## The Alaska Commercial Company

The Formative Years

MOLLY LEE

The demise of the Alaska Commercial Company headquarters in San Francisco's disastrous earthquake and fire of 1906 left a major lacuna in the 19th-century history of the North. When the ledgers, correspondence, memos, and files-the grist of the historian's mill-went up in smoke, so did the possibility of reconstructing a precise and detailed history of an institution that touched the daily lives of most Alaskans for almost half a century. During the first two decades after the United States purchased Alaska, the Alaska Commercial Company, in the absence of all but the most minimal of federal governance, served northern residents as de facto banker, postmaster, doctor, lawyer, and, occasionally, jailer, in addition to carrying out its own trading and sealing enterprises.

Focusing on the formation of Alaska Commercial and the procurement and loss of the Pribilof sealing lease, this essay differs from previously published accounts in three ways. First, it suggests that two standard sources on the founding of the company are inaccurate in many important details.<sup>2</sup> Second, it discusses events leading up to the founding in greater detail than the only historically sound published account.<sup>3</sup> And third, it makes use of unpublished material either unknown to previous researchers or not consulted by them for this purpose.

How the Alaska Commercial Company originated was neither direct nor simple. The hoisting of the red-andwhite AC banner over company sta-

tions from Kodiak to St. Michael and on the masts of the fleet of ships that plied the northern waters was the result of months of negotiations. In the absence of so many vital documents, however, any reconstruction must be pieced together from a wide array of sources. Incomplete records also mean that some important questions may never be answered. Founded in 1868, the Alaska Commercial Company was an outgrowth of Hutchinson, Kohl and Company, a consortium of West Coast businessmen formed in February or March of that same year. Thus the history of the two firms is inextricably intertwined.

Hutchinson, Kohl itself represented a merger of two competing groups of businessmen whose sense of survival forced them to sacrifice immediate self-interest for longer-range benefits, to set aside cutthroat tactics in favor of pooling economic resources and proknow-how. Headed by Hayward Hutchinson and William Kohl, the two conglomerates were disparate in nationality and background but possessed of a wide range of skills that were to prove invaluable in the years ahead. To understand the circumstances of the ACC's founding we must first examine the coalescence of the separate Hutchinson and Kohl groups.

Hutchinson's associates, Louis Sloss, Lewis Gerstle,<sup>4</sup> and Abraham Hirsch,<sup>5</sup> were all San Franciscans, although Hutchinson himself came from Baltimore, where he had been a wholesaler to the Union Army during the Civil

War. The origin of his interest in Alaska is uncertain, but it may be that he was already aware of the impending liquidation of Russian-American Company assets when he boarded a San Francisco-bound ship in New York in September 1867. The presence of General Lovell Rousseau and Captain Alexei Peshchurov, the U.S. and Russian representatives en route from Baltimore to Sitka for the transfer of Alaska into American hands, suggests this possibility. Hutchinson might have known Rousseau through his dealings with the U.S. Army and, if so, could have learned of the Russian-American Company's liquidation from him.6 Whether by design or coincidence, Abraham Hirsch was also aboard.

Sailing into San Francisco Bay on September 22, 1867, Hutchinson set about finding financial backing for his scheme to acquire the Russian-American Company's trade. Somehow, perhaps through his acquaintance with Hirsch, he managed to get the ear of two of San Francisco's most prominent businessmen, Louis Sloss and his brother-in-law Lewis Gerstle. Like Hirsch, Sloss and Gerstle were part of the close-knit nationwide network of German-Jewish émigrés. business partners, the two had been investors in an earlier take-over attempt on the Hudson's Bay Company's expiring lease on the Alaska mainland. Thus they were well aware of the lucrative potential of the northern fur trade. It is even possible that they, too, already had heard about the Russian-American Company's sale and had

been looking for a way in.

