

Konstantin Howard
 Ekaterina Pravilova
 HIS 360
 14 December 2021

Alaska: Russian vs American Colonial Rule according to Agapius Honcharenko

On October 8th, 1867, cannon fire thundered across Sitka sound. There was no battle, only the solemn lowering of the Romanov double-headed eagle for the last time in a wild Alaskan wind that presaged an approaching hurricane, and a new political situation for the territory.¹ Today Alaska is known as America's largest and second-most recent addition to the Union. But long before, the territory was the site of the Russian Empire's only colonial project. While never a settler colony, Russian contact with and exploitation of the territory and its native inhabitants had a major influence on its development and left a mark well after 1867. In that year, much to the surprise of every party involved, authority was ceded to the United States and the territory went from autocratic to republican rule, from the hands of the Russian-American Company to a United States military administration. What changed on the ground and in the lives of Alaska's inhabitants as a result of this transfer? Were they rescued from the despotism of the Russian tsar by freedom-loving Americans? In truth, the story is more complicated. There to witness, record, and voice his critical opinion on it all was Agapius Honcharenko (a fascinating figure in his own right). A staunch Ukrainian nationalist, abolitionist, republican, Orthodox monk, and exile from Russia, Honcharenko used his bilingual publication, *Alaska Herald* (later with the added title "Свобода"), to introduce Russian and American readers to each other's histories and values, report on news in the territory, and advocate for the oppressed peoples of both empires. At the intersection of East and West and having been ruled by two seemingly opposite empires, Alaska is a unique territory in the world for the comparative study of Russian

¹ "Alaska: We Take Possession," *Louisville Daily Courier*, 1867.

and American imperialism in the 19th century. Examining the records of Alaska Herald during the liminal period of 1868 reveals that the purchase of Alaska cannot be considered a liberation by the United States. The American administration continued to abuse Alaskan land and people, American monopolies replaced the Russian, and the new state of affairs was in many ways far worse than before.

To begin, this paper will provide a brief background on Alaska's initial colonization by Russia and the circumstances of its purchase by the United States. Next, it will explore the storied life of Honcharenko as he fled Russian authorities across Europe and how he ended up in the United States at the time of the purchase. Then, it will introduce and analyze Alaska Herald's criticism of Russia and its administration of Alaska, the hope for change after the purchase, and the criticism of America and its administration.

The story of Alaska's colonization is a gradual tale, reaching back into the 18th century and the reformational reign of Peter the Great. Although Russia had laid claim to Siberia and its Pacific Coast centuries before, it was Peter who built a modern Russian navy and initiated exploratory naval expeditions, a practice continued by his successor and niece, Tsarina Anna. It was under her rule that the Dutch explorer Vitus Bering discovered the eponymous strait separating Asia and America, and, on another voyage in 1733 that ended with his death, several islands of the Aleutian island chain.² Imperial claim to the new land proceeded from their "discovery" but settlement remained nonexistent for decades after.³ Rather, Russian contact was limited to fur-hunting expeditions by various small companies, consisting primarily of ethnically Siberian peoples.⁴ Overtime, these expeditions began to contract/coerce native Aleuts into their

² "Alaska's Story," San Francisco Chronicle, 1889.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ilya Vinkovetsky, *Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire, 1804-1867* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 29.

