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**The Kashaya Pomo and Their Relations  
with the Russian-American Company at  
Fort Ross, California, 1812-1841**

**by  
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On the northern California coast, eighty miles north of San Francisco, lies the Kashaya Pomo world of cool, moist redwood forests, swift flowing rivers, grassy hills and bluffs covered with pines, oaks, and wildflowers, and a rugged coastline facing a thundering Pacific ocean. For thousands of years this land that Coyote created belonged solely to the Kashaya, who, before the Russians, dealt only with other Pomo tribelets and coastal Miwoks, the tribe which lived south of the Kashaya. Then in 1812, near the windswept, fog laden coastal Kashaya village of Meteni (translated as "Part of a Place"), a forty-seven year old Russian adventurer named Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskov came ashore with a ragtag group of Russians, Siberians, and Aleuts. The "undersea people," the term which the Kashaya used in naming the Russian-American Company employees at Fort Ross, had arrived, embarking on a twenty-nine year experiment which would profoundly impact the Kashaya Pomo.<sup>1</sup>

Fort Ross was a unique place. It was a meeting ground for numerous and vastly different cultures, including Kashaya Pomos, southern Pomos, coastal Miwoks, Aleuts, Tlingits (southeast Alaska), Chugach and Kodiak Eskimos, Tanainas (Kenai Peninsula, Alaska), Siberians, Finns, Hawaiians, and last, but not least, Russians (see Appendix One). These various groups of people lived together relatively harmoniously, and there were very few recorded incidents of social discontent or violence. This can be credited to both the Russian-American Company's policies and to the open, friendly nature of the Kashaya. This mutual amicability inevitably led to a constant interaction and blending of cultural forces, which is particularly apparent among the Kashaya, who maintained their traditional lifestyle while also permanently absorbing Russian and Aleut cultural traits. The Russian-American Company and the Kashaya had their occasional problems with each other, but these few isolated incidents were overshadowed by a

generally positive relationship as one will discover. Even Kashaya people today tend to look upon the Russian relationship with their ancestors in a favorable light.<sup>2</sup> When Fort Ross is put into historical perspective, it can be argued that the Russians and the Kashaya conducted one of the most harmonious European-Native American relationships in history.

Vitally important to the Kashaya-Russian relationship were some of the highly developed Kashaya cultural traits that influenced the Russian-American Company's policies and reactions toward the Kashaya. Certain aspects of Kashaya religion, governing structure, and social frameworks had a profound impact on Russian attitudes, but it must be emphasized that not all of the Kashaya way of life was represented in the recorded interactions between the Kashaya and their twenty-nine year guests. The Kashaya had a rich and intricate view of the world which had been developing for thousands of years when the Russians arrived, and no Russian-American Company employee or foreign visitor ever came close to fully understanding Kashaya culture. At the most, an individual would record his observations and opinions on a few Kashaya cultural traits. However, when these observations are looked on as a whole they paint a fairly clear picture of Russian ideas about many aspects of Kashaya culture. Therefore, a few Kashaya cultural traits will be elaborated on here in order to judge how accurate these observations and opinions are, as well as to gain some understanding of the Kashaya way of life.

Kashaya means "agile, nimble people" to the Kashaya themselves, while to the southern Pomo Kashaya means "lightweights," to the central Pomo "expert gamblers," and to the northern Pomo "experts."<sup>3</sup> The Kashaya numbered around eight hundred individuals at the time of the Russian contact, and their territory stretched along twenty miles of coastline while reaching about five to eight miles inland, making them one of the

smaller Pomo tribelets. They were only related to their Pomo neighbors through the Hokan linguistic family, and at best the Kashaya could barely understand them. The Kashaya were hunters and gatherers, and they often moved around their territory with the seasons, living in small, cone shaped huts made of redwood bark and elk horn wedges, in addition to larger and more permanent dance or ceremonial lodges.

Kashaya life was completely centered around the family, which provided the basis for governing structures and social frameworks. Families joined together to form villages, while villages would in turn loosely associate themselves to form tribelets. Chiefs were divided into "surrounding chiefs" and "great chiefs," with the latter being the head of a group of settlements, rather than just one village.<sup>6</sup> Chiefs were selected according to both patrilineal and matrilineal descent, and they usually had to prove themselves as good leaders, or otherwise they would be forced to give up their position.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes villages would have a female chief, although her role would be more symbolic than that of a male chief.<sup>8</sup> Women were often admitted to secret societies run by males, and they held considerable influence in political decisions.<sup>7</sup> This near equality of the sexes reflects the deep importance of the family among the Kashaya. Individuals were seen as merely components in a larger framework of humanity, which was the family. A person who became separated from his or her family was a transitory, incomplete being.<sup>8</sup> Only family had meaning and authority, and only a family could provide the essential things which made one human. In 1935, the anthropologist B.W. Aginsky interviewed a 112 year old Pomo man who said:

The family was everything, and no man ever forgot that Each person was nothing; but as a group joined by blood, the individual knew that he would get the support of all his relatives if anything happened. He also knew that if he was a bad person the head man of his family would pay another tribe to kill him so that there would be no trouble afterward and so that he would not get the family into trouble all of the time. That is why we were good people.<sup>9</sup>

In Kashaya life, the importance of the family made the individual less important, but to the Kashaya this rule also extended beyond themselves to include animals, plants, and the land itself. The flowing rhythm of everyday human thought and feeling was one with the sacred and powerful earth which sustained the Kashaya. Trees and rocks had special names and rich meanings, and all creatures were the Kashaya's kin. Many stories told of Kashaya men and women marrying animals, including rattlesnakes. Mammals, birds, fish, and reptiles were all in abundance in Coyote's world, as were acorns, clover, berries, and wild onion and lettuce. The Kashaya lived in harmony with their land, and they possessed a rich, intimate knowledge to utilize its resources efficiently. With this special understanding, the Kashaya maintained a leisurely, balanced, rhythmic life that moved along with salmon running up crisp, cold rivers, golden eagles riding air currents, and winds whispering through dark, ancient forests.

This sensual, flowing feel of the world was reflected in a very interesting way in gambling, something which was an essential ingredient in Kashaya life. The Kashaya gambled frequently in a variety of games, resulting in a constant flow of material items, and a reaffirmation of the group or family over the individual. Although individual skill and cleverness were admired, the willingness of an individual to risk all his or her personal possessions more than offset this. The most common game was "The Grass Game," where two or more individuals on a side would play for hours hiding sticks under bundles of grass.<sup>10</sup> The players would hide the sticks and sing all the time to keep their opponents from guessing where the sticks were. The Kashaya had many stories to describe these games, including *The Animal Gamblers*, which describes how animals

played the grass game. The story begins with Coyote telling all the animals to come and play and sing their songs. Eventually Eagle, Vulture, Kingfisher, Hawk, Stellar Jay, Scrub Jay, Towhee, Blowfly, Coyote, and Grizzly Bear come to play the game, sing their songs, and gamble their possessions. Then Coyote summons Skunk, who comes to play and sing his song. But then Skunk lifts his tail, making all those playing against him to run off and leave their possessions. Skunk wins.<sup>11</sup>

Conflicts and disputes over gambling almost never occurred, while warfare among the Kashaya and their neighbors was extremely rare. Very infrequently were individuals killed. The Kashaya social system showed little sign of the organization necessary for war, and most of their conflicts were between individuals over bad trades or a broken social or religious taboo.<sup>12</sup> Fighting among the Kashaya took place among themselves, with the coastal Miwoks, and with various other Pomo tribelets. Religious beliefs played a part in warfare, but these strongly held beliefs prevented conflict more often than not.

