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Fort Ross and Salt Point parks have benefited greatly from many dedicated volunteers and staff who have given generously to these parks. Board of directors from FRIA and FRC have fundraised, organized events, overseen volunteers, spearheaded interpretation and restoration projects, and offered substantial support to California State Parks across many decades.

These digitized newsletters capture the activities over the following historic periods:

- Fort Ross Interpretive Association (FRIA): 1976 - 2012
- Fort Ross Conservancy (FRC is the same legal entity as FRIA but the organization changed its name): 2012 - present

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Fort Ross Conservancy, a 501(c)(3) and California State Park cooperating association, connects people to the history and beauty of Fort Ross and Salt Point State Parks. © Fort Ross Conservancy, 19005 Coast Highway One, Jenner, CA 95450, [707-847-3437](tel:707-847-3437) www.fortross.org



FORT ROSS INTERPRETIVE ASSOCIATION

January - February 1996 Newsletter

VISIT FORT ROSS THIS WINTER AND TRAVEL THE NOW OPEN AND NEWLY IMPROVED HIGHWAY ONE!

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

As this year draws to a close, it seems natural to look backward in gratitude and forward in hope.

Good things have happened in 1995. FRIA paid for the replacement of the interpretive cages in the Kuskov House in the fort. We helped fund *The Rotchev House, A Historic Structure Report (Draft)* by Richa Leann Wilson. A House and Garden Tour fund-raiser for the Call House and Garden was successfully undertaken. The Call House got a new roof and there is a substantial start on the foundation of the north wing. Ten thousand dollars was awarded to the Call House restoration by the County Landmarks Commission. Much work was done by the Garden Committee, including an irrigation system. Once again we provided costumes for the participants in Living History Day. The Curatorial Committee visited the State Parks West Sacramento Warehouse to view some of the artifacts from Fort Ross. The committee also developed policies for the library and for accessions. The FRIA Bylaws were rewritten and a mission statement agreed upon—necessary steps to a contract with the state's Department of Parks. Our in house publication, *The Caretakers of Fort Ross After the Russian-American Company*, was revised and is now available in the bookstore. The FRIA staff is in the process of cataloguing the Fort Ross Library on bibliographic data base.

Under the able direction of Lyn Kalani, assisted by Lake Perry, our Book and Gift Shop's selection of great books, cards and gift items continues to make our store one of the best book and gift shops on the coast. Remember that a copy of each book can be found in our library, available for borrowing by members.

It is with sadness that we acknowledge the passing of our bookstore volunteer, Elizabeth Cresswell. We shall miss her energy and spirit. We welcome Jamie Nixon as new volunteer for the bookstore. Her valuable donated time will help keep the shop and the Visitor Center open. Jamie has worked as a park aide at Fort Ross for several years, is well acquainted with the park and can answer visitors' questions. 1995 was a tough year for generating income in the Fort Ross Book and Gift Shop. Highway One was closed during winter, part of spring, and again in the fall months. The Visitor Center was closed for a week in January, a week in March and again this December due to power failure. The hurricane force winds of a few weeks ago took the power out for 4 days.

At the December FRIA meeting I declined to be nominated as president. I have enjoyed and learned quite a lot the past two years, but now feel ready to pass on the gavel. David Willson is our new president. He has served as treasurer and vice-president and is well suited for the position. Other officers for 1996 are: Maria Sakovich vice-president, John Sperry treasurer, Lee Kosso recording secretary and myself as corresponding secretary. New directors to FRIA will be Otis Parrish, Ludmila Ershow, and John Allen. We are grateful to the out-going directors for their time and energy, and also to you, the members of FRIA. Your generosity is a great sign of hope. We have many exciting projects planned for the coming year—the Call House and Garden continuing restoration, the baidara project, the Russian cemetery restoration, the Russian windmill project, a Kashaya seminar, and many others. All these projects are made possible by the efforts of volunteers like you. Christmas blessings and happy new year!

Nancy Scheiber Walton

1996 FRIA BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Election Results


This year we welcome three new directors to the Fort Ross Interpretive Association Board: **John Allen**, **Ludmila Ershow** and **Otis Parrish**. Incumbents **Maria Sakovich** and **John Sperry** were reelected.