employ, as they were far superior hunters of sea otters and the like.⁵ These expeditions also worked their way up the Aleutian island chain to the mainland, chasing the rapidly dwindling sea otter population.⁶ Settlement finally occurred at the end of the 18th century when the most well-financed fur company – that is, the one with government financing – established a trading outpost on the major island of Kodiak in 1783.⁷ This company, under the masterful leadership of Aleksandr Baranov, was consolidated into the Russian American Company (RAC) in 1799, and given a legal monopoly over the territory.⁸ It is notable that while private enterprises were nothing new in the history of Russia’s imperial expansion, the level of state involvement was unprecedented. Specifically, the chartering of the RAC had no basis in Russian history and was a clear imitation of the British East India Company and other European joint-stock colonial ventures.⁹ Under the RAC, settlement and economic development increased and was accompanied by missionary activity on the part of the Russian Orthodox church.¹⁰ However, it resisted the signs of settlement and incorporation into the imperial bureaucracy that would have made it a part of Russia proper and not just a colony. The population, for example, was shockingly low up until the purchase and never exceeded 800, four out of every five of whom were in the employ of the RAC.¹¹ Instead, the RAC recruited hunters from the native tribes and administrators from the ever growing “Creole” population, the Spanish term being adopted into

⁵ Vinkovetsky, *Russian America*, 32.

⁶ Ibid, 32.

⁷ Ibid, 33.

⁸ Ibid, 34.

⁹ Ibid, 8.

¹⁰ Ibid, 10.

It is this religious and cultural impact on the native tribes of Alaska, a fascinating subject worthy of its own research paper, that is the most profound legacy of Russian colonization in the state today. Under the conditions of the purchase, the church was allowed to stay in Alaska and remains there to this day.

¹¹ Hensley, William. “There Are Two Versions of the Story of How the U.S. Purchased Alaska from Russia.” *Smithsonian Magazine*. and Ibid, 75.

Russian for Russian America alone and never used elsewhere in the empire.¹² Additionally, administration was left to the RAC, which was granted more privileges and protections by the crown each time its charter was renewed.¹³ Another colonial term awkwardly entering the Russian lexicon was “pacification.”¹⁴ Relations with the native population, initially violent in the conquering and establishment of the main settlement of New Archangelsk, remained tenuous as the company desperately needed their labor. This they accomplished essentially by debt bondage and, despite improvements over the years in salaries, they faced criticism for their treatment up until the purchase.¹⁵

Having established the history of discovery and colonial rule, we will briefly consider the motivations and circumstances of the 1867 purchase. Perhaps because it was negotiated in secret and announced unexpectedly to both the American and Russian populaces, there has always been much speculation as to the reasons behind the purchase. In truth, they are not nearly as interesting as the rumors suppose. A combination of factors, none dominating, impelled the Russian government to rid itself of the territory and the American government to acquire it. Firstly, the RAC was never commercially successful to the extent that it did not rely on government support, mainly due to the colony’s remoteness from the centers of the Russian power and economy activity in Europe.¹⁶ Nevertheless, government finances were not so perilous, and the price initially requested not so high, that financial reasons alone drove the sale. Secondly, the proximity of Russian America to geopolitical rivals, specifically Britain in Canada, proved to be a strategic vulnerability that terrified the RAC and Russian navy during the

¹² Vinkovetsky, *Russian America*, 40-46.

¹³ “Alaska’s Story,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1889.

¹⁴ Vinkovetsky, *Russian America*, 73.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 66-67.

¹⁶ Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, *Russian-American Relations and the Sale of Alaska, 1834-1867* (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1996), 202.

Crimean War just a decade prior.¹⁷ Thirdly, with an expansionist United States making its way to and up the West Coast, territorial conflict seemed an eventual certainty.¹⁸ At the same time, relations with the United States were very strong, arguably the highest in the history of the two nations. This may seem curious to the modern reader, but proponents of abolition of each country's forced labor system, serfdom and slavery, viewed each other's struggles in solidarity.¹⁹ In fact, the Russian Empire was the only major power to explicitly support the Union during the Civil War and even sent her Baltic Fleet to winter in American harbors in 1863.²⁰ The sale of Russian America to the United States was then a preemptive surrender to her expansionist aims so as to avoid any future conflict with a friend. As for the United States, Secretary of State William Steward was more than happy to acquire the resource-rich new territory before the British did and Californian merchants lobbied for the purchase as well. Reactions to the sale were ambivalent in both countries. While there was initially opposition in Congress to ratifying the treaty and many critical editorials, these subsided and did not derail the process.²¹ In Russia, a nationalist attachment to the colony appeared even in the censored press and among some conservative officials, but political opposition was obviously nonexistent.²² And so, on that ominous fall day in 1867 before a hurricane, the stars and stripes sailed above New Archangelsk, now Sitka, for the first time, "the native Indians ... listening stolidly to the booming of the cannon and gazing with indifference upon the descending and ascending flags."²³