Kashaya religion was complex and multi-faceted, and consisted of the Kukusu faith, which was about a thousand years old at the Russian contact, and much older pre-Kukusu beliefs. The pre-Kukusu beliefs were made up of links with the spirit world of animals, trees, and physical landmarks. Many taboos concerning cleanliness, marriage, caring for children, and the killing of wildlife sprang from respect for these spirits.<sup>13</sup> If these taboos were broken, the Poisoners and Bear Doctors would go after the person. These frightening people existed deep in the woods, and they would often kill or blackmail hunters who had done something wrong in the village. The Bear Doctors were men who would dress up in bear skins, wear beads for armor, and carry a dagger while walking on all fours. Many Kashaya saw them as "evil witches," or

"malignant shamans."<sup>14</sup> If a Bear Doctor tried to kill a hunter and was unsuccessful, the hunter had a right to kill him. While Bear Doctors and Poisoners were the dark side of the spirit world, Sucking Doctors and Herb&Magic Doctors were seen as healers. However, if these healing Doctors failed to cure someone's sickness, they would often be ridiculed and sometimes even killed by the family of the sick individual. The Kashaya generally saw the Poisoners, Bear Doctors, and bad healing Doctors as the evil side of the spirit world, while Kuksu, a hero God from the south, was seen as representing the good side.

Kuksu was a complex spiritual figure who linked the human world with the spirit world. An elaborate ceremony to honor Kuksu served as a renewal of the Kashaya's spiritual life, while also taking away their sins and ills and initiating the young.<sup>15</sup> The four day ceremony involved a head drummer, a fire tender, a head singer, and men and women who dressed as spirit impersonators. Before the all male Kuksu dancers came the "fire devil" dancers, who ran out of the woods into the village.<sup>16</sup> They threw hot coals at people while yelling and screaming, tossed delinquent individuals through the fire, and frightened children. They were chased away by the men, and soon afterwards came the Kuksu dancers, who danced in circles while turning their bodies in circles, symbolizing their harmony with the universe.<sup>17</sup> Sick people were brought into the circles, and gradually the dancers went back into the woods, taking sickness and sin away.

The Kuksu religion is just one illustration of the highly developed society shared by the Kashaya when the Russians arrived. The Kashaya cultural imperatives of family, consensus style governing of the chiefs, gambling, spirit world taboos, and Kuksu played an essential role in the Kashaya-Russian-American Company relationship. Kashaya society was deeply complex, and the Russians never grasped a full understanding of the



Kashaya, although they observed and discussed many aspects of the Kashaya cultural imperatives listed above, which are only part of the Kashaya way of life. Like the great Kashaya God Coyote, who created the ocean, animals, humans, and much of the earth itself, the Kashaya-Russian-American Company relationship was full of mischief, cleverness, trickery, wisdom, and curious, mysterious fascination.

The Russian-American Company, founded in 1799, had very specific interests in establishing a settlement on the northern California coast. Company outposts in Alaska were rapidly depleting the sea otter populations, which provided the main source of wealth for the company (see Appendix Two). With a declining number of sea otter pelts being shipped to Russia, the cost of shipping food and supplies across the treacherous north Pacific to Alaska became more prohibitive. The company also faced fierce competition from British and American traders. Hudson's Bay Company employees and New Englanders not only poached sea otter in Russian waters, they also provided higher quality goods to Alaska Natives in exchange for pelts. Tlingits and other Natives found it increasingly more lucrative to do business with the English speakers. And as sea otter populations declined, prices went up, and competition became more ruthless. In the mid 1790s, British and American ship captains supplied guns and cannons to the Tlingits, who then proceeded to wreak havoc on the Russians. By 1810 the powerful and well organized Tlingits, responding to Russian attempts of subjugation, had killed over a hundred Russians and two hundred Aleuts on the islands of southeast Alaska.

The company also attempted to raise crops in Alaska, but it failed miserably, and after a Russian-Alaskan presence of only twenty-five years (1783, the first permanent settlement, to 1808), the company was

in serious financial trouble. The manager-in-chief of the company, Alexander Baranov, realized the urgent need for an agricultural supply site along with more sea otters; consequently he sent his assistant Ivan Kuskov on a series of expeditions to California between 1808 and 1811.<sup>18</sup> Kuskov chose the Fort Ross site because of its advantages in soil, water supply, pasturage, timber, and its isolation from the Spanish, who were in San Francisco at the time.<sup>19</sup> Baranov approved of Kuskov's selection, and in March 1812 Kuskov landed at Meteni with twenty-five Russians and Siberians, plus eighty Aleuts. Construction of Fort Ross began immediately, and the Fort was soon completed in September 1812. The Russian-American Company now found itself stretched over thousands of miles, from imperial St. Petersburg to a little Kashaya village on the California coast.

The fierce Tlingits unknowingly helped the Kashaya by influencing the Russians to revise their perceptions of Native peoples. Unfortunately for the Aleuts (also Tanainas, Chugach and Kodiak Eskimos), these revisions came very late. From the 1740s onward, the Aleuts were exploited by the Russians to hunt sea otter. Aleut males were forced to hunt under Russian foreman, while relatives were held hostage. Many Aleuts were forcibly taken to other parts of Alaska and to Fort Ross. By 1800, the Aleut population was cut in half because of warfare and disease, and in 1838 half of the Aleuts at Fort Ross were shipped back to the Aleutians to alleviate a dwindling population.

Miraculously the Aleuts and other Alaska Natives survived the Russians, who eventually saw it in their interest to make the Natives business partners rather than enemies. These changed attitudes are reflected in policies stated in the regulations of the company, entitled *Matters Related to People Inhabiting the Coasts of America Where the*

### *Company Has Its Colonies.*<sup>20</sup>

Article 57. Since the main object of the Company is hunting of land and marine animals, and since therefore there is no need for the Company to extend its sway into the interior of the lands on whose shores it carries on its hunting, the Company should make no efforts at conquest of the peoples inhabiting those shores. Therefore, if the Company should find it to their advantage, and for safety of their trade, to establish factories in certain localities of the American coast, they must do so with the consent of the natives, and use only such means as would help retain their good will, avoiding everything that may arouse their suspicion about encroachment on the independence.<sup>21</sup>

Article 58. The Company is forbidden from demanding from these peoples any kind of tribute, tax, fur-tribute, etc. Also in peace time, the Company are not to take any captives as long as they are given hostages from these peoples according to the existing custom. These hostages must be kept in decent conditions, and the authorities must see to it that they are not offended in any way.<sup>22</sup>

The Russians developed these policies because they simply could not afford to have an unfriendly local population.<sup>23</sup> They did not want Ross to be a repeat of New Archangel (Sitka), where Tlingits in 1802 massacred the settlement with bullets and cannonballs. The Russians were also concerned with the northward movement of the Spanish, and they welcomed any allies they could get.<sup>24</sup> Basing his decisions on these concerns and experiences, Manager Kuskov built Ross on the "ostrog" fort model, which provided for twenty foot high fences in a square shaped enclosure (see Appendix Three).<sup>25</sup> Kuskov's concerns were groundless however, since the Kashaya proved to be friendly hosts, and the Spanish would ultimately never attack the settlement. Eventually the Russians would refer to Ross as "settlement Ross," or "Colony Ross."<sup>26</sup> Only the Spanish, who saw the Russian outpost as a threat, referred to the site as "Fort Ross."<sup>27</sup>

Manager Kuskov established friendly relations with the Kashaya during the first few years of the outpost, exchanging blankets, axes, hoes, and beads for the right to build Ross on Kashaya land. The site of the fort belonged to Chief Chu-gu-an, who "willingly ceded it to the Russians for some appropriate gifts," according to a Spanish account.<sup>28</sup> In 1817,

however, a more formal agreement was established between the Kashaya and the Russian-American Company. Company officials were well aware of Spain's displeasure with Ross, but before Madrid sent official complaints to St. Petersburg, the company dispatched Captain Leonty Hagemeister to confirm Russian claims to Ross through a "treaty" demonstrably understood and approved by Kashaya chiefs.<sup>29</sup> Manager Kuskov hosted the diplomatic ceremony in September 1817, which employed Hagemeister to represent the company and Chiefs Chu-guan, Amat-tan, and Gem-le-le, representing the Kashaya. The "treaty" reported that the Chiefs and "others...conveyed their greetings in appreciation of the invitation."<sup>30</sup> This statement is probably accurate since the mention of "others" indicates that many Kashaya were at the ceremony.<sup>31</sup> This reflects the consensus needed by the Kashaya Chiefs in order to make a decision. The "treaty" drawn up at the ceremony, which was later sent to Moscow, stated:

The Indian chiefs Chu-guan, Amat-lin, Gem-le-le, and others confirmed that they are quite satisfied with the Russians' occupation of this place and they are now living without danger from other Indians who previously attacked them (Miwoks, other Pomo tribes). This security began only after the time of the (Russian) occupation. Lt. Captain Hagemeister has conveyed the Russian-American Company's gratitude to them for having ceded the lands for the Company's forts, structures, and workshops, located on sites that belonged to Chu-guan.<sup>32</sup>

No Kashaya signatures or symbols appeared on the document, and it is possible that the absence of any Kashaya marks reflected Kuskov's tact and understanding, since a written document was extremely foreign to Kashaya culture.<sup>33</sup> After the document was completed, the Kashaya received numerous gifts including a silver medal presented to Chu-guan, which had the Russian Imperial emblem and the inscription "Allies of Russia" on the reverse.<sup>34</sup> When Chu-guan put on the medal, he was told that "it was not advisable for him to come to Ross without it (the medal). It also obliged Indians to be loyal and render help to the Russians should the occasion arise."<sup>35</sup> Chu-guan and his people agreed, and they expressed

their "gratitude for the reception given them."<sup>16</sup> A one-gun salute was fired in honor of Chu-gu-an and the Kashaya, ending the ceremony for the only treaty ever executed between Europeans and California Indians.

The Russian-American Company had very definite interests in maintaining friendly relations with the Native tribes it came into contact with. The Kashaya, Miwok, and other Pomo tribelets also desired friendly relations with the company, but unlike the Russians, who simply wanted to efficiently hunt sea otter and grow crops successfully, the tribes were concerned with their very survival. The Spanish after 1812 pursued an aggressive missionary policy north of San Francisco Bay, hunting Miwoks and Pomos down and putting them in irons for their missions. Unlike the Russians, the Spanish had more than an economic interest in the Natives. Seeing themselves as "people of reason," the Spanish sought to convert the Natives to a new religion and way of thinking through their missions. To counter their perceived threat of Russian expansion, the Spanish built Mission San Rafael in 1817 and Mission San Francisco de Solano in 1823, both north of San Francisco Bay. Firmly established in Miwok territory, the Spanish often used previously captured Indians to hunt down the free Pomos and Miwoks. Since the Russians in the early years did little to disrupt traditional Kashaya life at Ross and Miwok life at Port Rumiantsev (a tiny farming and hunting outpost fifteen miles south of Ross), the Russians were seen as saviors compared to the Spanish.

The Kashaya's approval of the Russian presence can be seen in the 1817 agreement, when Chief Chu-gu-an expressed his satisfaction that no hostile Indians had attacked his people since Ross was founded.<sup>17</sup> The coastal Miwoks, who lived closer to the Spanish threat, were perhaps even more enthusiastic about the Russians. A Russian named Vasily Golovnin, who captained the sloop *Kamchatka*, visited Port Rumiantsev in 1818, and

claimed that the local Miwoks called their own chief "khoibo," or commander, while "in similar fashion they call Mr. Kuskov 'Apikhoibo'- the great commander."<sup>38</sup> A Miwok chief named Valenila came to visit Golovnin on board ship, bringing in Golovnin's words, "various headdresses, arrows, and domestic implements as gifts."<sup>39</sup> Through an Aleut translator, Valenila requested that "Russia take him under its protection," and that more Russians come to settle locally "so that they could defend the Miwoks from Spanish oppression."<sup>40</sup> Valenila also wanted a Russian flag to raise "as a sign of friendship and alliance with the Russians, whenever Russian ships should appear along the coast."<sup>41</sup>

As the years progressed, more Kashaya, Miwoks, and southern Pomos fled to Fort Ross as refugees, especially in the years from 1815-1822. Most of them left their native lands because of epidemics from Spanish introduced diseases. In 1817 a large number of Kashaya, Miwoks, and southern Pomos gathered at Fort Ross to ask for Kuskov's protection. Kuskov eventually persuaded most of them to "settle in the forests and mountain gorges, and then to attack the Spanish unexpectedly."<sup>42</sup> The Indians who went along with Kuskov's plan settled in "forests visible from Port Rumiantsev, toward Tomales Bay (south of the Port)."<sup>43</sup> Although Kuskov never recorded it, there is evidence that he supplied firearms to the Indians who went along with his plan. A Russian manager at Fort Ross named Potechine commented on how the Natives around the Fort were unarmed, but he emphasized that "many others" who were "living higher up (to the south) of this Bay" were "causing misery and woe to the foreigners (Spanish, hostile Indians)."<sup>44</sup> Kuskov's resettlement strategy did in fact hold off the Spanish for the next few years, testifying to the fact that normally peaceful people were willing and effective fighters.

Throughout the Russian-American Company's twenty-nine year

period the Kashaya referred to the Russian, Aleut, and Siberian employees as "the undersea people."<sup>45</sup> The Kashaya believed that their strange guests and their ships had come up from the bottom of the ocean, and that Russia was an underwater kingdom. The Kashaya were friendly to their visitors, but they retained a certain autonomy and reserve throughout the years 1812-1821, which were also the years of Ivan Kuskov's tenure as Chief Manager.<sup>46</sup> As Kuskov observed, "in the beginning they came to us very often, and seemingly remained quite content with the relationship," but once the Fort was built, "they appeared very seldom, especially the men."<sup>47</sup> The absence of Kashaya men was most likely due to the Company's ability to meet its labor requirements with Russians, Aleuts, and Siberians. While only a few Kashaya people interacted with Ross on a daily basis during these years, many Russians and Aleuts went to live among the Kashaya, although they were mostly deserters who eventually returned.<sup>48</sup> Many of them learned the Kashaya language, and Aleuts frequently served as mediators for the Russians and the Kashaya. Fort Ross employees would also go out into the forests overnight to hunt for wild game, and would always return safely because of Kashaya goodwill. The Russians were also very considerate when they undertook these hunting trips, as exemplified by this account from Tchitchinoff, a young Russian who was at the Fort from 1818 to 1825:

We had orders to go on until we met the Indians and then only proceed with their consent. Consequently we stopped there until we could find an opportunity of conversing with the natives...We saw plenty of game, but we were told not to shoot any lest we alarm the natives.<sup>49</sup>

While most of the Kashaya stayed in the woods during 1812-1821, a few Kashaya, southern Pomo, and Miwok people did come voluntarily to work during Ross's first few years. They helped in planting, cultivating, herding, logging, and construction chores, which sometimes involved

shipbuilding.<sup>50</sup> Grains planted included wheat, barley, and rye, and were mainly intended for shipment to the company's Alaska colonies. The vegetable gardens the Kashaya and other Indians tended included cabbages, beets, turnips, lettuce, carrots, and potatoes, which were intended for Ross and visiting ships. Sometimes Kuskov had Kashaya people trained in skilled trades, as Golovnin observed in 1818:

As part of his (Kuskov) domestic economy, a mill and the tanning of hides for footwear play a role. He is presently intending to make his own cloth and is teaching Indian girls who have married Aleuts to spin wool.<sup>51</sup>

Since the Kashaya and the other Indians were working on a voluntary basis, the company provided them with clothing, food, and various ornaments as an incentive to keep working. In order to maximize this exchange, a few local Kashaya villages were even moved to the grounds circling the Fort.<sup>52</sup> These material rewards did not always keep the Kashaya and other Indians at the Fort however, since many of them became bored and simply went back to their villages in the woods. Some Kashaya left because they could not adapt to the Ross workers' food, which was often given out as payment. Essie Parrish, a twentieth century Kashaya woman and a shaman, tells a story about the Russian period carried to her by Kashaya oral tradition, it is called *The First White Food*:

The new arrivals offered the Indians food. At first the Indians feared this food would be poisonous and so dumped it out, buried it at times and kept to their traditional foods.<sup>53</sup>

This story accurately follows the pattern of fear of poisoning among the Kashaya. However, over time the Kashaya became used to many of the European grains and vegetables, especially as many of their own native foods were becoming harder to obtain, either through the losing of skills to obtain it or a simple lack of availability.