Tutchinson's movements for the Inext two months have not been traced, but in early December, he and Hirsch traveled to Sitka to bid on Russian-American's remaining Charming and diplomatic, Hutchinson made good use of his connections with Rousseau and Peshchurov, who were still in Sitka. Through them, he quickly established a cordial and profitable relationship with Prince Dmitrii Maksutov, the last Russian governor of Alaska. Probably aided by these connections, Hutchinson was able to outmaneuver a flock of determined competitors in purchasing the Russian firm's assets.

Hutchinson's booty included partial contents of Russian-American Company warehouses, a fleet of merchant vessels, and a handful of trading posts scattered along the coast of Alaska from St. Michael to Prince William Sound. In an even bigger coup, though, he managed to walk away with the company's coveted Pribilof Island sealing operations.7 The Pribilofs, a pair of desolate, seemingly insignificant outcroppings 300 miles north of the Aleutians, in fact were Russia's most valuable North American asset. Every year they played host to hundreds of thousands of fur seals, which, since the drastic depletion of sea otters, possessed the most sought-after fur in the world.

In January 1868, Hutchinson began shipping goods south to San Francisco. The success of his negotiations with Sloss and Gerstle the previous autumn can be inferred from the bills of lading for these shipments, which were addressed to Louis Sloss and Company. Clearly, a profitable alliance had been cemented.

The second group of Alaska Commercial Company principals consisted of William Kohl, an American ship builder, mariner, and profiteer living

in Victoria, Leopold Boscowitz, a Victoria furrier, August Wassermann, a San Francisco furrier,8 and Gustave Niebaum. Of the four, Niebaum, a former employee of the Russian-America Company, brought the most critical experience to the table. Born in Finland (then a part of Imperial Russia, a situation giving Finns automatic Russian citizenship), Niebaum had gone to sea as a boy and to work for the Russian-American Company at age 16. By the time of the Alaska purchase, he was a highly trained navigator with 10 years' experience in the treacherous northern waters. He also brought to the Kohl group firsthand knowledge of the Alaska fur trade, the Pribilof Islands, and Alaska's native peoples.9

Niebaum had spent the winter of 1866-67 in Victoria, where the impending sale of Alaska was big news in the papers. Returning to Sitka in the spring of 1867, he took the first step in a long and successful business career by making several purchases of Russian-American Company property. He and four other former company employees pooled their resources and bought the brig Constantine from Maksutov with the intention of engaging in sealing and fur trading in the area of Kodiak Island, the Aleutians, and the Bering Sea, known as the Westward. At the same time, Niebaum bought a load of sealskins from the company for resale. The skins were stored in the Pribilofs, and as part of the sale, Maksutov gave Niebaum permission to land at St. Paul to retrieve

It is likely that taking delivery of the sealskins was only part of his agenda. Permission to land there allowed Niebaum, who was well aware of the economic importance of the Pribilofs, to get the jump on the competition for the fur seal fishery. Years later, he was to recall that it was only because of his earlier employment with the company that Maksutov allowed him to go ashore. Reaching St. Paul in November

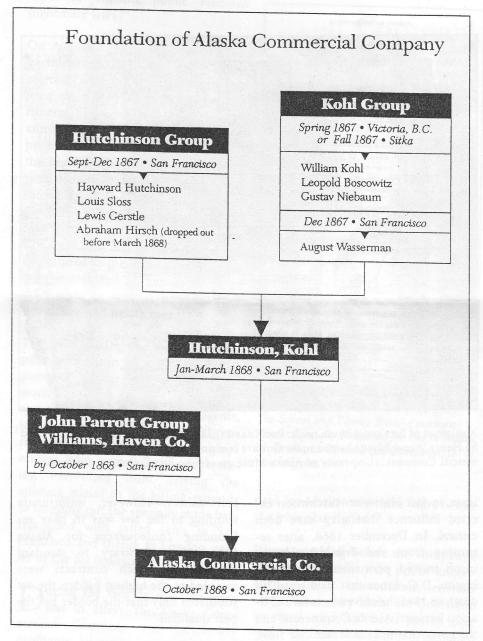
1867, he not only filled the Constantine's hold with skins but, in anticipation of next summer's sealing, built a makeshift house on the island and left behind an agent to watch over his interests.