Let us now consider our primary source and the interesting life of its author, Agapius Honcharenko. Born in 1832 to a priest in a village outside Kiev, Honcharenko was raised with a

¹⁷ Bolkhovitinov, *Russian-American Relations*, 84.

¹⁸ Ibid, 202.

¹⁹ Ibid, 171.

²⁰ Ibid, 169.

²¹ Ibid, 227.

²² Ibid, 251-253.

²³ "Alaska's Story," San Francisco Chronicle, 1889.

Ukrainian national consciousness at a time when such a concept was both novel and illegal.²⁴ Like his father before him, he studied theology in Kiev and entered monastic service at Pechersk Lavra.²⁵ Yet, he harbored serious qualms over the bondage of serfs on church lands and general corruption in the church administration. In this way he was a curious amalgamation of Russian revolutionary movements: part Ukrainian nationalist, part *narodnik*, anti-socialist, and above all a devout Orthodox Christian. Honcharenko managed to escape Russia in 1857 by taking up a position at the Russian mission in Athens.²⁶ Once in Western Europe, he came into contact with Russians in exile, notably Alexander Herzen and Mikhail Bakunin, and even began contributing to the former's abolitionist publication "Kolokol."²⁷ Naturally, such activity attracted the notice of the tsarist authorities and Honcharenko was arrested in Greece but managed to escape his prison ship before it returned to Russia.²⁸ Pursued across the Mediterranean, he eventually fled Europe altogether, settling in New York as a priest in 1865.²⁹ The purchase of Alaska two years later inspired him to move across the country to San Francisco, where he spent the remainder of his life, so that he could assist in the transition of power and continue his revolutionary work.³⁰ In addition to other projects like establishing the first Orthodox church and in San Francisco and running a Pan-Slavic society, Honcharenko's primary work (not to mention a drain on his finances that kept him poor) was writing and publishing *Alaska Herald*.³¹ Though the paper ran only four years, it covers precisely that liminal period between empires. Honcharenko remained a curiosity in California and a staple of his community until his death in 1915, never again seeing

²⁴ Luciw, Vasyl and Theodore Luciw, *Ahapius Honcharenko and the Alaska Herald; The Editor's Life and an Analysis of His Newspaper* (Toronto: Slavia Library, 1963), 23.

²⁵ Ibid, 25.

²⁶ Ibid, 31.

²⁷ Ibid, 31-32.

²⁸ Ibid, 32.

²⁹ Ibid, 44.

³⁰ Ibid, 46.

³¹ Ibid, 46.

his native land of Ukraine.³² We can see throughout his life an unshakeable commitment to freedom and humanity guided by his faith.

Having discussed the man himself, let us turn to his paper. Recalling that newspapers and publications of the era were not strictly reporters of news, but rather mouthpieces for various parties or interests, what were Honcharenko's goals in writing *Alaska Herald*? He conveniently lays them out in the inaugural issue, namely, to acquaint "the inhabitants of Alaska with the change in their political condition ... Accustomed as they have been, to a species of tutelage at the hands of their rulers" as well as to "present the English reader with sketches of Russian life [and] history."³³ Thus, he had an explicitly didactic motive in his writing to introduce two disparate peoples to each other. The Russian portion of the first several issues consisted of a Russian translation of the American Constitution and the military orders of the new territory, per the stipulation of his government subsidy.³⁴ The English portion, for its part, contains a scathing history of "the despotic, all-devouring and absorbing creed which we call Czarism" and the typical Russian village, "a place inhabited almost entirely by drunken men and women, utterly ignorant, utterly brutalized and demoralized by despotic Government."³⁵ In the very first issue, Honcharenko does not shy away from polemic against the regime he fled. Likewise, he criticizes the "backward state of Alaska while a Russian colony" in the tenth issue, where the absolute power of the RAC meant "the monopolists make enormous fortunes, and the poor people who work for them suffer and are silent."³⁶ It is crucial that he identified the problem with Russian administration as monopolistic control of the territory, as this will be a frequent ground for

