reach the Kaknu (Kenai) river, about a day's travel from here. (p. 37)

August 9th—Redout St. George.—The trader at the station treats me more civilly than any belonging to the same firm I have met with so far. He assigned to me a small but comfortable room provided even with a feather-bed. The latter I shall not use, as it would be a poor preparation for the hardships yet in store for me. As I cannot get away from here before Monday I shall hold services to-morrow and bless the buildings, a duty which Father Ioassaff neglected when he visited this place. The natives belonging to the redoute are all Christians, with the exception of two women, whom the two Russians at the station have brought from the interior to live with them as concubines. I admonished the men to marry the women and one of them, Vassili Petukhoff, promised to do so if I would remain a few days longer. I trust I may prevail upon the other also.

August 10th—In response to my fervent prayer last night the two Russians Vassili Petukhoff and Ivan Koshkin, came to me this morning and expressed their willingness to marry the women. When I told them that the women must, of course, first be baptized, they seemed somewhat perplexed, (p. 38) and walked away, but in a short time they returned with the women and declared that both were willing to become Christians. I was somewhat reluctant to baptize them without previous

teaching, but the men assured me that they would teach them all that is necessary afterward and in view of the fact that my stay must necessarily be very short I yielded to their entreaties at last. About noon I held services with very good attendance and then proceeded to the creek and there with due solemnity and ceremonial received the two women into the Orthodox Church under the names of Maria and Martha. The marriage ceremony followed immediately after, the whole population watching proceedings with great interest. My heart is full of joy in the remembrance of this day's work. Martha Koshkin is within a few days of being confined. That babe will bless me in after years for having made its birth legitimate.

August 11th—Two bidarkas arrived to-day from the trading station in the Kaknu [Kenai] river and the men have promised to take me and my belongings up there to-morrow. My heart grows lighter as the obstacles clear away between me and the new field of labor [p. 39] laid out for me by the Holy Synod.

August 12th—Redoubt St. Nicholas. -At the last moment the men who had promised to take me to this place changed their mind and for some reason unknown to me refused to give me a passage. When Petukhoff, whom I married yesterday, saw how vexed and anxious I was he told me I might easily walk the distance and offered to furnish me three boys to carry my baggage. I was very glad to get on in any shape. After making convenient packs of my chattels, consisting chiefly of vestments, altar furniture, tapers, incense and a few images, we set out through the woods over a very rough trail. We passed two villages and waded three large streams, but with the help of God we kept our precious load dry and free from damage. At last we reached the Kaknu river and were taken across in a boat from the opposite shore, thankful for having accomplished another journey safely.

August 13th—This station, like that of St. George, has been built upon a high bluff. I thought it strange that the traders should have selected the most bleak and exposed localities in the neighborhood until I was informed that in the early [p. 40] part of the summer, the mosquitos [sic] and poisonous flies are such a plague that it is almost impossible to live anywhere but at points where the wind has full play and drives the pests away. This, however, can scarcely be considered a good reason. The winter lasts longer than the summer and it would be more convenient to occupy temporary quarters during a few months and live in a sheltered place in winter. This is quite a large establishment, consisting of some six or seven log houses and substantial stockade. Stepan Laduiguin is the trader for the Lebideff-Lastohkin Company and he has with him four other Russians and nearly one hundred Kamaitze who are all Christians. Ignatiy Terentieff, one of the Russians reads prayers on the Sabbath, but no priest has visited the place for the last four years [In Margin: The priests came in 1794]. (3) I have sent messengers out to all Christian natives in the neighborhood announcing that I shall baptize children and marry couples for a week from to-day and perhaps longer.

August 14th—The country about here is level and it is only a short distance to the forest. Food seems abundant—deer from the hills and fish from the river—the largest [p. 41] salmon I ever saw. The soil does not look bad and as the summers are warm it is safe to predict that one day the golden crosses of churches will glisten in the air and bells will call the people from many thriving villages to the house of the Lord. I trust the Ilyamna country may be somewhat like this.