Most of the Kashaya gradually acculturated to the European foods



offered to them by the Ross colonists, but marriages between Kashaya women and Aleut and Russian men were extremely chaotic. These holy and not so holy wedlocks reflected the extreme diversity of Fort Ross's population. Russians and women at Ross were in a very small minority. At no time in Ross's history did Russians exceed twenty percent of the population, while the number of men was always more than double that of the women. Of the 175 persons at Ross in 1821, 54 were women (all Alaska or California Native, no Russians), and 34 of these women were California Indians. Many of these women were married to Aleuts and other Alaska Natives (they outnumbered ethnic Russians at Ross by four to six times), who led the way in establishing family ties with the local Kashaya and Miwok women.<sup>53</sup> The ethnic Russians, however, considered these Aleut-California Indian marriages to be only of "common-law," since they only considered individuals who had been baptized and had Russian names to be "married."<sup>54</sup> Most ethnic Russians, though not all, referred to their female companions as simply "their woman."<sup>55</sup> Many of them had a legitimate wife in Russia, and they wanted to avoid any complications related to factual bigamy in the colonies.<sup>56</sup> When the young employee Tchitchinoff arrived at Ross in 1818, he found his Russian father living with a Kashaya woman, who was the daughter of an unidentified Kashaya Chief. Tchitchinoff was a little perplexed over his father, and he wrote in his journal years later, "...they were not married, as there was no priest in the settlement then."<sup>57</sup>

All Kashaya, Miwok, and southern Pomo women who lived in the immediate vicinity of the Fort married or cohabitated with Russian and Alaskan men. Although many of these relationships turned out very bad, the good ones were key players in establishing good relations between the company and the Kashaya. The spouses of the Kashaya were considered to be members of the tribe, and very often Kashaya men would come down out

of the woods to help build houses for Kashaya women who had married Aleuts.<sup>58</sup> Some Kashaya women adapted well to their new living situations, and many of them stayed at the Fort for quite a long time, although nearly all of them eventually returned to their villages because of circumstances out of their control. In 1818 Fedor Lutke, a visiting world traveler, described some of these successful marriages:

Some of the Promyshlenniks (Russian laborers) and Aleuts have married these Indian women. Our interpreter, whose wife is one of these people, told us that she had learned his language very quickly and well, and that she had also learned Aleut handicrafts, such as sewing the whale gut kamleika (water proof outer garment) and other things. In one hut I saw a rather comely young woman preparing food, and when I approached her I was surprised that she spoke easily and in clear Russian. She invited me to eat her acorn porridge, and then complained about the rain. When I inquired I found that she had lived for some time in the Ross settlement with a promyshlennik, and then had returned to her people.<sup>60</sup>

Married individuals at Fort Ross were not always faithful. Sexual promiscuity was commonplace, and "married" men and women often shifted partners.<sup>61</sup> Health was generally good at Fort Ross, but syphilis and fevers impacted Kashaya and other Native women, in addition to certain males in the near vicinity of the Fort. While these physical problems affected male-female relationships, the problem of acculturating to a spouse's culture presented tremendous difficulty. Some individuals overcame this acculturation problem, but many did not, and they are reflected in Kashaya oral histories. Many of these stories were told by a Kashaya man named Herman James, whose grandmother Lukaria was said to have been born eight years before the Russians came, which would have been 1804. One story she told her grandson was called *The Suicide of a Wife*, which is a sad remembrance of cultural breakdown:

An Indian woman was married to an "Undersea man." They had been quarreling. The man walked out of the house threatening to kill his wife if she were still there upon his return. He then left for work. The Indian woman finished eating, fed her children, went into the bedroom, and put on good new clothes. She then went off on a walk to the coastal cliff, but was followed by her child. When asked what she was doing, the mother said she was going "to die today." Although the child tried to grab her dress, the mother threw herself down onto the gravel beach.

The child ran home. Others then came and carried her body back to her house. She was buried rather than cremated (a change in Kashaya custom noted here). When the husband returned home he was taken to the whipping place and whipped for a very long time, almost a whole day. He fell unconscious and died. He, too, was buried.<sup>62</sup>

The Kashaya were very taken with the Russians' practices of law and justice, and recount here that the Russians took wrongs against Indian wives very seriously.<sup>63</sup> The woman is also presented as being near acculturation, since she lived in a house and wore new clothes. Additionally, her committing suicide must have been horrifying to the Kashaya, since suicide is completely foreign to Kashaya culture.

This story recounts some of the negative inter-ethnic cultural influences between company employees and Kashaya women, who until the early 1820s were the main representatives of Native culture to Russians and Alaskans. The Indian male population at the Fort was very small, and it was not until the increased development of agriculture, which demanded an Indian labor force, that the male as well as female Indian populations grew. But before this economic transition took place, almost all the Indian males at the Fort were convicts working for the company as punishment for crimes against the colony.<sup>64</sup> The Miwok men kept at the Fort had murdered Aleut men, while the captive Kashaya men had killed Russian horses. Some of these men were sent to Sitka, Alaska work camps, and their eventual fate is unknown. The Ross hunting outpost on the Farallon Islands (thirty miles west of San Francisco) was also used as a work camp for Indian convicts. On these tiny islands they were supervised by a Russian foreman and up to twelve Aleuts. The only exception to these male convicts was a Kashaya man named Iik, who lived at Ross and voluntarily preferred to be "at the kitchen."<sup>65</sup>

During the years 1820-1821, Ivan Kuskov recorded two censuses of Ross's inhabitants, which included California Indians. The 1820 census

was called *Register of people that are in the settlement and fortress Ross: Russians, Kodiaks, and other tribes, male and female sex*, while the second document, done in 1821, was titled *List of people that are in the settlement Ross and on Ferlon (Farallon): Russians, Kodiaks, Chugach, and Indians of both sexes.*<sup>44</sup> These censuses did not register the population outside the Russian settlements, so there is no direct information from documents about inhabitants of Meteni and other Kashaya villages.<sup>45</sup> However, the documents provide valuable insights into the Indian population at Ross and its outposts, including details on marriages, crimes, and the fates of many individuals. The following list is only a small selection from the two censuses recorded by Manager Kuskov:

2. Vaimpo, male Miwok. Worked at Ross as a convict for crimes (murder of Kodiaks and some others). June 1820. Was released to return to his native place in May 1821 because of old age and illness.

3. Chichamik, male Miwok. Worked at Ross as a convict for crimes (same as above). June 1820. As it turned out, he was not guilty and was released with some reward.

4. Kapisha, male Miwok. Worked at Ferlon Islands as a convict for crimes (murder of Kodiaks). June 1820, October 1821.

5. Vekvekun, male Miwok. Captured as one of the murderers of the hunter Andrey Kalag (Kaligin). September 1820. Sent to Sitka on "Buldakov" ship.

22. Ayumin Mar'ya, female Kashaya. Woman of Rodion Korolyov, Russian, who died 9 December, 1820. Daughter Maria. June 1820. She and her daughter "were released to go to their native place."

27. Chilan, male Kashaya. Worked at Ross as a guilty punishment for the killing of the best three horses. June 1820. Sent to Sitka in September 1820.