The 1996 board (elected by the general membership) and its officers (elected by the 1995 board at the December meeting) is as follows:

John Allen
Violet Chappell
Ludmila Ershow
David Kenly
Lenore Kosso, Recording Secretary
John Middleton
Otis Parrish
Jeannette Rosson
Maria Sakovich, Vice President
John Sperry, Treasurer
Frieda Tomlin
Nancy Walton, Corresponding Secretary
David Willson, President

We thank outgoing directors **Gloria Frost**, **Laurie Horn** and **Nicholas Lee** for their many years of service and contributions to Fort Ross State Historic Park and the Fort Ross Interpretive Association. *We will miss you!*

We also thank outgoing officers of the 1995 board: **David Kenly**, Treasurer, **Nicholas Lee**, Corresponding Secretary, **John Sperry**, Recording Secretary, **Nancy Walton**, President and **David Willson**, Vice President.



**GOURMET GALA
FOR THE GARDEN**

**TWO GRAND FEASTS AT THE HOME
OF CHEF JACK SCHNEIDER
OVERLOOKING THE SEA
IN TIMBER COVE**

**JANUARY 18TH & MARCH 21ST
AT 5:30 PM
22220 COAST HIGHWAY ONE**

**A Benefit for the Call House
Garden Restoration**

**Seating Strictly Limited to 24 per Feast
\$75.00 Per Person
For Reservations Call:
Doni Tunheim (707) 847-3761
Mary Lynn Gauthier
(707) 847-3468**

CERTIFICATES OF APPRECIATION

The FRIA Board awarded Certificates of Appreciation to the following volunteers at the December meeting:

Jaci and Moses Hallett
for work in the bookstore
Paul Chappell
for hard work on the Call House foundation
Michael Hallett
for contributing architectural expertise to the Call House restoration project
Mary Lynn Gauthier and the Garden Committee
for work on the Call Garden
Sherry Madrone
for sewing historic costumes



DO YOU HAVE TIME TO VOLUNTEER? SUPPORT YOUR STATE PARKS BY DONATING WORK!

The Fort Ross Bookstore staff needs at least one more dependable volunteer to work one day a week—or one day every other week. It is a fun job! You will have time to study the cultural and natural history of Fort Ross, California and Russian America as you become familiar with the extensive collection of books on these subjects which we have in the bookstore. You will have a chance to talk to people from all over the world and research their questions about the history of Fort Ross.

Another very important place we need assistance is in the Fort Ross Library. Much work has been done in the library in recent years to increase the collection of books and research materials and to organize and catalogue the collection. There are still several shelves of uncatalogued materials to be worked on and we could use help! In addition, we are in the beginning stages of entering the entire library collection into Procite, a library data base cataloging system. If you like computer work and jobs which require close attention to detail, we need your help!

Need variety? It is also possible to combine the bookstore job with the library cataloging job!

If either of these jobs interest you, call Lyn at
(707) 847-3437.



GIFT FROM IRKUTSK, SIBERIA

FRIA member Hank Birnbaum, our "American-Russian friend on the shores of Lake Baikal", visited Fort Ross again on December 19, 1995. During this visit he gave an impromptu slide presentation about Lake Baikal; and he brought us a gift, a donation to our library. The book is entitled *Irkutsk*; it is a compilation of photographs by Alexander Knyazev with text in English and Russian about the history of the area by M. Sergeyev. FRIA members may check out this beautiful book from the circulating section of the Fort Ross Library.

EXCAVATION OF A KASHAYA POMO VILLAGE SITE IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

by Antoinette Martinez

(reprinted from *Berkeley Archaeology*, Vol. 3, No. 1)

As recently as the early nineteenth century many of the Native Americans of northern California walked a tightrope between prehistory and history, between a hunter-gatherer existence and "civilization". Finding equilibrium between these two expanses would require change, choice, and a challenge to retain the time-tested securities of their past. The opportunity to examine these dynamics within the context of current archaeological theory exists nearby on the Sonoma County coast of northern California. From 1812 to 1841 the Russian American Company established and maintained the fur trade colony of Ross within the homelands of the Kashaya Pomo Indians. This pluralistic colonial community was characterized by a large number of interethnic households including the documented cohabitations of Kashaya Pomo women and the Native Alaskan men accompanying the Russians as sea mammal hunters.