August 15th—This being the day of St. Lazarus I read the prayers and legend pertaining to the occasion in the storehouse of the traders before a large and attentive congregation. Mr. Laduiguin is a man of some education and takes great interest in religious matters. He is actively engaged in bringing forward couples who have been living as man and wife without the blessing of the Church because no priest was within reach. I have married two couples to-day—one of them had already three children born to them. Under the circumstances these little ones must now all be considered legitimate and no doubt they will be recognized as such by the Holy Synod if the matter is properly explained.

August 16th—Shortly after midnight we were all aroused by heavy shocks of earthquake. We all knelt down in prayer and the [p. 42] danger passed by. Nearly opposite this place, on the other side of the Gulf of Kenai, there is a burning mountain which from time to time emits fire and smoke. I am told that my destination is near that mountain. That is another danger added to the many which threaten the Missionary who carries the Gospel to this wilderness. I must not forget that the holy men who have gone before us have suffered tenfold my hardship and abuse. I read the Saturday evening prayers and several mothers called to announce that they wished their children to be baptized to-morrow.

August 17th—This has been a blessed day, the most satisfactory in every respect I have passed since I left Kamchatka. A small bell taken from some ship had been fixed over the door of the storehouse, which had been cleared for services, and as soon as the bell was set in motion the people began to crowd in, early as it was. When mass had been celebrated with as much solemnity as possible, eleven men and women presented themselves for baptism, besides eight infants. The trader and a few other Russians stood as Godfathers to the converts and all except the babes were presented with [p. 43] some articles from the store. If the Holy Synod or the Government would only provide the Missionaries with a supply of good to make presents from to converts or heathens in distress. It is to be deplored that the natives now see us dependent upon the various traders for our subsistence and frequently even for articles needed for Church purposes. Later in the evening, while I was resting from the arduous but pleasant labors of the day, I was aroused by a violent shaking of the earth; and at the same time a noise like heavy thunder came from the burning mountain on the other side of the Gulf. The natives came hurrying from their houses, quite frightened and I began to pray, when Peter Kozloff, one of the Russians

at the station got up and told the natives that their old idols were angry at seeing them so eager to be baptized. Stepan Laduigin at once gave orders to seize the man and then had him flogged severely. It was a sad ending of such a day, but such an offense could not well be overlooked.

August 18th—This morning two shocks of earthquake again alarmed the natives, but after some patient admonition I succeeded in quieting their fears. A heavy black cloud [p. 44] hangs over the burning mountain. I hope it may not be an evil omen of my fate in the country where I am going. I must pray earnestly for faith to overcome such superstitious fears. Mr. Laduigin gives me hope that an expedition will be sent at the end of the week which I may join in order to reach my destination.

August 19th—After our noonday meal to-day an altercation arose between two natives and one of them drew his knife to stab the other. Laduigin and some of his men interfered and half an hour later both the offenders were very severely flogged. As far as I can judge the effect of flogging upon the Kenaitze natives is not beneficial. It only creates a feeling of stubborn resentment. For many days we have had nothing but salmon to eat, the hunters not meeting with any success. A sufficient quantity of fish is boiled every morning and everybody takes as much as he likes. A very careless way of providing for the people, but the abundance of fish in the river is so great that it would be impossible to exhaust the supply.

August 20th—The laborers at the station are repairing several bidarkas for our proposed expedition. The only article of merchandise [p. 45] which Mr. Laduigin intends to send to the Ilyamna country, is glass and coral beads, because they bring a high price and take up but little room, but for the improvement of the pagans I should like to see goods of Russian manufacture introduced by our traders. Since the flogging yesterday only a few natives have been visible around the redoute [sic] and not a single skin has been offered at the store.

August 21st—During the morning hours I had a long conversation with the trader Laduigin concerning his way of treating the native Kenaitze and other men under his command. I spoke long and earnestly, but I fear I made but little impression. He maintains that whipping is the only thing which will keep savages in subjection and that the few Russians he has with him are but little better than savages. When I declared my desire to see the products of civilization introduced among the natives instead of useless beads for barbarous ornament, he said that as long as it was impossible to keep up a constant supply of such goods it would be far better not to introduce them at all. He also said that the navigation to this country is so difficult and uncertain [p. 46] that regular shipments of merchandize were altogether out of the question.