³² Luciŭ and Luciŭ, *Ahapius Honcharenko*, 47.

³³ Honcharenko, *Alaska Herald – Cвобода*, 1868, Vol I, No 1.

³⁴ *Ibid*, Vol I, No 1. and Luciŭ and Luciŭ, *Ahapius Honcharenko*, 54.

³⁵ *Ibid*, Vol I, No 1.

³⁶ *Ibid*, Vol I, No 10.

comparison to the American administration. However, he is not as critical of Russia's "beneficent acts ... and the humane administration" that provided "teachers, missionaries, artizans [sic] and workmen to minister to [the inhabitants'] wants and their necessities."³⁷ Such treatment was frequently commented on in the American press, such as in an 1872 article in the *Boston Daily Globe* that called Russian colonial society "strangely at variance with the American idea ... robbed of all independence and manhood."³⁸ Honcharenko does not dwell on the past state of affairs, though, and this paper has already established the exploitative practices of the RAC.

However, Honcharenko shared with the greater American press a profound hope for monumental change in Alaska. In an article titled "Hopes for the Future," he remarks on the liminality of the period, "the present presents a scene of unsettled confusion" as the territory passes "from the dominion of absolute power to the higher condition of a self-governing and self-sustaining community."³⁹ His hope for a better life for Alaskans derives from a deep belief in the humanity of all peoples, that even "monarchical principles are really strangers to the Russian character."⁴⁰ He hopes that American rule will reintroduce to Alaskans such principles as democracy, self-sufficiency, and free enterprise. Likewise, a letter to the editor from an unspecified "Max" makes a comparison between the relative development of Ohio (which joined the Union in 1803) and Alaska, settled as they were around the same time by each empire. Max boldly predicts that American rule "will do more for Sitka in one year, than the Russians have done in fifty years."⁴¹ The popular notion in America was that autocracy caused backwardness in

³⁷ Honcharenko, *Alaska Herald*, Vol 1, No 17.

³⁸ "Alaska. The Old and New Civilization," *Boston Daily Globe*, 1872.

³⁹ *Ibid*, Vol I, No 12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, Vol I, No 18.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, Vol I, No 3.

the territory, just as it did in Russia proper, that would quickly be wiped away by American democracy. The purchase of territory from an autocratic regime was nothing short of a liberation from despotic rule.

Were these lofty goals realized? Reading just the first volume of *Alaska Herald* from the year 1868, the failure of the American administration becomes painfully apparent. The criticism begins already in the eleventh issue from June, in which a correspondent J.B. reports that “the monopoly system, the curse of this country, instead of dying out, ... is more rampant than ever!”⁴² Small traders were prevented from entering Sitka by the exiting RAC. By August, Honcharenko runs an article “Deplorable Condition of Alaska,” that is “the condition ... thrust upon our Russian population in Alaska by the heartless cupidity of speculators ... a whole population is cast into the woods and extortion is used to reduce them to a state of slavery, more pitiless than that which existed at the South.”⁴³ The abuses of a new monopolistic trading company, Hutchinson & Co., and the corrupt facilitator of its takeover, the former Russian official Prince Maxutoff, became frequent targets of Honcharenko’s tirades in *Alaska Herald*. He pleaded with the military government on behalf of the Alaskans, but that administration itself is not without issues. In a November article titled “Military Rule,” reporting from the colony reveals that the officers are in league with Hutchinson & Co. in driving out competition and forcing native cooperation.⁴⁴ The distance and time required to learn of these abuses indicates *Alaska Herald* had not “published half the truth, nor shown half the infamy of the parties [it] endeavored to expose.”⁴⁵ Honcharenko even took issue with legal actions of the new administration that barred native Alaskans from naturalization while extending citizenship to

⁴² Honcharenko, *Alaska Herald*, Vol I, No 11.