*Otis Parrish (a native Kashaya Pomo)
blessing the site prior to excavation*

The physical and material boundaries of the Fort Ross Archaeological Project, and ongoing UC Berkeley research program directed by Professor Kent Lightfoot, expanded during the summer of 1995 to correspond to the theoretical and methodological goals of the greater research design. The archaeological investigations of a Kashaya Pomo Village site on the ridge near the fort are being integrated with the rich ethnohistoric, ethnographic, pictorial, and linguistic data available on the Kashaya Pomo to form the basis for a dissertation addressing culture change in a Native American community in the early nineteenth century. This research was specifically designed by UC Berkeley graduate student and project director, Antoinette Martinez, to use multiple lines of evidence within telescoping scales of spatial and temporal analysis. Global, regional, local and household spatial patternings will be analyzed diachronically to examine different models of response and decision making by the Kashaya Pomo women, men, and families before, during, and after the presence of the Russian and native Alaskan hunters and traders in this mercantile colonial context. In particular, how did the native women act as cultural mediators in bridging the changing subsistence, sociopolitical, spatial and ideological chasms? Were they the innovators or keepers of tradition? How did these people adapt or transform the spaces of their daily practices and activities? Were there changes in the foodways or social relations among and within the households?

Theoretical and methodological issues of space and scale came into focus this summer as we carefully exposed the very floors, hearths, and trash deposits of people who had suddenly become part of a global system. The areas tested included small house pit depressions, stone tool and shell artifact manufacturing areas, an extensive midden, and the large depression of a semisubterranean structure.

Many people cooperated, collaborated and coexisted to make this a successful, fun, and very productive field season that ran from June 1 to July 22, 1995. California State Parks and Breck Parkman, as always, lent support and encouragement for this

project which ran concurrently with the mitigation of the north wall of the Fort Ross stockade which Peter Mills directed. The Soper-Wheeler Company gave permission to work on the property and, like the Pedotti family who managed the property, we learned to treasure this land. There is no doubt that the blessing that Otis Parrish performed before testing contributed to the exciting result. Of course, UC Berkeley graduate and undergraduate students supplied energy, dedication, and insight. We also thank all the interested individuals from the Kashaya, local and academic communities who also contributed to the success.

Since the time a rancher made daily hikes to water his tomatoes and enjoy the view, the location of the Kashaya Pomo village has been called "Tomato Patch". It is safe to assume that those who came before him, the people whose past lies just beneath the surface, found this area productive and beautiful, too. In the clearing northeast of the year round spring a large depression, which is approximately 10 meters in diameter from berm to berm, becomes particularly well-defined in the spring when the grass is green and clipped close to the ground by the resident cattle. Directly east of the large depression are several smaller depressions that line up comfortably along the contour of the slope. To the south of the large depression the slope makes a noticeable descent to the dark rich soils of the midden. Scattered between, and sometimes overlapping these other features, are areas dominated by obsidian and chert flakes and shatter.

The first excavation units to slice into the center of the large depression offered evidence of a relatively large structure that had burned down collapsing into itself and settling relatively undisturbed until we arrived. Because of the care taken by crew chief Allan Bramlette, and crew members Judy Stevenson, Hannah Ballard, Lisa Barrera, and Aimee Plourde we know that a substantial center post (approximately 16 cm in diameter) and almost a meter below the present surface held up a framework of posts, branches and twigs daubed with clay. After exposing

more of the cultural levels in a large excavation block we found that some of the wood had been carbonized. Some of the branches and twigs left only impressions in the orange fire-hardened clay that also clung to an occasional bead, bone or shell. The dark, compact and greasy floor stands out in profile and ends abruptly at the berm whose construction and composition is not as easily well defined. Nearly 200 glass trade beads were recovered on and above the floor representing the dominant historical artifact at this site.



Excavation of a large depression

The three small depressions tested were all very different. The small depression farthest east from the large depression had been excavated in 1994. Extensive testing of this four meter feature reached depths of almost 70 cm below datum. Until we began subsurface testing we were not positive these small depressions were cultural. However, a burnt shell lens surrounded by fire cracked rock in the center at around 60 cm below datum assured us that they were. Moving slightly west, subsurface testing in the next depression revealed a larger concentration of burnt shell, as well as bone, associated with a relatively large amount of angular sandstone and cobbles. This faunal and charcoal lens was collected for flotation analysis. We divided excavation blocks into 50x50 cm units to facilitate the future replication of detailed spatial distributions. These provenience "events" could then be used to give detail to regional and eventually global scenarios. Finally, the hearth (or oven?) in the small depression nearest the large depression was underlain by a pavement of close fitting rocks and appears to have been dug out of a previous living surface. Another possible post in this depression has been compromised by rodent disturbance. The association of schist fragments with this feature and the apparent cultural contexts of schist in other areas of the site raise many questions about the use of this material in Native American traditions.