August 22d—Everything is ready for an early start to-morrow. In the morning I looked over all the Church property in my possession and found that I could spare a prayer-book, an evangel, a picture of St. Hieronymus and several pounds of tapers for the use of the Christians at this station. My sacred vestments were very much out of repair, but with the help of some baptized native women, all the rents have been closed and except a general air of shabbiness they are once more as good as new. May God grant us good weather and a safe journey to-morrow!

August 23d—Two of the natives engaged to accompany me on my journey have disappeared and our departure had to be postponed. There seems to be a general disinclination on the part of the Kenaitze natives to cross over to the Ilyamna side of the Gulf. I hope it is not on account of the savage nature of the people over there. The natives themselves will not give any reason, but only say that they do not like to go so far away from home. At last our hunters have brought in a small deer [p. 47] and through the kindness of Mr. Laduiguin I was presented with a nice, fat piece. The meat afforded me far greater pleasure than mere carnal gratification should have done.

August 24th—Another Sunday has come around and I am still at the same place, awaiting an opportunity to proceed. I held services in the forenoon before a very small audience. What has become of all the religious ardor displayed here on my arrival I do not know, but the falling off is sad to contemplate. After services I made an earnest appeal to the natives for two men to assist me across the water. I told them that I must go to the Ilyamna country to preach the new word to the people who had never yet heard of it. One of the old men got up and said that the Kenaitze people had been good friends of the Russians for many years and that they had a better right to have a priest among them than the Ilyamna people who were very bad. I was at a loss for an answer to this, but I replied that I had no choice and must go where I am sent. Two men from Chkituck village have promised to go with me to-morrow. [p. 48]

August 25th—On Kalgin Island in the Gulf of Kenai—This morning our expedition set out at last. I held a brief service and blessed all the people at the station and [took](4) a friendly leave of Mr. Laduiguin, who has been very kind to me. At the last moment he handed me a package containing two shirts—articles of which I stood very much in need. Quite a high sea was running during our passage to this island, but our bidarkas seemed to dance over the waves and I felt perfectly easy and thankful to the Lord that I was permitted to proceed on my way at last. A beluga was killed just before our landing here and we have had quite a feast of very good meat.

August 26th—We are still on Kalgin Island. My companions are all engaged in killing seals and stretching their skins. The seals are plentiful here and the men crawl right among them on all fours and break their heads with clubs. Nobody will hear of proceeding any further as long as the seals are so easily killed and there is nothing left for me to do but to curb my impatience. The Lord will take me to my work in His own time.

Seal meat [p. 49] when cut off the yet warm body of the animal is palatable even raw. Wood is very scarce on this island, I have walked along the beach for nearly six hours and only gathered a small armful.

August 27th—To-day my companions were willing enough to proceed, but a furious northeaster is blowing and the island is encircled in a wide band of surf. It is impossible to launch our bidarkas. This is the day of St. Andreas and I read the appropriate prayers and passed the remainder of the day in silent contemplation. The seals have all deserted the beach.

August 28th—This morning the waters subsided and we started on our journey in good spirits, but when we had been paddling an hour, a terrible storm came up and as the Ilyamna shore is very steep we were compelled to return to this island and await the end of the gale which is still raging as I write. God has power over all the elements and He will smooth my way before me.

August 29th—At the mouth of Staffeleff Creek (5)—The sea was smooth as glass this morning and in four hours we made the journey across to the main land. [p. 50] At last I am in the land of my destination though, yet some distance from the native villages on the Lake of Ilyamna. This being the day devoted to the memory of St. Sebastian I held services on the beach. The congregation was small—only my traveling companions—but it was a solemn occasion, the first celebration of sacred rites on pagan shores. My prayer was long and earnest and I trust it was grateful to the Lord on High. All the ties which bound me to my country-men and fellow-laborers in the field of God are now severed for a time and I am devoted (body and soul) to the cause of preaching the Word to these benighted pagans. I have not seen anything of the people yet, but my companions assure me that they are close by and will surely visit us in the morning.