35. Uyamin, female Kashaya. Wife of toyon (chief) Kurnyk Moisei who departed to Sitka in March 1821. Later the wife of Ukun Andrey, a Kodiak of Chiniatskoe village. June 1820, October 1821. Stayed in Farallon Islands "for assisting the Company's works."

37. Povymen, female Kashaya. Wife of Kaskak Ivan, a Kodiak of Kiliudinskoe village, who got a new wife Vera, a Kodiak woman. June 1820. "Was allowed to return to her motherland."

39. Kilyoilok, female Kashaya. Wife of Ihuilnok Ivan, a Kodiak of Kiliudinskoe village. Two sons. June 1820. All the family was sent to Sitka in March 1821.

45. Katyya, female Kashaya. Wife of Alayakin Danila, a Kodiak of Paiskoe village, sent to Sitka in March 1821 together with his son. Son Ivan, daughter Maria. June 1820. Was allowed to go back to her native place with the daughter.

55. Vayamin, female Kashaya. Wife of Kapisha, a Miwok (no.4). On the Farallon Islands. October 1821.

64. Chubaya, female, either Kashaya or south Pomo. A "girl" of Ithoshiaknak Maksim, a Chugach from Chinikatskoe village. Son Alexandr, daughter Marfa. Marfa was sent to Sitka on the ship "Golovnin." June 1820. She joined another man together with her son Alexandr.<sup>46</sup>

These two registers by Manager Kuskov provide information on marital relations, crimes, and even children at Ross which probably would have been lost forever had Kuskov not recorded his observations. These two registers also reflect the end of an era in Ross's history. By the early 1820s the sea otter was nearly exterminated on the northern California coast, and the Ross colonists increasingly focused their energies on developing agriculture and stockraising. This sudden economic transformation at the Fort significantly changed many aspects in the Kashaya-Russian-American Company relationship. When Karl Ivanovich Schmidt took over as Manager-in-Chief of Ross in late 1821, he was stepping into a peaceful but rapidly changing environment. Reflecting on the 1812-1821 years, Matvei Muravyov (Kuskov's boss at company headquarters in St. Petersburg) described his feeling on Kuskov's relations with the Kashaya, Miwoks, and other Pomos, which is fairly accurate:

Amidst savage peoples not far from the outpost, he engaged in stockraising, horticulture, and some agriculture. He reconciled groups of Indians hostile to each other, and for many years he kept these wild people in friendly relations with the residents of the outpost solely by fair and gentle means.<sup>69</sup>

The Russian-American Company treated the Kashaya as human beings, but they did have a hierarchy pertaining to their employees. At the top were "honorable" Russians (co-administrators), next came "semi-honorable" Russians (clerks, navigators, traders), then "colonial citizens" (lower class Russians and Creoles, who were half Russian, half Alaskan), then Alaskans, and finally Native Californians.<sup>70</sup> With the Fort undertaking tremendous economic diversification in the 1820s, a rigid payment structure which reflected this hierarchy was established for company employees. Russian, Creoles, and most Aleuts were on yearly wages of rubles, while the Kashaya and other Natives received board and clothing on a day payment structure. This reflected in part the competition from

Mexican products which competed with Russian products in California, which drove down the price of goods. The new Mexican government also slapped expensive anchorage fees on all foreign vessels entering California ports. This put extreme pressure on Ross's ability to pay its employees, and when times got tough, payment went out according to the company's hierarchy. If a harvest at the Fort failed, the Kashaya, Miwok, and southern Pomo laborers were held responsible. They then were usually forced to remain and redeem the lost crop with other work.

During the 1820s Fort Ross expanded its economic base to include tanning, brickmaking, lumbering, shipbuilding, and a tremendous increase in stockraising and agriculture. The Kashaya were involved in all of these activities, and by 1825 there were a hundred Native laborers at Ross. To accommodate this rising workforce, the company built barracks for the Kashaya and others in 1822. The barracks were intended to house fifty people, but they became very overcrowded with Aleut and Native workers. Despite all this increased activity around Ross, the Kashaya still maintained a great deal of cultural hegemony. When a German world traveler named Otto Von Kotzebue visited Ross in 1824, he recorded that the Kashaya "have no permanent residence, but wander about naked, and, when not employed by the Russians as day laborers, follow no occupation but the chase."<sup>1</sup> Von Kotzebue was very impressed with Ross, and his recorded observations, while sometimes overly sentimental, paid great attention to detail:

The residents of Fort Ross live in the greatest harmony with the natives. Many Indians come to the fort and work for daily wages. At night they usually set up camp outside the stockade walls. They marry their daughters to Russians and Aleuts, and many family ties thereby develop, which strengthen good relations even more. Fort Ross residents go off to hunt deer and other wild game far into the interior, and they spend nights among various Indian tribes without anything harmful ever happening to them. Spaniards would not dare do this. The more striking the contrast is between Spanish treatment of the Indians and that of the local residents, the more a friend of humanity should rejoice when entering Russian territory.<sup>2</sup>

While Von Kotzebue saw Ross and the Kashaya in a generally ideal state, a company agent named Kirill Khlebnikov sometimes became impatient with certain Kashaya cultural traits. The company was under great financial pressure, and Khlebnikov's job was to observe problems and make recommendations to the Ross managers. His complaints to future Ross Manager Pavel Shelikhov in 1824 did not ignore the Kashaya. In a letter to Shelikhov, he stated his views on an incident where a company appointed Kashaya man lost entire sheep and cattle herds:

The losses in the first four months until February 1, 1824, were merely due to the fact that as there were no Aleuts available and the Russians were busy working on the ship, the Office was forced to appoint Indians to tend the animals, who not only immediately began to steal the sheep, but also neglected to inform the herdsman of natural losses...The cattle herd was not very large, and the Office does not know why, but the Indians may have driven the animals off into the countryside.<sup>73</sup>

As hunter/gatherers, the Kashaya had no experience with domesticated animals, and the disappearance of these herds was probably due to a combination of this inexperience as well as possible discontent with company policies. Khlebnikov was so furious with this incident that he sent an angry suggestion to Chief Manager Schmidt saying, "If Indians unrelated to the Spanish Indians are caught stealing livestock, they are to be kept in shackles at the fort and put to work."<sup>74</sup> Khlebnikov's criticism of the Kashaya also continued into other aspects of Ross life. He said that Kashaya and other Indian women had proved themselves "quite inept" and "completely unsuitable" as farm hands.<sup>75</sup> When he observed the numerous marriages between Aleuts and Indian women, he said irritatingly:

There have been cases in which Aleuts have run off to the mountains with their lovers or in which Russians have given everything they owned to Indian women, who then proceeded, with complete indifference, to give these gifts to other friends. I advise you (Schmidt) to discourage the men from such relations as much as possible.<sup>76</sup>

Here Khlebnikov expresses his concern over the economic impact of

losing Aleut workers, whose loyalty was very fragile due to past abuse, and the material drain on the Fort due to Russians giving their material items to Indian women. He also cannot understand why the Kashaya gamble so much and care so little about material possessions. This evidence of gambling and material indifference illustrates the strength of Kashaya culture in the 1820s. While Khlebnikov tried to change some of the Kashaya's cultural habits, the Kashaya at the same time subtly resisted these efforts through numerous means, including stories. Herman James told a story which was critical of the Ross colonists' practice of wearing heavy clothing, it is called *Two Undersea Youths freeze to death*:

This was said to have occurred ten years after the Russian arrival (1822). I speak of what must be creole children growing up. Two young men decide to go hunt coots (seabirds) and travel a long way down to the mouth of the Russian River (11 miles south of Ross). They get soaking wet in their endeavor and it is worsened by a heavy, cold rain. It appears that the boys became exhausted and ultimately died of exposure in the middle of the night.<sup>77</sup>

The Kashaya view of cold was that one learned to ignore it, and that it affected only the outer layer of one's body, but did not penetrate.<sup>78</sup> It was fragmented but important views like these which helped the Kashaya form a complete but subtle means for preserving their way of life in the midst of so many cultural groups at Ross. As the colony entered the 1830s, the Kashaya's subtle means of cultural resistance would be challenged even further.