The remains of numerous meals of chiton, mussel, barnacle, abalone, fish, bird, and mammal were mixed in with discarded stone tools, debitage, broken glass, and pieces of ceramic in the midden. The use of 1/8 inch screen for the entire excavation allowed for the recovery of fish vertebrae, rodent teeth, sea

urchin spines, finishing flakes, as well as tiny beads. Several 20x20 cm columns from the midden, and all other excavation areas of the site, were bagged for future flotation and other soil tests. While we had hoped to expand the midden excavation horizontally, depths of over a meter kept us restricted to 50x50 cm units. This was enough to keep crew chief Steve Silliman, and crew members Lori Reyes, Angela Scott, and Kathy Kawelu quite busy. Other graduate students who had the opportunity to get dirty and contribute to our data included Rob Schmidt and Robin Sewell.

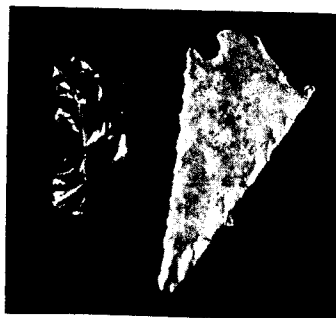
The midden contrasts sharply with the areas almost devoid of organic remains but sprinkled with chert and obsidian bifaces, projectile points, flakes and shatter. We tested one of these areas to a depth of approximately 80 cm below surface and found a diverse range of lithic artifacts down to that depth. These contrasts were quite accurately predicted by results of remote sensing, including soil resistivity and magnetometer surveys, done in 1994 that showed the potential for discrete "activity areas". This was followed by the excavation of 60 STU's (shallow test units) consisting of 1x1 m units placed at the southwest corner of every 10x10 m section of the site grid. These STU's ranged from 4 to 8 cm in depth and comprise an important component of the database.

While the project spotlights a discrete time and space, the issues involved are relevant to all culture contact studies and significant for the following specific reasons: 1) it is an example of Russian colonialism which can be compared with the more numerous studies of Spanish systems, especially in the US and California; 2) globally, it is in a geographical area that could be considered "peripheral" to the Russians, Spanish, and in some ways, to the Native Americans; 3) temporally, it is an area that would have seen drastic change in a short time period because of the limited Russian occupation; 4) the Kashaya are documented in the ethnohistoric record and have one of the richest ethnographic records in North America; 5) this research will also help promote the public image of native history and involvement within the State Parks system through the exchange of knowledge among the native, academic, and local communities; 6) archaeological research in the area is limited and no previous excavations have been done on the ridge near Fort Ross; 7) and last, but certainly not least, this project is particularly conducive to the study of gender in a culture contact situation.



Archaeologists in the field

Kashaya Pomo Artifacts



A LIST OF PERSONS PRESUMEDLY BURIED AT FORT ROSS CEMETERY

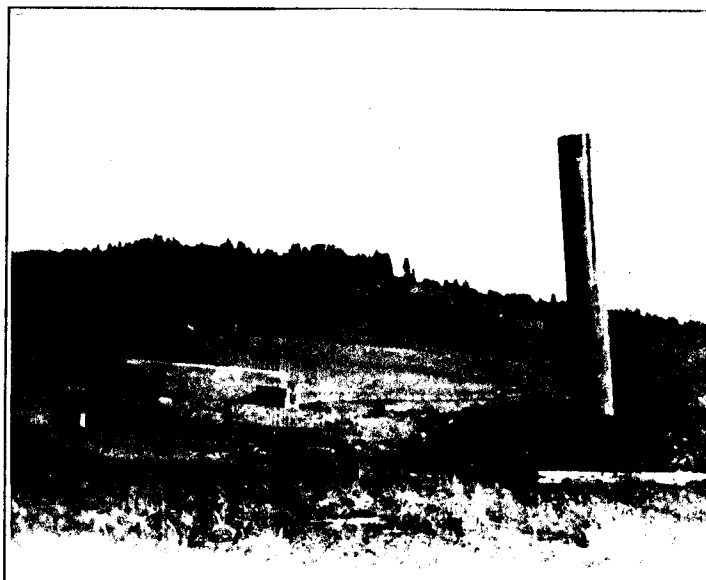
by Alexei Istomin

Alexei Istomin is a specialist in Russian-Indian relations, from the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in Moscow. During the summer of 1991 Dr. Istomin was granted an internship by the Fort Ross Interpretive Association. While studying at Ross he wrote *The Indians at the Ross Settlement According to the Censuses by Kuskov, 1820-1821* published by FRIA. He is currently writing a book about the California Indian population in Russian America.