August 30th—This morning two natives came out of the forest and shouted to my companions. Two of the latter went out to meet the natives. There was a great deal of talking before the strangers concluded to come to our tents. When they came at last and I was pointed out to them as the man who was to live among them, they wished to see my "goods." I had some difficulty in making them understand [p. 51] that I am not here to trade and barter and have nothing for sale. Finally, when they were told that I had come to make better men of them, one of them, named Kat-le-wah, the brother of a chief, said he was glad of that, as they had many bad men among the Ilyamna people, especially his brother. The two natives have agreed to carry my chattels for me to their village, but to satisfy Kat-le-wah I was compelled to open every bundle and show him the contents. I did not like the greedy glitter in his eyes when he saw and felt of my vestments. Early in the morning I must take leave of my companions from the other side of the Gulf and trust in the good faith of strange savages. May God protect me.

Aug. 31st—In the forest—As this is Sunday I held a brief service before setting out on our long journey which so far has led us over a tortuous and difficult foot-path through the forest and along the mountain side. I am much fatigued, but Kat-le-wah, who speaks a few words

of Russian tells me that to-morrow we shall reach the lake where we shall find bidarkas left behind by my [p. 52] two companions. They tell me that Kat-le-wah's brother has a boy who has been a hostage with our traders for many years and speaks our language well, and I am anxious to secure him as interpreter in my work. Without such assistance my progress can be but slow. The natives killed a fine deer to-day and we have had an abundance of food.

September 1st—On the shore of Lake Ilyamna—We had another tedious tramp to-day; my feet are sore and bleeding. The only pair of boots is in such a condition that I can scarcely keep them on my feet. It is difficult to understand what Kat-le-wah means, but I think we shall have two days' journey on the lake. The supply of deer meat obtained yesterday is not yet exhausted and as the natives have speared some large salmon trout in the lake we need feel no apprehension on the score of provisions.

September 2d—This is the day of St. Zenobia and I performed the service appropriate to the occasion, the natives looking on in silent wonder and apparent misgiving. They have not addressed a [p. 53] word to me during the whole day, but paddled along silently as if I was not with them at all. It was nearly dark when we stopped at this camping place where a rude shelter of logs and boughs has been erected by former travelers. Surely a people who erect shelter for the comfort of wayfarers must be of a kindly disposition, I have not seen as much in all my travels throughout this vast region.

September 3rd—At last we have arrived at the village of Ilyamna where I must reside for the present. The place is said to have a larger population than any other in the lake country and consequently it offers the best field for my missionary labors. By some means unknown to me the news of my coming had reached here before me and I was received on the beach by Shak-mut, Kat-le-wah's brother and a large crowd of followers. Shak-mut is a man about sixty years of age, with an evil cast of countenance. The boy of which Kat-le-wah had spoken was with him and he interpreted between us. The Chief said that he was glad to see me and that I could live [p. 54] in his own house or his men could build me one for my own use. I asked for a separate house and offered to assist in its construction, but the Chief would not hear of that and asked me to stay at his house in the meantime. The boy, who has been named Nikita by the traders, is very intelligent and makes a better interpreter than I have found with any other tribe. I asked Shak-mut to let the boy live with him (6) and he gave his consent, though apparently somewhat reluctantly. After partaking of a hearty meal I read prayers in the Chief's house which is quite crowded with men, women and children and though not one of them could understand a word they all paid great attention and never interrupted me by word or gesture. I hope that this does not betoken indifference, but is an indication of real interest in the subject of religion.

September 4th—Under the direction of Shak-mut several men have begun to build my house. With the help of Nikita I conversed with several old men and two women and I believe that with the help of God I have succeeded

in [p. 55] awakening a desire to hear more of the Almighty, the Holy Trinity and the Holy Orthodox Faith. From what I have seen I should judge that this village contains from 600 to 800 inhabitants and I am told that several parties are out in the mountains, hunting and trapping.