In 1833 Baron Ferdinand Petrovich Von Wrangell, Manager-in-Chief of the entire Russian-American Company, visited California and spent a good deal of time at Ross. He was very interested in natural history and anthropology, and he conducted the first official anthropological study of the Kashaya. The Kashaya, however, always very cautious about their way of life, led the Baron in circles. As Von Wrangell recounts:

One could tell more about these savages; but since they are completely taken with the delusion that they must necessarily die if they tell about their customs to a stranger, they



answer every question posed to them by saying: "I do not know." I once asked them if they divided the year into twelve months. The answer was: "I do not know!" "Who, then would know?" "Oh, there are wise people who know everything." "Where do they live?" "Far on the plains!" They usually give such evasive answers to similar questions.<sup>79</sup>

Such verbal evasiveness was typical of the Kashaya, but the early and middle 1830s presented problems to the Kashaya that they never faced in their history before, problems which prompted actions rather than just words. Agriculture at Ross was at its peak during this time, and the demand for Indian labor was tremendous. As a result, more Kashaya and other Natives lived at the fort and were becoming semi-acculturated, although almost all of them held on to cultural traits such as gambling, as Von Wrangell observed in 1833:

The Indians who live closer to Ross often work there and have jackets, trousers, blankets and other things, which however they regard with complete unconcern. If they obtain something of this sort, they gamble it away or exchange it for some trifle. The differences between our articles of clothing are unknown to them and it is sometimes comical to see a savage dressed in a woman's gown with a chemise over it, or another wearing all the shirts he owns, so that he can hardly move. Without attachment to any material thing and ignorant of the worth of anything, they sometimes demand a great deal for the work they do, sometimes only a trifle. Their only purpose is to acquire something so that they can gamble it away again.<sup>80</sup>

While the increased demand for agricultural labor at Fort Ross attracted around seventy Kashaya and other Natives to the Fort by 1833, it was not enough to satisfy the needs of the Russian-American Company. The California sea otter was gone, and Ross's very reason for existence was to grow a surplus of food for the Alaska colonies. Feeling the financial pressure, Manager-in-Chief Peter Kostromitinov sent out raiding parties in 1833 to forcibly gather Kashaya laborers. Kostromitinov used the excuse that he was "very disgusted" with the Kashaya for having stolen standing wheat from fields surrounding Ross.<sup>81</sup> The Kashaya, however, stole the wheat because of previously forced labor and bad food and pay. Von Wrangell noted that "up to 150 (Kashaya)" were forcibly

gathered, and that "for one and a half months are occupied with company field work, and without their assistance it would not be at all possible to reap and haul the wheat from the plowland to the threshing floors."<sup>82</sup> Von Wrangell went on to tell how the Ross Indians are allotted "only flour for gruel as food: from this meager food and with the strenuous work the Indians toward the end are in extreme exhaustion."<sup>83</sup>

Von Wrangell was very concerned about these problems, and eventually his actions along with those of a few other high-placed people redeemed relations with the Kashaya by the late 1830s. In 1833 he commented on another desperate venture for Indian labor, as well as how to solve the problems of Ross-Kashaya relations:

I have authorized providing the Indians and the Aleuts the best food, as against formerly, and especially paying the Indians somewhat more generously for work. Not only humanity but also wisdom demand that the Indians be encouraged more: from the bad food and the negligible pay the Indians have stopped coming to the settlement for work, from which the Factory found itself forced to seek them in the tundra, attack by surprise, tie their hands, and drive them to the settlement like cattle to work: such a party of 75 men, wives, and children was brought to the settlement during my presence from a distance of 43 miles from here, where they had to leave their belongings without any attention for two months. It goes without saying what consequences there must be in due course from such actions with the Indians, and will we make them our friends? I hope that the Factory, having received permission from me to provide the Indians decent food and satisfactory pay, will soon see a change in their disposition toward us.<sup>84</sup>

It was not until the arrival of Manager-in-Chief Alexander Rotchev in late 1838 that Von Wrangell's hopes were realized to a certain degree. Kostromitinov for the most part was slow and reluctant to carry out Von Wrangell's wishes, and as a result there were further problems. Certain Kashaya and Miwok individuals mounted guerrilla attacks against company property from 1833-1838, including an 1838 raid which killed around a hundred Ross cattle. In making slow progress to treat Indians well, Kostromitinov lost significant amounts of wheat and livestock, which impacted severely Ross's economic survival. Indeed, when Kostromitinov left in 1838, the Russian-American Company, which had lost money on

Ross every year, was already looking for potential foreign buyers of Fort Ross.

The Russian-American Company and the Kashaya had strained relations throughout most of the 1830s, but this decade also witnessed a great deal of cultural interaction between company employees and the Kashaya at Ross. One of the most intriguing examples of the Kashaya's influence on the Russians involved a Russian doctor named Vasilii Kalugin. Kalugin arrived in Ross in 1831, having orders to treat not only the sick but also to gather plants and other natural history specimens, including medicinal herbs, for transmittal back to Sitka.<sup>83</sup> Although Kalugin had medical training and was acquainted with other scientific disciplines, most California flora did not grow in Siberia or Russia, and he was faced with a problem. He interacted with the Kashaya, who gradually taught him the properties of many local plants, and Kalugin went on to treat the Ross colonists throughout the 1830s with local herbal medicines. There was one devastating illness, however, that Kalugin could not deal with. In 1837, a smallpox epidemic brought from Alaska via a ship hit Ross and eventually swept throughout northern California, killing an estimated sixty to a hundred thousand California Indians (out of an estimated population of 250,000). While the Ross Indians suffered a moderate amount of fatalities, the Central Valley tribes were almost completely devastated by the disease. This tragic epidemic was sadly the most far reaching influence of the Russian presence in California.

The Kashaya survived the epidemic, and dealt with other potentially disruptive influences. Alcohol was regularly consumed by the Ross colonists, but the Kashaya did not take to the rum, which was the most common drink at the Fort. As Kostromitinov noted, the Kashaya who actually drank some rejected it, calling it "omy-liva," which translates

as "bad water."<sup>86</sup> Some of the Kashaya also experimented with the Russian Orthodox religion, and a few individuals were very influenced by the Russian faith. In 1833, according to the employee Potechine, 150 Kashaya attended prayer services in the tiny Ross chapel.<sup>87</sup> In the summer of 1836, a priest named Ioann Veniaminov visited Ross where he conducted sermons, weddings, confessions, communion services, burials, prayer services, and baptisms. Father Veniaminov kept detailed journals, and he indicated that he baptized thirty-nine Kashaya and other Native people into the Russian Orthodox Church.<sup>88</sup> The Russian faith also played a part in ending the feuding that took place among the Kashaya before the Russian arrival. A Kashaya story told by Herman James, called *The Last Vendetta*, accounted for this Russian influence:

This story begins by relating a tale of a feud between two groups of Kashaya which is suggested to have been common before the coming of the Russians. However, on this occasion, an "Undersea boy" mounted and armed with a rifle interrupted their rejoicing over the vengeance killing. The old people then decreed that they were done with the feuding. Some of the Indians then began going into the "cross-house" (the Fort Ross Chapel) which belonged to the Undersea people. Thereafter there was no more enemy killing.<sup>89</sup>

While these events confirm that some Kashaya absorbed Christianity into their culture, it is evident that these individuals did so voluntarily. The Russians assumed that their faith made them superior to the Kashaya, and they were generally indifferent to their conversion. As Kostromitinov said in 1833 about the Kashaya Coyote creation myth, "They have such absurd ideas about the origin of mankind in general."<sup>90</sup> Kostromitinov was preoccupied with economics, and although he made lots of observations on the Kashaya, he often took a why bother attitude toward their customs:

Both sexes are extraordinarily devoted to gambling...The Indians are so given to the games that those among them who work in Ross, sometimes, in spite of being tired after the day's work, enjoy the games until four o'clock in the morning, and then go back to work without having had sufficient sleep...I cannot understand their practices.<sup>91</sup>

This attitude of indifference made the Kashaya and other Natives

prefer the Russians over the Spanish. The Kashaya were free to practice their customs and to voluntarily accept parts of Russian culture if they wanted to. As a result, Kashaya religious beliefs remained strong throughout the Russian-American Company period. In 1841, a Russian naturalist and museum collector named Iliia Voznesenskii went out and collected Indian artifacts among the Sacramento Valley tribes. When he brought them back to show to the Kashaya, he observed that their religious beliefs were very much alive and kicking:

When I brought (to Ross) Indian costumes back from the Rio Sacramento—a mollok and a kukshui—the Indians who saw them were quite frightened and were amazed how I could keep in my room such a thing as a kukshui, in which Satan himself lived; they consequently considered me a shaman.<sup>92</sup>

By the end of the Russian-American Company's tenure at Fort Ross the Kashaya had successfully kept their culture alive, and had remained much the same as when Ivan Kuskov first stepped ashore. The changes that did affect the Kashaya between 1812 and 1841 included some adopted Russian cultural practices, dozens of Russian and Aleut words permanently remaining in the Kashaya language, and a few lost individuals who went off to Alaska and were never seen again. After surviving the tensions of the early and mid 1830's, the Kashaya-Russian-American Company relationship ascended into new, improved relations in the years 1839-1841. Manager-in-Chief Rotchev had largely carried out Von Wrangell's vision of fair treatment and just compensation for the Kashaya, which was both a result of goodwill and a realization that the company was scaling down its operations in California. The Kashaya, seeing this new found goodwill come from the company, stopped their raids except for a few individuals. They realized that the Russians after all were people they could live with.

The best evidence of a harmonious relationship in the years 1839-

1841 can be seen in the journals of Cyrille LaPlace, a Frenchman who was educated and had no leanings toward either the Russians, Spanish, or the Kashaya. He visited Ross in August 1839, and he dealt extensively with Manager-in-Chief Rotchev. He quotes Rotchev from their talks together, and he does so because he found Rotchev's ideas and observations to be mostly correct:

Mr. Rotchev, seeing my astonishment that the contact with the compatriots (Russians) had not modified more the ways and habits of the natives assured me that these people, just like their counterparts in New Archangel (Sitka), obstinately refused to exchange their customs for ours. "However," he added (Rotchev), "thanks to a lot of perseverance and enticements, I have succeeded in diminishing a little this adverse sentiment to whites...Seeing their labors generously paid for, their freedom and religious beliefs, absurd as they are, (they are) respected...But, I have not yet been able to make these children of nature understand the value of foresight and the charm of property."<sup>33</sup>

The Kashaya survived Fort Ross with an intact and expanded culture of Russian and Aleut influences. This can be credited to both the tolerant, if not indifferent policies of the Russian-American Company, and to the subtle determination on the part of the Kashaya to preserve and experiment with their way of life. When the Russian-American Company sold Fort Ross to John Sutter in 1841, one of the most harmonious European-Native American relationships in history came to an end. With the "undersea people" gone, the Kashaya were left to face the Californios and the Americans, a task which they handled successfully. A story from Herman James, called *Tales of Fort Ross*, demonstrates the enduring legacy of the Kashaya people, who, despite the comings and goings of various outsiders, remain:

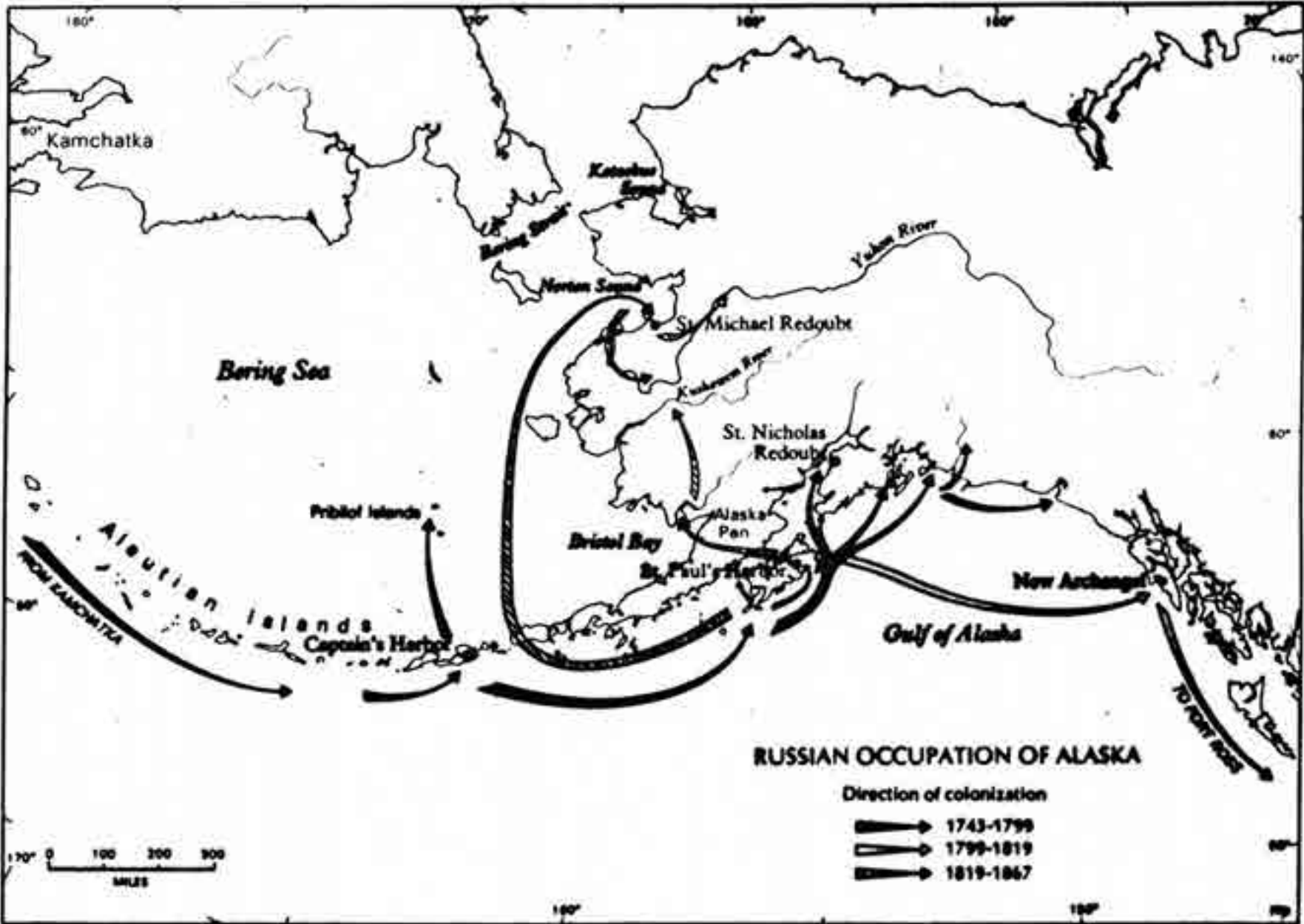
A boat with a white sail appeared off Metini. A boat landed and the "Undersea people" appeared. It was on this occasion that they got this name. When they landed they built houses close to where the Indians were. After awhile the Indians began working for them but after thirty years living there they returned home.<sup>34</sup>