Niebaum's introduction to Kohl and Boscowitz took place earlier, either in Victoria in 1866 or in Sitka in the autumn of 1867, where the three attended the liquidation of Russian-American Company assets. Sometime that fall, Niebaum asked Kohl and Boscowitz to recommend a San Francisco furrier to contact about his cargo of sealskins. Recognizing the value of the skins and the potential of a business relationship with Niebaum, the two offered to put him in touch with August Wassermann. As a further inducement they offered to go to San Francisco immediately on Niebaum's behalf to arrange the sale in advance. 10

In late November 1867, the three shook hands. Kohl and Boscowitz left Sitka for San Francisco, and Niebaum for the Pribilofs. They joined up again in Sitka on January 18, 1868, just as Hutchinson was concluding his business there. On January 24 Hutchinson, Kohl, Boscowitz, and Maksutov<sup>11</sup> found themselves bound for San Francisco aboard the same vessel.

The Hutchinson-Kohl merger probably took shape during the voyage south. The ship arrived in San Francisco on February 5; by March 2, when Niebaum sailed in with his load of sealskins, discussions had proceeded far enough for the others to offer him an equal share in the fledgling firm. On March 18, the first shipping manifests bearing the name Hutchinson, Kohl appeared on merchandise bound for Sitka.

The purpose of Hutchinson, Kohl was to operate and supply the Alaskan trading stations purchased from the Russians and to undertake sealing in the Pribilofs. Collectively, the firm's



seven original associates—Hutchinson, who brought in Sloss and Gerstle, Kohl, Niebaum, Boscowitz, and Wassermann (Hirsch had withdrawn earlier from the Hutchinson group)—were ideally suited to operate a fur and mercantile concern on the northern frontier. Hutchinson was an adept politician and money raiser; Sloss and Gerstle had access to considerable capital and understood the mercantile business; Kohl knew shipping; Boscowitz and Wassermann knew furs; and Niebaum was experienced in northern navigation, was familiar with Alaska

trading, and, most important, had an established claim in the Pribilofs. 14

Laying claim to the Pribilof seal fishery was one thing, but implementing it was another. In the spring of 1868, Hutchinson, Kohl management sent Niebaum back to the Pribilofs for this purpose, and Maksutov escorted Hutchinson on a tour of the newly acquired trading posts at Kodiak, Unalaska, and St. Michael. Hutchinson then joined Niebaum in the Pribilofs for the sealing season. Despite the firm's ownership of the old

Russian-American Company buildings and despite Niebaum's own house and agent in St. Paul, Hutchinson and Niebaum encountered stiff competition that year. Two other sealing outfits, the Williams, Haven Company of New London and John Parrott of San Francisco, landed about the same time, prepared to contest Hutchinson, Kohl's claim. After nearly coming to blows on more than one occasion, the competitors retreated to different rookeries. As it turned out, however, the competition hardly dented Hutchinson, Kohl's profits. Even split three ways, the returns for the season were spectacular.

If the 1868 sealing season gave Hutchinson, Kohl a taste of success, it also fostered a healthy respect for the competition. The principals came away from the experience convinced that the only way to insure future profits was to secure an exclusive U.S. government lease on the Pribilof seal fishery. Once again, their strategy was to join forces with the competition. On October 10, 1868, a group of Hutchinson, Kohl investors filed for the incorporation of a new company for the purpose of operating a sealing concern on the Pribilof Islands. The new company was to purchase the assets of Hutchinson, Kohl, which would remain in existence until the promissory notes were paid off. Among the early investors were principals in the Williams, Haven and Parrott companies. The new firm, to be called the Alaska Commercial Company, would prove powerful enough to secure the coveted lease and to dominate northern commerce for decades to come.