September 5th—On questioning Nikita to-day I discovered that he had never been baptized, though living with Christians for years. He said no priest had ever come to the place where he had been kept as hostage. I have spoken to him earnestly and I think he will consent to be baptized next Sunday. To witness such a ceremony may have a good influence on the people of the village. My house is progressing rapidly and such as it is it will be ready for occupancy in a day or two. It will be a great relief to get away from the crowded dwelling of the Chief where persons of all ages and sexes mingle without any regard to decency or morals. To my utter astonishment Shakmut asked me last night to share the couch of one of his wives—he has three or four. I suppose [p. 56] such abomination is the custom of the country and he intended no insult. God gave me grace to overcome my indignation and refuse the offer firmly but in a friendly manner. My first duty when I have once acquired the language, shall be to preach against such wicked practices, but I could not touch such a subject through a boy interpreter.

September 6th—This is the day of St. Vladimir and I read the appropriate prayers in the morning. This time nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention to me. Chatting and laughing and all kinds of labor went on without the slightest interruption. Nikita told them that I was speaking to God in their behalf, but nobody seemed to heed what he said. This evening I moved my few chattels into the new house and established myself there with Nikita. The boy has consented to be baptized to-morrow and after that I shall train him to assist me during services. The few sacred images in my possession and an engraving of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Alexander Pavlovitch are hanging on the walls [p. 57] of my dwelling and I have begun to construct a rude altar for to-morrow's ceremony.

September 7th—This has been a day of great gratification to me and an omen of future success in my labors. The ceremony of baptizing Nikita to which I lent as much solemnity as possible under the circumstances, was attended by nearly the whole population. Some children laughed during the immersion, but the noise was very promptly checked by the parents. In the afternoon several men came to make inquiries as to the effect the ceremony would have on the boy. One man even asked whether Nikita would live many days. Though I could not express much through the medium at my disposal I think I succeeded in convincing my visitors that nothing but good could come of baptism. I have received presents of venison and fish from half the natives of the village and my store room is full of palatable provisions. The Ilyamna people have adopted a better mode of living than the inhabitants of the Coast. No rancid blubber or seal [p. 58] meat is consumed by them. I have not seen any oil used, except for the oiling of bidarkas and the article

seems to be quite scarce.

September 8th—My dwelling is completed now. It is a very rude structure, but seems to be quite warm and comfortable. The forest is so near at hand that I shall not lay in a supply of wood for the winter, but depend upon what fuel I can obtain from time to time. I shall have all the more time to devote to my sacred work. The weather is getting to be quite cold. This morning ice had formed all along the shore and it remained till nearly ten o'clock, when it melted under the rays of the sun.

September 9th—Ice formed again this morning on the lake and as the day was cloudy it has not disappeared at all. Nikita tells me that severe frost is earnestly wished for by the natives, because as soon as the lake is frozen over they can go to the opposite shore to hunt, where deer is said to be still very abundant. For the present it seems fish is the only article of food [p. 59] obtainable. The storehouses of the natives are full of "youkaka" or dried fish of all descriptions.

September 10th—This being the day of St. Oleg I read prayers in the morning, assisted for the first time by Nikita who acquitted himself much better than I had any reason to expect. While I was sitting at my noon day meal a young woman came in told [sic] Nikita that she wished to speak to me. I let her understand that I was ready to listen and she began by asking whether she could go through the same rites she had seen performed on Sunday and what effect it would have on her. I answered her in the affirmative and explained to her that baptism would make her a better woman of her [sic]. She maintained that she had never been bad and then asked whether after baptism she could live in my house the same as Nikita does. To this question, which was apparently quite innocently put, I was, of course, obliged to give a prompt and decisive answer in the negative which seemed to astonish the girl very much. After musing for [p. 60] some time she declared that she should like to be baptized anyhow, whether she could live with me or not. To this I gladly consented and shall begin her instruction at once.