1. **Alexei Shukshin**—Russian promyshlennyi killed by a tree during "the works at the forest" on July 27, 1820.
2. **Olga**—A Kodiak woman, wife of Avvakum Nanehkun, the Kodiak Eskimo from Chiniak. Died in August 1820.
3. **Rodion Korolyov**—Russian promyshlennyi who died because of some disease on December 9, 1820.
4. **Pininchin Varvara**—Kodiak woman from Razbitovskoe Village. Died June 14, 1821.
5. **Izhuaok Petr**—Child. Son of Trofim Tlualik, the Eskimo from Ayahtalitskoe and of the Indian woman from the vicinity of Ross, Kunuchami. Died in June 1821.
6. **Unitma**—Bodegan Miwok woman. Wife of Chugach Eskimo from Chinikat. Sipak Ishkhatskii. Died in September 1821.
7. **Vasilii Antipin**—Russian promyshlennyi; carpenter and ploughman. Died in 1821.
8. **Matvei**—(Probably Chapuzhvik Matvei, toyon of Ayahtalitskoe Settlement, Kodiak.) "Aleutian toyon" (Kodiak Eskimo), a chief toyon of the "Aleuts" in Ross. Died in May or June 1824, or a little earlier.
9. **Anna Vasil'eva**—Creole woman. Died probably in 1825, before August 1825.
10. **Vasilii Vasil'ev**—Russian promyshlennyi from Tobol'sk peasants. According to Khlebnikov documents he died on May 13, 1826.
11. **Vilman (or Wilman)**—German? Finn? Swede? Died not later than October 27, 1825 (maybe in 1824?).
12. **Linden**—German? Finn? Swede? Died not later than October 27, 1825 (maybe in 1824?).
13. **Vasilii Starkovskiy**—Russian. A clerk. From meszchane (townsmen). Died March 11, 1827.
14. **Ivan Antipin**—Russian. From Arkhangel'sk peasants. Died December 31, 1827.
15. **Dmitriy Samoilov**—Kodiak Eskimo. Son of toyon. The Company's employee, blacksmith. Died not later than February 1832 because of the consequences of catarrh.
16. **Praskov'ya Kulikalova**—Creole woman. Widow. Died presumably in 1827.
17. **Sergei Trukhminov**—Kodiak Eskimo from Igak. The Company's employee. Died in late 182? (late 20s).
18. **Mikhail Rastorguev**—Native Kodiak or Creole. The Company's employee. Died in late 1820s (not earlier than 1824, not later than 1829).
19. **Antipina** (only last name)—Creole woman. Probably widow of Ivan Antipin (see #14). Died not later than November 1828.
20. **Alexei Korenev**—Russian promyshlennyi (employee). Died in early 1830s, before July 1833.
21. **Fedor Svin'in**—Russian clerk and a church elder. Died in early 1830s, after 1830 and before July 1833.



It is possible also that **Kotlakovskiy**, the Company's employee, and Creole **Kulikalov**, whose widows are mentioned by Kuskov in 1820, also died at Ross.



Earliest known photograph, 1898, of the cemetery site at Fort Ross. From John Benitz, Sussex, England.



FORT ROSS AND THE 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY

This May, the Nautical Heritage Society, which operates the state's flagship, the *Californian*, will commemorate Russia's contribution to California's history with an expedition down the coast from Fort Ross to San Diego. Two Russian yawl boats, each with a crew of six sailors, and possibly two or three Aleut craft, will travel to some fourteen points along the coast where Russia had a historic connection with California. Visitors will be invited to inspect period campsites at each stop, and will view reproductions of the works of several expedition artists and scientists on 19th century voyages of discovery to California. They will also have the chance to see early charts and the type of instruments that were needed to produce them, learn about the lives of Russian sailors on these voyages, see how they lived and worked, learn what they ate, and how they interacted with the different nationalities that accompanied these voyages, and the peoples they encountered while here.