For the next few seasons, Hutchinson, Kohl continued to operate the mercantile arm of the business and, with the addition of a Russian partner, to lease the sealing operations on the Russian-owned Commander Islands. To all intents and purposes, however, Alaska Commercial replaced Hutchinson, Kohl and went on to become the insti-

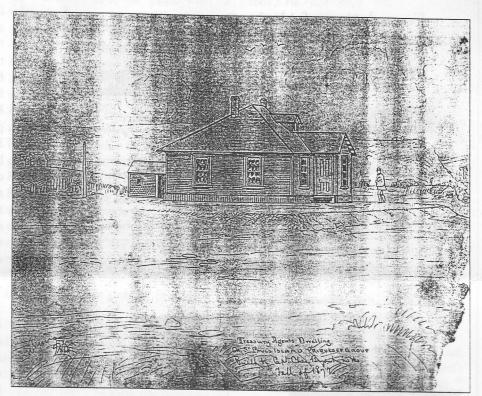
tution that made its presence felt throughout Alaska for the remainder of the 19th century.

The newly formed Alaska Commercial Company lost no time launching its campaign for the Pribilof lease. Late in 1868, Louis Sloss, the firm's first president, moved to Washington, D.C., to oversee congressional lobbying efforts. Genial and astute, Sloss, who had been a generous supporter of Ulysses S. Grant's successful presidential campaign, was also well connected politically.

Fortunately, ACC interests dovetailed with those of the government. Concern about the overharvesting of fur seals was beginning to receive nationwide attention. During the season just past, the three competing sealing ventures that joined forces in the company had taken the alarmingly high number of 250,000 animals on St. Paul alone. In 1869, Congress, out of concern for the future of the seal fishery, placed a moratorium on further Pribilof kills pending a thorough investigation. A law passed later that spring designated the Pribilofs a special preserve and limited access during the 1869 season to Hutchinson, Kohl and Williams, Haven. Why the Parrott group was excluded is unknown.

Though undeniably an outcome of his lobbying, the legislation was a token compared to the exclusive lease Sloss had hoped for. Early in 1870, suspecting that success might be more forthcoming if a gentile were applying the pressure, he resigned as company president and returned to San Francisco. General John F. Miller, an Alaska Commercial investor and Civil War veteran who also had close connections to the Grant administration, succeeded him. Miller departed immediately for Washington to try his hand with Congress. <sup>17</sup>

Although Sloss and Miller have been credited with procuring the Pribilof



A shipload of furs and a house on St. Paul Island (likely not so grand as this one sketched by Henry Wood Elliott) helped make Gustave Niebaum a partner in the Alaska Commercial Company. (University of Alaska Museum of Fine Arts Collection, Fairbanks)

lease, in fact Hayward Hutchinson exerted influence that may have been critical. In December 1868, after returning from the Pribilofs, Hutchinson moved permanently to Washington, D.C. From that date until his death in 1885, he served as informal liaison between Alaska Commercial and the government. Like Miller and Sloss, he had links to the Grant White House that admirably suited him for this role. Furthermore, his Pribilof sealing experience, which the others lacked, added to his stature with Congress. Hutchinson actively participated in the lease negotiations, overseeing the drafting of the 1869 bills and lobbying tirelessly on behalf of the ACC.

In 1870, the company's efforts finally bore fruit. In July, President Grant signed into law "An Act to Prevent the Extermination of Fur-bearing Animals in Alaska." In essence, it empowered the secretary of the treasury to solicit bids for the operation of the Pribilof

seal fishery. However, unfortunate wording in the law was to have resounding consequences for Alaska Commercial. Contrary to standard practice, by which contracts were awarded to the highest bidder, the act stipulated only that the bidder be "the best qualified." <sup>18</sup>

Then bidding opened, another San Francisco group, headed by Louis Goldstone, offered to pay the government more per skin than Alaska Commercial. The ACC's management responded swiftly, submitting a bid that argued persuasively for its qualifications. It emphasized its ownership of the Pribilof sealing plant and its years of experience in the fishery. Furthermore, in a move it would later regret, the firm offered to match any higher, competing bid as an added inducement. Such an offer was irregular but not illegal. Nonetheless, compounded by the earlier "best qualified" clause, that offer to match was to cause the