September 11th—Though the people of this village do not show the slightest interest in religious matters they treat me kindly and with respect; my provision store is always kept full with gifts of venison and fish, the former coming from the other side of the lake. Of the great volcano of which I heard so much on the other side of the Gulf of Kenai I have had only a passing glance. It must be a long distance from my present abode. I saw large quantities of sulphur in some of the natives' houses which they say comes from caves in the Ilyamna mountain. This sulphur is intended for medicinal purposes. Shak-mut, the Chief, visited me this evening and inquired through Nikita whether he could do anything more for me and I replied that he would make me very happy by becoming a Christian and setting

a good example to his people. He seemed astonished at the idea, but promised to think the matter over and [p. 61] let me know his decision. The early conversion of the Chief would, indeed, be a great step gained in the execution of my difficult undertaking. May God soften the Chief's heart and cause him to accept the offer of redemption and eternal happiness.

September 12th—The weather is very cold and the lake is nearly covered with thin ice. An old woman brought me two boys to-day, saying that they were orphans who had nobody to care for them and that she would like to have them baptized in order to "change their luck." It would have been useless to argue with her concerning her absurd idea, but I accepted the boys in order to impress upon the minds of the people that I have come to do good and that good will come of their acceptance of the orthodox faith. The Chief has not yet shown himself again. God grant that he is seriously meditating upon my request.

September 13th—Three visitors arrived at the village to-day who are said to come from the shore of the Eastern Ocean on the other side of the Peninsula. They lived on the banks of a river called the [p. 62] Kush-ko-quim which is said to abound in fish. When they saw me one of them made the sign of the cross and laughed—a sign that they must have come in contact with Russians, but they do not know a single word of our language. Nikita tells me that the Kush ko quim people are very numerous—ever so many thousands he calls it—but that may be a boyish exaggeration. Should this be the truth, however, the Holy Synod should loose [sic] no time in sending laborers to such a rich field. These natives appear to be of a race entirely different from either Aleut or Kenaitze.

September 14th—The services this morning were very well attended. I undertook to preach a short sermon through Nikita's interpretation, urging the people to acknowledge the Almighty God and the Holy Trinity and reap the benefits promised to all Christians. I cannot venture to say much more until I have acquired the language which seems much easier to me than that of the Koniagi. In the afternoon I baptized the two small boys entrusted to my care and as it is the festival of S't. [sic] Peter and Paul I [p. 63] bestowed these two names upon them. The water is very cold, but the two little fellows did not seem to mind it at all. I have cause to be truly grateful; in two weeks I have already succeeded in adding three souls to the fold of the Orthodox Church in this country. Of Shakmut's ultimate conversion I have great hopes, also, and his example will surely be followed by many of his people.

September 15th—The men from Kush-ko-quim have departed. Before they left they asked me, through Nikita, to pay their people a visit in the summer when the trails are in good condition. I promised to comply with their request and will surely do it if God grants me life and health. Shak-mut has gone away on a visit to his old mother who lives in a distant village but he will speak to me concerning my request when

he comes back. As the cold increases the deer grows [sic] less shy and almost walk into the village. I saw one feeding this morning on the thatched [?] roof of a storehouse close to the edge of the forest. [p.64]

September 16th—This is the day of St. Juvenal, my patron-saint to whom I have so much cause to be grateful. To-day again I have been blessed—no doubt through his intercession before the Throne. Shak-mut came to my house and declared his intention to accept Christianity and be baptized as soon as I choose to perform the ceremony. The three boys, also, are a source of pleasure to me; they are willing and eager to learn and with their aid I am making rapid progress in acquiring their language. I have promised Shak-mut to baptize him next Sunday and asked him to come every day to receive instructions.

September 17th—Kat-le-wah, the Chief's brother called upon me to-day and said that he was glad that Shak-mut was to be baptized, for he was very bad, and if I made him good he and all the Ilyamma people would be baptized also. I do not like this way of testing the efficacy of Christianity; only a miracle of God could effect such a sudden change in Shak-mut's heart.

September 18th—The people here do not [p. 65] seem to understand at all why I do not take a wife. The custom here is for a man to take a wife as soon as he has a house and frequently the sons take wives into their fathers [sic] house until it becomes too crowded. But for a man to live without a woman and to cook his own food is something unheard of. If they were satisfied with wondering I would not mind it, but their manners are so rude that young women come to me to offer themselves to me as wives or companions. Modesty and morality can never have been known among these people.