⁴³ Ibid, Vol I, No 15.

⁴⁴ Ibid, Vol I, No 20.

⁴⁵ Ibid, Vol I, No 20.

Russian settlers. He makes such radical claims that they “are the legal owners of all the wealth of the country” and that “it is time to cease regarding negroes and Indians as animals.”⁴⁶ With such ideals, it is little wonder that the policies and actions of 19th century America did not satisfy Honcharenko. At the conclusion of the year, *Alaska Herald* ran a brief assessment “Epilogue on 1868,” an utter indictment of a sad year for humanity in Alaska (see Appendix B).⁴⁷ For his criticism, he lost the government contract that subsidized the distribution of the paper.⁴⁸ It is important to note here also that the reason for *Alaska Herald*’s publication in California rather than Alaska itself was due to censorship in the new military department of the territory.⁴⁹

The comparison of colonial administrations is not lost on Honcharenko, who exclaims that “the tyranny of an arbitrary government has been substituted by the tyranny of wealth.”⁵⁰ Russians in Alaska reported to him that “our forefathers were never subject to military rule, while we ... are more arbitrarily controlled than are the convicts and prisoners of Siberia.”⁵¹ Into 1869, Alaskan readers of the paper begged “to know how soon the liberty [*Alaska Herald* has] preached about for the last year, will be extended to Alaska. They state that they never suffered so much under the Russian government as they have endured from American officers under military rule.”⁵² In *Alaska Herald*’s final issue, having been discontinued in 1872 due to financial strain, Honcharenko is still railing against the monopoly and slave state that Alaska had become.⁵³

⁴⁶ Honcharenko, *Alaska Herald*, Vol I, No 22.

⁴⁷ Ibid, Vol I, No 24.

I elected to include this passage in the appendix as it is so forceful and passionate a reapproach of the American administration that it cannot be adequately represented by a shorter quotation.

⁴⁸ Luciw and Luciw, *Ahapius Honcharenko*, 58.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 45.

⁵⁰ Honcharenko, *Alaska Herald*, Vol I, No 15.

⁵¹ Ibid, Vol I, No 20.

⁵² Ibid, Vol I, No 27.

⁵³ Ibid, Vol IV, No 99.

This analysis of Alaska Herald yields unexpected conclusions. Even allowing for exaggeration in a time of weak journalistic standards, the condition of Alaska after the United States assumed control was absolutely deplorable. It is nothing shocking, of course, that American expansion oppressed and exploited native populations across the continent. Nor is it shocking that the Russian Empire, which has never pretended to be a beacon of human rights, acted similarly. These historical facts are independently well understood. Yet seeing these two imperial policies at work subsequently in the very same territory is what makes Alaska special. It offers a space for comparison between the two ideologically-opposed yet allied superpowers. It reshapes the way we think about the expansionist aims and colonial policies of each country, bringing them closer together than normally considered. It shows that a republican empire is no better than an autocratic one.

Appendix A

The first page of the inaugural issue of Alaska Herald. The image of English and Russian news side-by-side encapsulates the significance and peculiarity of the Alaska moment.

ESTABLISHED MARCH 1, 1868.

Alaska Herald.

*Justitia, consilium, concorsus, palma, recurvus.
Participans, mutus, non obsequens, non manifestans.*

VOL 1. SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH 1, 1868. No. 1.