ACC an ongoing public relations nightmare later. 19

On August 3, 1870, the Treasury Department awarded the Alaska Commercial Company an exclusive 20-year lease on the Pribilof Islands fur seal fishery. The company would pay an annual rent of \$55,000 and a fixed price of \$2.621/2 per skin. The targets of the sealing operations—young, unattached male seals—were to be killed humanely.20 The annual quota was 100,000, a substantial reduction of the take from each of the three prior years. The lease also laid out the company's obligations to the Pribilof Aleuts, who were guaranteed an annual ration of dried fish, as well as housing, fuel, education, and health care.21

The lease secure, the fledgling company settled into its role as the major purveyor of fur seal peltry to the world's fashion market. Under the watchful eye of U.S. Treasury agents, locally based Alaska Commercial representatives carried out the sealing operation from start to finish, undertaking everything from driving the animals inland to the killing grounds to shipping out the specially made barrels filled with salted skins to San Francisco and thence to London, center of the fur industry.<sup>22</sup>

During the two decades the lease was in effect, the Alaska Commercial Company was immensely profitable. Investors realized an average dividend of slightly over 50 percent of the par value of the stock. Moreover, stockholders were not the only beneficiaries. During those same years the U.S. Treasury netted a total of at least \$10 million for rental and pelt fees. Ironically, this figure exceeded by \$3 million the price that Congress had

RUSSO-AMERICAN PRIMER. 11

FOURTH LESSON.

In the territory of Alaska there are plenty of bears and they are also seen in many parts of California. Their skins are very valuable. Bears do not run after men unless men come too near them.



FIFTH LESSON

This flag represents the national emblem of the United States. It is sometimes called the "Star Spangled Banner." You will see it flying from the masts of ships entering the ports and harbors of Alaska. It is the banner under which you will be protected for the future.

Between 1868 and 1890, the ACC was ubiquitous in Alaska, as this page from The School and Family Russo-American Primer Specially Published for Use in Alaska by the Alaska Commercial Company (1871) may suggest.

paid for Alaska only three years before the lease was signed.<sup>23</sup>

It was not long before the company's spectacular profits were public knowledge. Almost immediately, envious competitors, very likely the Goldstone investors who had been passed over when the lease was awarded, mounted a full-scale whispering campaign. Charges ran the gamut from unethical practice in obtaining the lease to exceeding quotas, tax evasion, <sup>24</sup> and mistreatment of the Aleuts.

The whispered charges against Alaska Commercial quickly led to official inquiry, duly covered by the press. Dur-

ing the tenure of the lease, at least four congressional investigations of ACC activities were launched, none of which turned up any substantial evidence of wrongdoing. In 1875, the U.S. Treasury secretary ordered an audit of company records but found no proof of fraud or corruption. In 1876, in response to further criticism, Congress ordered a full-scale investigation. After protracted testimony investigators found no evidence of misdeeds, concluding that the antipathy leading to the investigation was generated by competitors' resentment of the company's high profits.25

Even so, rumors of wrongdoing persisted. In his 1887 annual report, the territorial governor of Alaska denounced Alaska Commercial, touching off yet another congressional investigation. Once again, the company was fully exonerated. In the end, however, bad publicity took its toll. When the Pribilov lease came up for renewal in 1890, Congress awarded it instead to the Northern Commercial Company, a San Francisco competitor. <sup>26</sup> The ACC's reign as undisputed sovereign of the North was at an end.