**TABLE 1:**  
***Ethnic Composition***  
***of the Adult Population at Ross***

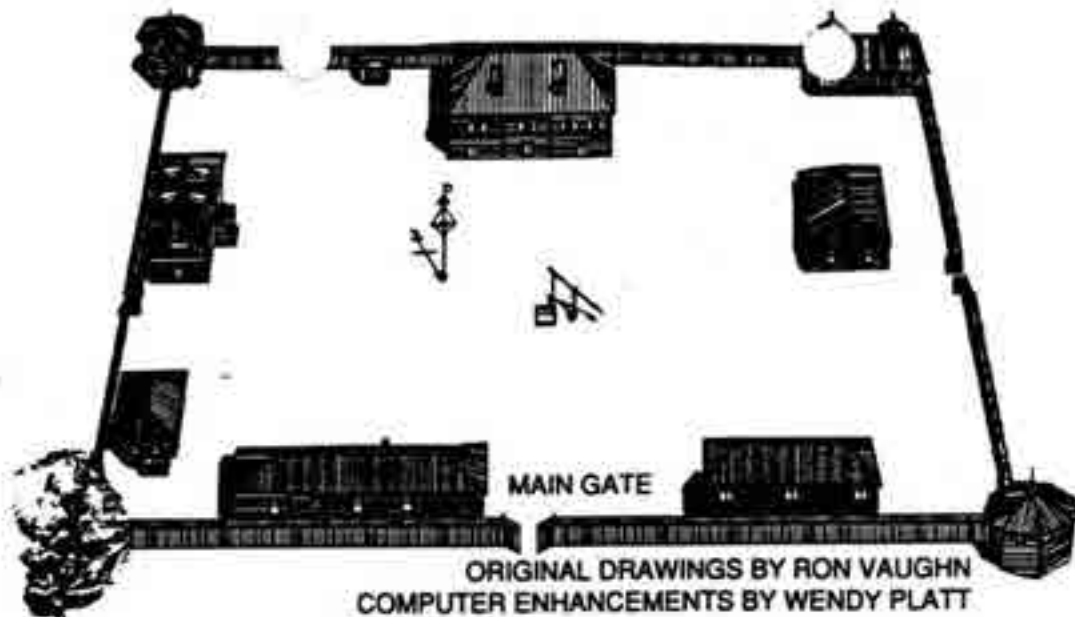
	CENSUS 1820 with the annotations 1820-1821 ("Register")*		CENSUS 1821 ("List")	
	Number (persons)	%	Number (persons)	%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Russians	38	14.6	24	13.7
Creoles	17	6.5	12	6.9
Eskimos:	132	51.2	88	50.3
Kodiaks (Koniag)	126		85	
Chugach	7		3	
Aleuts (Fox Islands)	3	1.2	3	1.7
Yakuts	5	1.9	5	2.9
Hawaiian ("Sandwichan")	4	1.5	3	1.7
Kolyuzh (Tlingit)	2	0.8	2	1.1
Kenai (Tanaina)	1	0.4	...	...
California Indians**	56	21.5	38	21.7
Persons whose ethnic origin is not mentioned	1	0.4	...	...

\* Total number of persons recorded on the "Register"

\*\* Total number. For ethnic distribution, see Table 4







### DRAWING OF RECONSTRUCTED STOCKADE

The following descriptions of the buildings begin with the Official's Barracks, left of the main gate and progresses clockwise around the compound.

**OFFICIAL'S BARRACKS** — *This building provided company officials, and possibly visitors, with rooms. It also contained a kitchen, storerooms, an office, a jail, and two workshops.*

**ROTCHEV HOUSE** — *Built by Rotchev in 1836, it served as the Commandant's House until 1841. It was probably well furnished and a French visitor remarked that Rotchev possessed a "choice library, a piano, and a score of Mozart."*

**FUR BARN** — *Furs and probably, agricultural produce were stored here before shipment to Alaska.*

**SEVEN-SIDED BLOCKHOUSE** — *As a watchtower for sentries with muskets and cannon, it protected the northeast and northwest stockade walls from attack by land.*

**KUSKOV HOUSE** — *Built as a citadel, it served as the Commandant's House until 1836. The upstairs offered living quarters and multi-purpose rooms, while the downstairs contained a storeroom, and armory.*

**CHAPEL** — *Built in the mid-1820s, the chapel was the first Russian Orthodox church structure in North America outside of Alaska. Two sides of the chapel from part of the stockade walls.*

**EMPLOYEE'S BARRACKS** — *In this structure, three rooms provided accommodations for the unmarried men. Families lived outside the stockade walls in individual houses.*

**EIGHT-SIDED BLOCKHOUSE** — *Offering a clear field of fire protecting the southwest and southeast stockade walls, the cannon in this blockhouse could also be used to signal or repulse ships at sea.*

**WELL** — *In spite of the nearby creek, the well inside the fort compound offered security in case of attack by Indians or a foreign power.*

**FLAGPOLE** — *Constructed like a ship's mast, the flagpole not only flew the Russian-American company flag, but was probably also used for signaling ships at sea and as a navigational device.*

<sup>1</sup> Robert Oswalt, The Russians in California: Kashaya Pomo Memoirs. News from Native California, vol. 2, No. 3, July/August, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Robin Joy and Lyn Kalara, Interpretive historians at Fort Ross state historic park. The Kashaya today number in the low hundreds. They have a forty acre reservation with about 100 people. Some Kashaya are more traditional in keeping their culture than others, but most of them look favorably on the Russian relationship.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Oswalt, Kashaya Texts (UC Berkeley Press, 1964), p. 8

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925.), p. 250

<sup>5</sup> Vinson Brown, The Pomo Indians of California and their Neighbors, (Happy Camp, California: Naturegraph Publishers, 1969), p. 37

<sup>6</sup> A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, p. 256

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>8</sup> Malcolm Margolin, The Way We Lived, (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1981), p. 16

<sup>9</sup> B. W. Aginsky, Deep Valley, (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, 1967), p. 19

<sup>10</sup> Vinson Brown, The Pomo Indians of California and their Neighbors, p. 38

<sup>11</sup> Robert Oswalt, Kashaya Texts, p. 122-125

<sup>12</sup> Vinson Brown, The Pomo Indians of California and their Neighbors, p. 42

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 43

<sup>14</sup> A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, p. 259

<sup>15</sup> Vinson Brown, The Pomo Indians of California and their Neighbors, p. 46

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>18</sup> Kaye Tomlin, Outpost of an Empire, (Published by the Fort Ross Interpretive Association, Fort Ross, California, 1992), p. 4

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p. 6

<sup>20</sup> Robert Heizer, The Other Californians, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 65

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 66

<sup>23</sup> Mary Kennedy, Culture Contact and Acculturation of the Southwestern Pomo, (Doctoral Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 1955), p. 37

<sup>24</sup> Glenn J. Farris, The Russian Imprint on the Colonization of California, (Fort Ross Interpretive Association, Inc. (no date))

<sup>25</sup> E. Parkman, A Fort by Any Other Name: Interpretation and Semantics At Colony Ross, California, (Department of Parks and Recreation, 1992), p. 1

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Walrous, "Ivan A. Kuskov: The First Manager of Fort Ross," The Californians, 9: No. 5 March/April 1992, p. 13

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 14

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>32</sup> S. B. Olin, The Russian-American Company, (Moscow, 1939), p. 122

<sup>33</sup> Stephen Walrous, "Ivan A. Kuskov: The First Manager of Fort Ross," p. 14

- \* Glenn J. Farris, The Russian Impact on the Colonization of California, p. 98
- \* Ibid
- \* Stephen Warron, "Ivan A. Kuskov: The First Manager of Fort Ross," p. 14
- \* Ibid
- \* Ibid
- \* Ibid
- \* Ibid
- \* Ibid
- \* Ibid, p. 15
- \* Ibid
- \* Mary Kennedy, Culture Contact and Acculturation of the Southwestern Pomo, p. 38
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