THE ALASKA HERALD

Will be published semi-monthly, under the management of AGAPIUS HONCHARENKO.

SUBSCRIPTIONS and ADVERTISEMENTS
CAN BE LEFT AT THE
PRINTING OFFICE OF CUBERY & CO.,
590 MARKET STREET,
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Payable in United States Gold Coins, in advance.

1 Copy	30c.
3 Months.....	\$1 25
6 Months.....	2 50
1 Year.....	4 00

INTRODUCTORY.

In this First Number of our Paper we design to set forth, as briefly and clearly as possible, the aims and objects we propose to attain. These are, to furnish certain information to the Russians of this coast, and more especially of Alaska, concerning the laws, manners and customs of the Americans; to present the English reader with sketches of Russian life, biographical notices, and incidents taken from Russian history; and to furnish to business men a medium of communication with the thousands, who have just been brought under the American government in Alaska.

We believe that the newspaper is a necessity for acquainting the inhabitants of Alaska with the change in their political condition, operated by the transfer of sovereignty. Accustomed as they have been, to a species of tutelage at the hands of their rulers, they are yet well taught in their own language, and eager for knowledge; nor can it be doubted that, with such aid as a newspaper, specially prepared for their information, will give, they will soon be ready to claim, understandingly, their rights as citizens of this great Republic.

It must, of course, be expected that before many years the obvious advantages of the English language will have made themselves felt by these Russians, who will measurably abandon the use of their native tongue; but for the present they must be reached by means of the latter alone. When it is remembered, also, that with the spring there must begin a comparatively great commerce with the late Russian possessions, the present publication cannot but recommend itself as timely. Our relations with the coasts of Asiatic Russia are but just commenced, and must grow to be more and more important with every year; and for every purpose of amity and mutual advantage a paper in the Russian language, published at San Francisco, must be of the greatest utility. It shall be our constant effort, therefore, to add to the attractions of our paper, as its prosperity will permit.

Издатель Пресвитеръ Агапіи Гончаренко.

Я нахожу священнымъ начать мой Журналъ, переводомъ на родной языкъ Благодѣльныхъ Установленій сей страны.

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
КЪ РУССКИМЪ
ВЪ СОЕДИНЕННЫХЪ ШТАТАХЪ АМЕРИКИ.

Сія Конституція ясно и попятно изъяснить, какое имѣетъ право всякій Гражданинъ сей страны. Здѣсь каждый лично—есть независимый владѣлецъ, и самостоятельный управитель во всемъ насколько его человеческая натура способна къ этому; здѣсь вѣчны и неизмѣнныя уставы—Правосудіи, Истини и доброй Вѣры. Правственныя законы безиредѣльны, никакая власть не смѣетъ нарушить ихъ, и угнетенная невинность всегда будетъ оправдана.

Если мы не имѣемъ Конституціи и Союза, то что будетъ съ нами? Если мы даже разрушимъ одинъ уставъ, мы разбросаны въ щебень, и никто изъ насъ не имѣетъ права даже въ своей собственности! Нашъ Союзъ не временный случай, а Гражданская необходимость, мы не можемъ существовать безъ него. Все что свѣтло въ жизни нашей, будетъ мертво безъ Союза. Наша СВОБОДА не можетъ выдержать постоянныхъ стычекъ, гражданскихъ и сопредѣльныхъ ссоръ, наша НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ была бы игрушкой, наши воспоминанія обратились бы въ грусть.

**КОНСТИТУЦИЯ
СОЕДИНЕННЫХЪ ШТАТОВЪ АМЕРИКИ.**

Божіею милостію МЫ НАРОДЪ, Соединенныхъ Штатовъ, съ цѣлю образованія совершеннѣйшаго Союза, учрежденія Правосудія, водворенія домаш-

Source: Honcharenko, Agapius. *Alaska Herald – Свобода*. 1868. Vol I. No 1.

Appendix B

EPILOGUE ON 1868.