The Russian Navy's part in the establishment of Russian California is much more important than we often appreciate. The negotiations with the local natives for the land around Fort Ross were carried out by a naval officer, Leontii A. Hagemeister. The second manager of the Ross Colony, Carl Schmidt was also a serving naval officer in the corps of navigators. Naval administration in the colonial capitol in Sitka provided a humane civilizing influence often lacking in the earlier Russian-American Company's relations with

natives. Following the replacement of the merchant administration in 1818, the company began to establish civil rights for the natives, schools which taught native languages, hospitals and social services. Natives were no longer compelled to work without pay, and an effort was begun to collect and record evidence of their cultures, with the result that some of the finest ethnographic collections of California native cultures can today be found in Russia. The scientists collected as well examples of California's flora and fauna. California's state flower, the golden poppy, still bears the name of its discoverer, Johann Escholtz, scientist aboard the Russian Navy's brig *Riurik*. Russian naval officers commanded the ships of the Russian-American Company, and carried out the delicate diplomatic negotiations with Spanish and later Mexican California. Many later became governors of Russian America, and not a few became naval heroes in Russian history. An important point to remember is that the history of Russian California is essentially a peaceful one, and these naval officers brought a degree of trade and culture to California heretofore unknown. A very valuable source of information on early California also lies untapped in the journals of the officers who visited here. Highly educated men—often trained in the arts and sciences, they viewed early California in a manner few were able, and left a record of their visits, affording a different and often unique perspective.

The Nautical Heritage Society's expedition to rediscover the contributions of these 19th century Russian explorers hopes to recognize in this first year of California's sesquicentennial one of the many cultures which makes up today's state. As official on the water events coordinator for the state's CAL-150 celebrations, this recognition of Russia's part in California history makes Fort Ross the first park to participate in the official Sesquicentennial Celebrations. The NHS hopes to encourage all individuals interested in this expedition to participate. There are still volunteer positions available for living historians, botanists and biologists, anthropologists, sailors, and those specializing in Russian American history. Interested persons should contact John Middleton, NHS, Customs House, One Custom House Plaza, Monterey, CA 93940. (408) 375-0401



INDIANS IN KUSKOV'S REGISTERS

Excerpts from the *Introduction to The Indians at the Ross Settlement*

According to the *Censuses by Kuskov, 1820-1821* by Alexei A. Istomin, published by FRIA in 1992

Among the available sources on the history of Fort Ross (1812-1841), an exclusive value must be given to two documents: The censuses (or registers) of the colony's inhabitants compiled by the governor of Ross, Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskov, at the end of his service in California...

The lists contain names, sex, ethnic origin, and the family status of adult residents, information about their minor children, and, in some cases, other information. Both documents are in Moscow, Russia, in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin State Library...

The following text is a short introduction or commentary to the second part of the book, in which the information about Indians contained in Kuskov's lists, is systemized into a table. Additionally, the author made four tables with statistical data on the ethnic composition of the Ross population, based on the Kuskov censuses...

From Tables 1, 2 and 3, it is obvious that the California Indians were a significant portion of the colony population. The Indian male population was small, but at the same time, Indian women accounted for more than half the entire female population of Ross. Russian colonization was characterized by the absence or rare presence of Russian women as well as by the mass displacement of Aleuts and Eskimos (predominantly males) to areas of sea animal hunting. Under such conditions, marriages or relations with Indian women and their presence in the Russian settlement were prerequisites for a normal life in the colony. Meanwhile, during the early settlement period, there was little involvement of the Indians in the Ross economy, which was based mainly upon the sea animal hunting by Eskimos. The development of agriculture, demanding an Indian labor force, was more typical for later periods, after Kuskov's departure.

Almost all male Indians living in the settlement Ross were convicts working for the company as a punishment for committing crimes against the colony (murder of Kodiaks including "in the Great Bodiga and in Avacha River", killing of Russian horses, etc.). Some of them were sent to Sitka and their further destiny is unknown. The only exception was an Indian by the name of *lik*...who voluntarily preferred to live "at the kitchen"...

It is interesting to note the almost complete non-existence of pure (non-mixed) Indian families in Ross... Russians, Creoles, Eskimos, and California Indians were the basic components of the Ross population. The presence of Alaska Indians (Tlingit and Tanaina), as well as the people of Siberia (Yakuts) and of Polynesia (Hawaiians), had no significant importance in the ethnic profile of Ross, demonstrating rather the vast geographical connections of Russian America.