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 The stock certificates and minute books stored in the Alaska Commercial Company's fireproof safe survive, as do the records of one of the company's four Alaska districts. For a detailed account of ACC

ownership throughout its life-span, see Frank H. Sloss, "Who Owned the Alaska Commercial Company?" PNQ, Vol. 68 (1977), 120-30. Records from the Kodiak Station on deposit at the Alaska and Polar

Regions Department, Elmer Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks, are by no means complete as to date or trading stations represented. For an overview of the collection, see Wendell H. Oswalt, Alaska

- Commercial Company Records, 1868-1911: Register (Fairbanks, 1972). Correspondence between the ACC and the Smithsonian is scattered among numerous record units deposited at the Smithsonian Institution Archives, chiefly RU 26, 28, and 30 (Office of the Secretary, Incoming: 1863-79, 1879-82, 1882-90); 33 (Office of the Secretary, Outgoing: 1865-91); 52 (Office of the Assistant Secretary, Incoming: 1850-77); 53 and 189 (Office of the Assistant Secretary, Outgoing: 1850-77 and 1860-1908); 6999T (Office of the Registrar, Accessions to 1976: 1834-1958); 7002 (Spencer F. Baird Papers: 1833-1889). For an overview of the record units and a brief description of their contents, see Guide to the Smithsonian Archives (Washington, D.C., 1983).
- The inaccurate versions of Hutchinson, Kohl's formation originated with the account dictated by Henry W. Elliott to Judge James Wickersham almost 50 years after the fact; see Henry W. Elliott, Memorandum of Steps Taken by Hutchinson, Kohl and Co. to Get Possession of the Good Will and Personal Property of the Old Russian-American Company of Alaska (1916), Alaska Historical Library, Juneau (hereafter cited as Elliott memo). Elliott's knowledge of the events was secondhand at best. His flawed reconstruction was later perpetuated in Samuel P. Johnston, ed., Alaska Commercial Company, 1868-1940 (San Francisco, 1940), and Lois D. Kitchener, Flag over the North: The Story of the Northern Commercial Company (Seattle, 1954), both widely disseminated, and also in Wilson Fiske Erskine, "Captain Niebaum of Alaska," Explorers Journal, Vol. 42 (1962), 5-12 Peter Murray, in The Vagabond Fleet: A Chronicle of the North Pacific Sealing Schooner Trade (Victoria, B.C., 1988), offers another version of the company's founding that appears to be inaccurate in many details. Unfortunately, his meager citations make it difficult to track down his sources.
- The reader should compare Johnston and Kitchener's versions with Frank H. Sloss and Richard A. Pierce, "The Hutchinson, Kohl Story: A Fresh Look," PNQ, Vol. 62 (1971), 1-6, which gives the most accurate account of the events. I have drawn on it extensively here.
- 4. For biographical information on Sloss and Gerstle, see Mark L. Gerstle, "Memories" (typescript, 1943) and Louis C. Greene, "310 Sansome Street" (typescript, [1932?]), both in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Alice Gerstle Levison, "Family Reminiscences" (1967), Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library; Jacob B. Levison, Memories for My Family (San Francisco, 1933); Gerstle Mack, Lewis and Hannah Gerstle (New York, 1953); Martin A. Meyer, "The Jews in California," in Western Jewry: An Account of the