September 19th—Shak-mut comes regularly for his instruction. He seems attentive and willing, but I have my doubts of his sincerity. Were it not for the sake of example I would not be very eager to call him into the Church. In order to give more solemnity to the ceremony the Chief has concluded to have two of his servants baptized also. They only come at his command, of course, but I must bear with a great deal until this conversion has become an accomplished [p. 66] fact.

September 20th—The Chief has sent out hunters to secure game and wild fowl for a grand feast to-morrow and his house is receiving a general cleaning up. An old man died to-day in the village. His death was long expected and for days past his sons have been shouting and dancing around the house as they say "to keep away evil spirits" whom they suppose to be waiting to carry off the old man's soul. At the last moment they sent for me, but I could only say a short prayer over the dead body.

September 21st.—The great step, which is to lay the foundation of future success in my labors, has been taken. The Chief of the Ilyamna people has been baptized with two servants and one of his wives. The latter came forward at the last moment and I dared not refuse her for fear of stopping the whole ceremony. Every man, woman and child in the whole village was present and at the close of services there was great feasting and rejoicing throughout the village. [p. 67] Shakmut was gorgeously arrayed in deerskin robes nearly covered with beads and embroidery. Kat-le-wah asked me afterward whether [he] would be allowed to wear those robes as a Russian, which is synonymous with them with Christians. When I replied in the affirmative the fellow seemed disappointed. I do not like either of the brothers; it is difficult to say whether the new Christian or the pagan is the worst. I gave the name of Alexander to the Chief, telling him that it was the name of His Majesty the Emperor. He seemed to be flattered at this.

September 22d.—This morning the Chief and his brother had a quarrel and Kat-le-wah has gone away. Nikita tells me this happens quite often and that Kat-le-wah wants to be Chief in his brother's place. The cold is getting very intense and I devote several hours every day to felling trees and carrying fuel from the forest to my house. Two men applied to me to-day with the request to be made Christians; they promised to make their wives and children come also. This [p. 68] makes me hope that the example of Alexander will bear good fruit and in course of time he may be deposed and a better Chief put in his place.

September 23d.—I concluded not to wait for Sunday but baptize the new applicants at once. Accordingly the ceremony was performed this morning and I received into the bosom of the Orthodox Church Ivan and Vassili and their wives Marya and Traskovia. The children must wait until Sunday. Alexander told me to-day that he will send his wives—he has four—to be baptized. I must try to persuade him to postpone the ceremony until I have established my influence with the people on a firmer basis. When his wives become Christian women I cannot allow him to retain more than one and I could scarcely venture upon such an important step now.

September 24th.—The weather has changed very suddenly and it is now quite warm. The deer has [sic] disappeared from the neighborhood and there is not a pound of meat to be found in the [p. 69] village. Fish is plenty in the lake, but the quality is not good just now. The Chief still insists on having his wives baptized immediately and I am at a loss for an excuse for delay. The boy Nikita tells me to-day that he met Kat-le-wah in the woods and that he will be back by Sunday, when he will also accept Christianity.

September 25th—With a trembling hand I write the sad occurrences of the past day and night. Much rather I would leave the disgraceful story untold but I must overcome my own shame and mortification and write it down as a warning to other Missionaries who may come after me. Last night I retired at my usual hour after prayers with the boys who sleep in another room. In the middle of the night I awoke and found myself in the arms of a woman whose fiery embraces excited me to such an extent that I fell a victim to lust and a grievous sin was committed before I could extricate myself. As soon as I regained my senses I drove the woman out, but I felt too guilty [p. 70] to be very harsh with her. What a terrible blow this is to all my recent hopes! How can I hold up my head among the people who, of course, will hear of the affair. I am not sure, even, that the boys in the adjoining room were not awakened. God is my witness that I have set down the truth here, in the face of anything that may be said about it hereafter. I have kept myself secluded to-day from everybody—I have not yet the strength to face the world though it would be far better.