Kuskov clearly distinguished three groups of California Indians: "Bodegan" or "from the Great Bodega"; "from the vicinity of Ross" and "from the Slavianka River." Behind these names one guesses about the three ethnic units living in the area of Russian colonization: Coast Miwok, Kashaya or Southwestern Pomo, and Southern Pomo... The Russian "promyshlennyye", the Kodiak sea hunters, and the Indian women were the main Ross residents. Kuskov's lists allow us to

supplement our knowledge of Ross inhabitants, particularly the status of Indian women.

The system of administrative dependency which bound the company and its subordinated people—employees, promyshlennyye, Kodiak hunters—has extended also to the Indian women. Kuskov's *Register* contains remarks written after the names of Indian women who had departed from Ross for one reason or another, saying "released" (or "allowed") to go to her native place." These statements testify eloquently about the administrative control which existed, at least formally, over the Indian women. In the registers, Kuskov called Indian women common-law (literally "collateral" or "secondary") wives (*pobochnaya zhena*) or simply "wives" when he writes about the Eskimo husbands, but prefers to use simply "woman" when he refers to the relations with Russian promyshlennyye ("with him is a woman...").

In this case, however, it does not indicate a different status, but was a sign of a caution on the part of Kuskov who probably was not sure in the case of common-law marriages. Some Russians may have had a legitimate wife in Russia and he would wish to avoid any complications related to factual bigamy in the colonies.

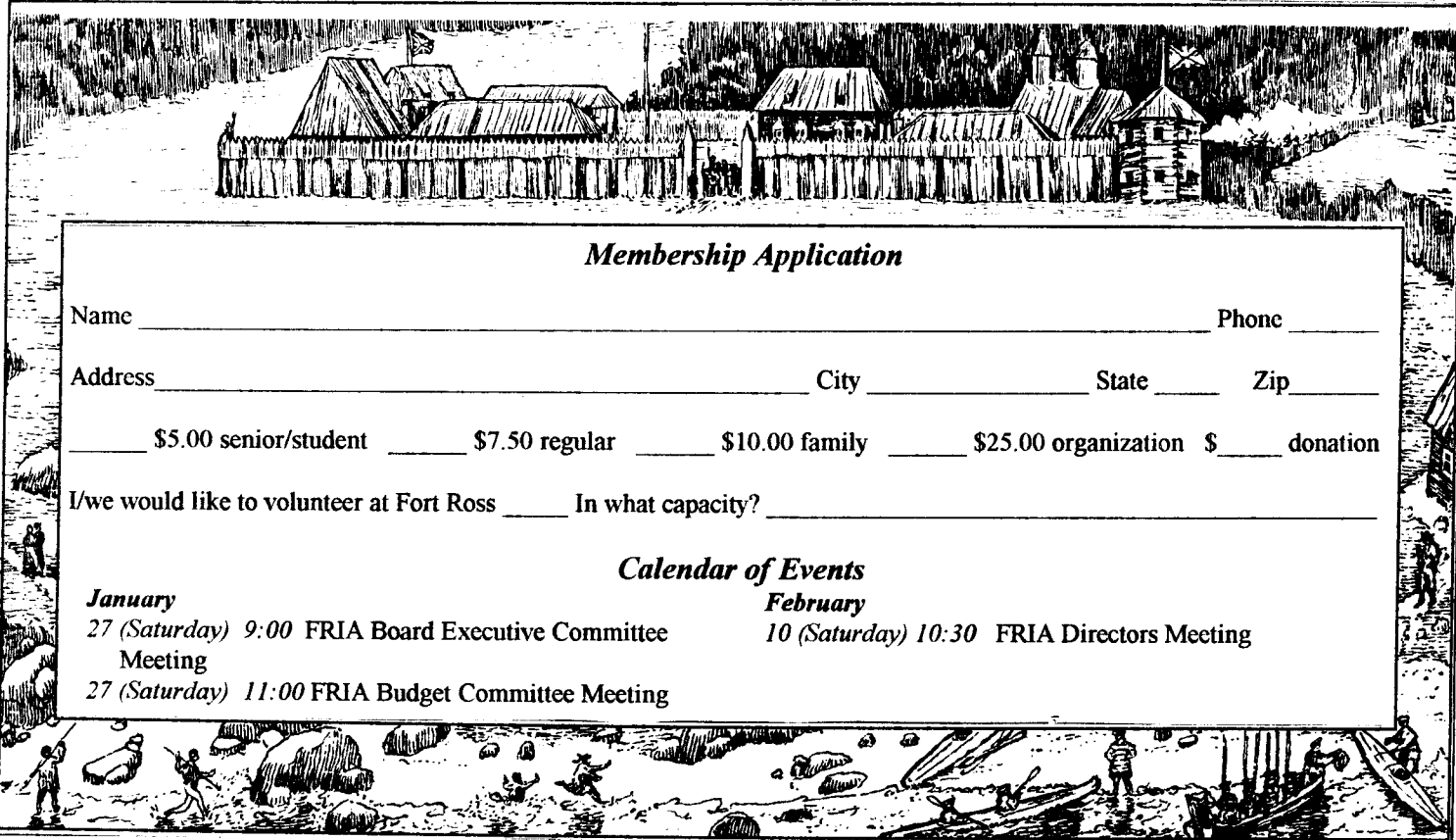
The denomination of "woman" is also used for the Kodiak women living with the Russians and sometimes for the Indian women living with the Kodiaks. In some cases ... Kuskov prefers simply the word "girl".