- Achievements of the Jews and Judaism in California, by A. W. Voorsanger (San Francisco, 1916); Frederic Gordon O'Neill, Ernest Rueben Lilienthal and His Family (Palo Alto, Calif., 1949); and Wellington C. Wolfe, ed., Men of California (San Francisco, 1901).
- Abraham Hirsch apparently invested in the initial purchase of the Russian-American Company holdings but, for reasons unknown, dropped out by the time Hutchinson, Kohl was founded.
- 6. Elliott memo; 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1876, House Report 623, pp. 1-143 (Serial 2674) (hereafter cited House Report 623); Sloss and Pierce, 1. According to Murray, 38, Hutchinson went west as private secretary to General Rousseau, a detail I have been unable to substantiate elsewhere.
- 7. Apparently the sale of the Pribilof sealing interests was arranged through a separate negotiation. Why the Pribilof holdings were set aside, how Hutchinson was able to acquire them, and whether backroom negotiations were involved are unknown.
- According to an unconfirmed story, Wassermann had achieved renown in San Francisco when, during a citywide rat infestation, he brought in a shipment of alley cats for resale.
- 9. Erskine, 5-12; Gustave Niebaum, "Statements on Alaska Fur Interests and the Transfer of Alaska to the United States, With a Biographical Sketch" (manuscript, 1885), Bancroft Library; Sloss, 121.
- 10. Gustave Niebaum "Sealing in Alaska" (manuscript, 1883), 62-64, Bancroft Library; Niebaum, "Statements on Fur Interests," 2, 3, 10-12, 16; Sloss and Pierce, 5,
- 11. Hutchinson, Kohl also wished to establish a peltry operation on the Commander Islands, the only other fur seal breeding ground. Since the Commanders had not been included in the Alaska Purchase, the firm needed a Russian partner in the venture. Maksutov agreed to serve in this capacity and was probably en route to San Francisco for negotiations. Later, the arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and Sloss traveled to Russia to engage someone else. Mack, 36.
- 12. At some earlier date Niebaum bought out the other Constantine investors, Carl and Osel Asche, Anton Belitz, and John Hanson. According to Niebaum, they wanted only to hunt and fish in Alaska and had no interest in getting involved in a complex business operation with the San Francisco consortium; see Niebaum, "Sealing in Alaska," 63; and Bill of Sale, Brig Constantine, box 44, William H. Dall Papers, RU 7073, Smithsonian Institution Archives. Murray states that, during Niebaum's trip south, the Constantine was damaged off Vancouver Island and that Hutchinson, Kohl later filed a claim for the

- loss of \$10,000 in furs and other merchandise. Apparently the ship was carrying cargo belonging to several parties (possibly Niebaum's partners in the *Constantine* investment?). One of the shipowners, a Victoria man, later claimed to have found his lot of the supposedly lost furs in Leopold Boscowitz's back yard. I have been unable to substantiate Murray's account.
- 13. Sloss and Pierce, 4; United States Customs House, Records of [Shipping] Arrivals, 1848-1901, Bancroft Library.
- 14. Sloss and Pierce, 5-6.
- 15. Hutchinson, Kohl then subcontracted with Alaska Commercial to conduct the sealing operations in the Commanders. Greene, 4; Sloss, "Of Shoes and Ships and Sealing," in Only on Monday: Papers Delivered before the Chit-Chat Club, ed. Frank H. Sloss (San Francisco, 1978), 73-86.
- 16. According to a Sloss family story, Louis Sloss, who enjoyed playing cards, joked before leaving for Washington that when he got there any senator who wanted to play cards with him would be allowed to win; A. Levison, 67.
- Alaska Commercial Co., "Alaska Fur Seal" (manuscript, 1870), Bancroft Library; Johnston, 15; Sloss, "Who Owned the ACC?" 123.
- 18. 16 Stat. 180-82 (1870).
- 19. Mack, 34-35.
- 20. For a vivid description of the annual slaughter, see Libby Beaman with Betty John, Libby: The Alaskan Diaries and Letters of Libby Beaman, 1879-1880 (Boston, 1987), and Emma Jane McIntyre, "St. George's Island" (manuscript, 1874), Bancroft Library.
- 21. Islands of the Seals: The Pribilofs (Anchorage, 1982); Henry W. Elliott, A Monograph on the Seal-Islands of Alaska. U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries Special Bulletin 176 (Washington, D.C., 1882).
- 22. Greene, 5; Mack, 38-40.
- 23. Mack, 34-35.
- 24. According to the ethnologist William Dall, the ACC avoided the skin tax by moving pelts taken in other locations to Unalaska because skins shipped from there to San Francisco were not counted officially; Dall to Spenser Baird, Nov. 24, 1873, box 18, RU 7002, Smithsonian Institution Archives. Whether Dall knew the facts or was merely repeating hearsay is unknown.
- 25. House Report 673, p. 1 and passim; Mack, 51-56; Alfred P. Swineford, Annual Report for Alaska for 1887, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887, House Exec. Doc. 1, pp. 719-22 (Serial 2541).
- Swineford, 719-22; Fred Bruemmer, "Home of the Seals," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. 88 (April 1974), 12-21.