September 26th—Kat-le-wah has returned already and informed me that he is ready for baptism by Sunday. I can tell by his manner that he knows of my disgrace though he did not say anything. When I walked to the forest to-day to cut some wood I heard two girls laughing at me behind my back, and in the morning, when I was making a wooden bolt for the door of my sleeping room, a woman looked in and laughed right into my face. She may be the one who caused my fall, for it was dark and [p. 71] I never saw her face. Alexander visited me also and insisted upon having his wives baptized next Sunday. I had no spirit left to contest the matter with him and consented, but I shall not shrink from my duty to make him relinquish all but one wife when the proper time arrives. If I wink at polygamy once I would be forever unable to combat it. Perhaps it is only imagination but I think I can discover a want of respect in Nikita's behavior towards me since yesterday.

September 27th—My disgrace has become public already and I am laughed at wherever I go, especially by the women. Of course, they do not understand the sin, but rather look upon it as a good joke. It will require great firmness on my part to regain what respect I have lost for myself as well as in behalf of the Church. I have vowed to burn no fuel in my bedroom during the whole winter in order to chastise my body—a mild punishment, indeed, compared with the blackness of my sin. [p. 72]

September 28th—The second eventful day of my mission to Ilyamna has gone by. With a heavy heart, but a firm purpose I baptized Kat-le-wah and his family; the four (7) wives of the Chief; seven children and one quite aged couple. Under any other circumstances such a rich harvest would have filled me with joy, but I am filled with gloom. Of all my converts so far I have no faith in a single one except Nikita who really seems to be sincere. In the evening I called upon

the Chief who was carousing with his wives and right there I told him through Nikita that he must put away three of the women and be married according to the rites of the Orthodox Church to the fourth or be forever damned. He got very angry and finally told me to leave the house. On my way home I met Kat-le-wah, who is now named Gregor, who upbraided me and said that I had lied to them all, for his brother was just as bad as ever and no good had come of any of the baptisms. I [p. 73] felt too indignant to reply and returned in silence to commune with my God in the solitude of my room. Everything seems darkness before me, but the Almighty can cause the light to shine at His pleasure.

September 29th—The Chief and his brother have both been here this morning and abused me shamefully. Their language I could not understand, but they spat in my face, and what was worse, upon the sacred images on the walls. Kat-le-wah seized my vestments and carried them off and I was left bleeding from a blow struck with a bone (8) club by the Chief. Nikita has bandaged and washed my wound, but from his anxious manner I can see that I am still in danger. The other boys have run away. My wound pains me so that I can scarcely—

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Note by Rev. I. Shashnikoff, Ounalashka:

This manuscript was saved by the boy Nikita and subsequently delivered to Father Innokentius Venia- [p. 74] minoff who subsequently transmitted it to me. Father Juvenal was stabbed to death on the same night during which the last lines of his journal were written.

Innokentius Shashnikoff.

Priest at Ounalashka.

ENDNOTES

- (1) The manuscript here reads "Andreian and Nastassia" or "Andreian and Anastassia," which has been crossed out in a purple ink and the name "Ekaterina" written in.
- (2) Petrov has deviated from the normal spelling of "redoubt" throughout the original translation. His spelling has been retained in its two variant transcriptions of "redout" and "redoute." Hereafter, his unusual spelling will not be endnoted or questioned by a sic.
- (3) The original text has "for the last four years." This has been crossed out in a purple ink and "since the Archimandrite's arbitration" inserted. According to Tikhmenev (1861, p. 50; 1940, pp. 67-68), the Archimandrite Ioassaf visited the Kenai Peninsula and Yakutat in 1795 and attempted to arbitrate a dispute between the rival fur companies. The date 1794 given in the margin by the translator refers to the arrival of the missionaries on Kodiak Island.
- (4) The manuscript here reads "after taken," and has been corrected by the editor.
- (5) The location of this creek is not known with certainty. It may be located either in Chinitna Bay or in Iliamna (Ilyamna) Bay.
- (6) The original has "him," which has been crossed out in a purple ink and "me" inserted.
- (7) The manuscript here has "four." This has been changed in purple ink to "three."
- (8) The word "ivory" is here written in purple ink above "bone."

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