There are many cases of divorce in the lists. In two cases, the Indian women "were released to go to their place"... while their husbands joined, in one case Kashak Ivan, a Creole woman, and in another case A. Korenev, a Kodiak woman... In seven cases ... the Indian women were abandoned by their husbands who departed for Sitka. In such cases, the father evidently had a preference in deciding the child's fate. Either a child went to his father ..., or a daughter remained with her mother to leave Ross, while the son departed with his father...

After a husband's death, the Indian women were "allowed" to go to their homeland: in one case with the child ... and in another case ... the child was left with the husband's countryman and his Indian wife. In several cases ... wives followed their husbands with children to Sitka...

It is remarkable that most of the Indian women were married to Kodiaks or Chugachs, while a relative small number of Russians lived with Indian women. To a certain degree it may be explained by the fact that some of the Russians came to Ross with families. Among those "mentioned in the Register," of the 18 Russians and Creoles, who arrived on the brigs *Ilmena* and *Golovnin* in 1820, half (9) brought their wives or women.

The Kuskov Registers also give us some information about the inter-ethnic cultural influence. In particular, a certain interest represents the names of children born from mixed marriages. Most of them have Russian or double Russian-Eskimo names. At the same time, one notices several names which presumably were of Indian origin... This may be an indication of preservation of Indian cultural traditions on the part of mixed families (two Kodiak-Indian and one Creole-Indian)...



Membership Application

Name _____ Phone _____
Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____
_____ \$5.00 senior/student _____ \$7.50 regular _____ \$10.00 family _____ \$25.00 organization \$ _____ donation
I/we would like to volunteer at Fort Ross _____ In what capacity? _____

Calendar of Events

January

27 (Saturday) 9:00 FRIA Board Executive Committee Meeting
27 (Saturday) 11:00 FRIA Budget Committee Meeting

February

10 (Saturday) 10:30 FRIA Directors Meeting

Fort Ross Interpretive Association

Board of Directors: John Allen, Violet Chappell, Ludmila Ershow, David Kenly, Lenore Kosso, John Middleton, Otis Parrish, Jeannette Rosson, Maria Sakovich, John Sperry, Frieda Tomlin, Nancy Walton, David Willson

Staff:

Wendy Platt, accounting
Lyn Kalani, bookstore manager & administration, newsletter editor
Lake Perry, bookstore assistant, mail order, membership
Sherry Madrone, substitute bookstore assistant

Bookstore Volunteers:

Jaci Hallett, Moses Hallett

Membership Chair Volunteer:

Jodi Sperry

Mission of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association

The mission of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association, Inc. is to promote for the benefit of the public the interpretive and educational activities of the California Park Service and Fort Ross State Historic Park.

- ◆ To enhance and conserve the interpretive and educational resources of Fort Ross State Historic park, as well as those of the State Park Service.
- ◆ To sponsor, publish, distribute, and sell appropriate items which increase visitor understanding and appreciation of Fort Ross State Historic Park.
- ◆ To acquire materials and equipment for the use in the educational and interpretive programs of Fort Ross State Historic Park.
- ◆ To develop and maintain a library.
- ◆ To preserve historical material associated with Fort Ross State Historic Park, and to provide and maintain adequate and secure storage facilities in an archival sound environment.
- ◆ To sponsor, support, and assist scientific research and investigations relating to Fort Ross and presentation of these studies to the public. To promote interpretation that reflects current research.
- ◆ To plan, organize, and implement fund raising programs to support the interpretive and educational activities of Fort Ross State Historic Park and of the State Park Service.

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