Accursed be the year that is passed, with all its record of tyranny, oppression and unhappiness! Accursed be the hands which dealt out this oppression, and the hearts which rejoiced in the work. From the first blush of the new year to the last expiring agony, the history of the past year has been characterized by wickedness and evil. From the trial of Maxutoff vs. Schmiedberg; from the treachery of that august personage in the transfer of Russian America to the United States, with all the swindling details of that affair; from the demoralization of our people, the ravishment of sisters and wives and the corruption of our children, reduced to idlers and drunkards—all from military misrule: justice and right, guaranteed by the very constitution of our country, has been trodden under foot; the people, by the oppression of military power, driven from their homes and reduced to face the elements of a severe climate without nourishment or support, the close of the year finding them in the same position—houseless, homeless, and starving—which the opening of the new year brought upon them. In the meantime Government refuses to act, or delegates its power to unscrupulous hands which bind and rivet still closer the chains of a remorseless oppression. The hopes that were born of the new year were blasted by inactivity and neglect; and history will record the past, as a blight upon the unfortunate people of Alaska. Therefore, accursed be its record!

Source: Honcharenko, Agapius. *Alaska Herald – Cвoбoдa*. 1868. Vol I. No 24.

This paper represents my own work in accordance with University regulations.

Konstantin Howard

Works Cited

- "ALASKA'S STORY: RUSSIA ON THE PACIFIC COAST STRONG LOCAL INTERESTS A TERRITORY WHOSE BOUNDARY HAS NEVER BEEN PROPERLY LAID DOWN." *San Francisco Chronicle* (1869-1922), Mar 10, 1889.
- "ALASKA: WE TAKE POSSESSION OF OUR NEW PURCHASE GEN. ROUSSEAN HOISTS THE AMERICAN FLAG AT SITKA TERRIFIC HURRICANE OFF THE ALASKAN COAST ROUSSEAN AND STAFF EXPOSED TO ITS PURY VESSELS DEIVEN ASHORE AND DAMAGED BAD FEELING BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND AMERICANS SEVEN DUELS FOUGHT ON PAPER." *Daily Courier* (1851-1868), Nov 14, 1867.
- Bolkhovitnov, Nikolai N. *Russian-American Relations and the Sale of Alaska, 1834-1867*. Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1996.
- "CORRESPONDENCE.: ALASKA. THE OLD AND THE NEW CIVILIZATION— HOSPITALITY OF THE RUSSIAN--THE CREOLES DESCENDED FROM THE JAPANESE--DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND SILVER-- AGRICULTURE IN ALASKA--REMARKABLE GROWTH OF GOOSEBERRIES AND CURRANTS, ETC." *Boston Daily Globe* (1872-1922), Jun 05, 1872.
- Croskey, Robert. "The Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska: Innokentii Veniaminov's Supplementary Account (1858)." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (1975): 26–29. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40489352>.
- Hensley, William. "There Are Two Versions of the Story of How the U.S. Purchased Alaska from Russia." *Smithsonian Magazine*. Smithsonian Magazine, March 29, 2017. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/why-russia-gave-alaska-americas-gateway-arctic-180962714/#:~:text=But%20maintaining%20these%20settlements%20wasn,making%20co%20communicatio%20a%20key%20problem>.
- Honcharenko, Agapius. *Alaska Herald – Свобода*. Vol I – IV. 1868-1872.
- Luciw, Vasyl, and Theodore Luciw. *Ahapius Honcharenko and the Alaska Herald; The Editor's Life and an Analysis of His Newspaper*. Toronto: Slavia Library, 1963.
- Murray, Jesse D. "Together and Apart: The Russian Orthodox Church, the Russian Empire, and Orthodox Missionaries in Alaska, 1794–1917." *Russian History* 40, no. 1 (2013): 91–110. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24667152>.
- Vinkovetsky, Ilya. *Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire, 1804-1867*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014.