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DEATH IN THE DAILY LIFE OF THE ROSS COLONY:  
MORTUARY BEHAVIOR IN FRONTIER RUSSIAN AMERICA

by

Sannie Kenton Osborn

A Dissertation Submitted in  
Partial Fulfillment of the  
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The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

August 1997

*Lynne Goldstein*

Major Professor

*August 1, 1997*

Date

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*August 19, 1997*

Date

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The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1997  
Under the Supervision of Dr. Lynne G. Goldstein

During the early 19th century, Russian fur trading and mercantile operations expanded into northern California, leading to the establishment of the Ross Colony. This multi-ethnic colonial settlement was occupied between 1812-1841 and was the southernmost frontier outpost of the Russian American Company's commercial venture in North America. This study uses the Ross Colony cemetery to test anthropological models of frontier mortuary behavior and to answer questions about social organization and behavior in a culturally diverse and geographically isolated colonial outpost. The investigative methodology combines ethnographic and historical archival review with archaeological excavation of the cemetery. The cemetery was excavated in its entirety during three field seasons, locating 131 historic graves. Documentary evidence was found in the Russian American

Company correspondence and the Russian Orthodox Church archives for 89 of the individuals who died at Ross. The burial of Russians, European foreigners, Creoles, and Native Alaskans who died at Ross was strongly influenced by the traditions of the Orthodox church, and reflects the pervasiveness of Russian culture and religion even in this remote community.

*Lynne Goldstein*

Major Professor

*August 1, 1997*

Date

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## Preface

The research and analysis reported in the following chapters require some introductory explanations for the reader. This study began with the intent of conducting a more traditional archaeological investigation of the Russian American cemetery at Fort Ross, California (archaeological site number CA-Son-1876H), and an anthropological analysis of that settlement's mortuary behavior within the greater context of Russian Orthodox burial practices in the 19th century. As the project advanced through three summer field seasons of archaeological excavations and archival research, it became apparent to me that the data relative to the population living at Ross between 1812-1841 was equally important to that generated by examination of the dead. Greater knowledge of the living population contributes to both our understanding of their treatment of the dead in a colonial frontier outpost and to our interpretation of the social structure of this community. Many of the previously untranslated and unreported sources listed individuals by name, town or village of origin, and included similar information for family members. As a result of this project, not only were the graves of 131 deceased colonial inhabitants of Ross recovered, but significant new information related to ethnicity, age, gender, family relationships, and occupations at this colony is now presented for the first time.

Additional archaeological analysis is forthcoming from this project. Students under the direction of Lynne Goldstein are expected to continue with the description and further identification of artifacts from the graves, in particular, textiles, religious pendants, and coffin nails. Much of the archaeological data will be provided in future technical monographs.

Goldstein will also be reporting on the spatial aspects of the cemetery. Completion of the osteological report is anticipated from Douglas Owsley of the Smithsonian Institution. The thousands of trade beads found at the cemetery are the subject of ongoing research by Lester Ross and other members of the Fort Ross Apparel project. Members of the local Orthodox churches continue to maintain the cemetery and hold religious ceremonies to commemorate the dead.

## Chapter One: The Relationships - Theoretical Premises and Historical Setting

### I. Introduction.

Rituals for the dead are one of the few demonstrations of ideology available in a material form through the archaeological record, and directly reflect attitudes and beliefs about life, death, and the individual in a particular society (Deagan 1983:187). The study of mortuary practices of past cultures is recognized as a nearly "indispensable" mechanism for the documentation and interpretation of human behavior and social organization (Larsen 1995:247).

The Eastern Orthodox Church was, for over nine centuries, inseparable from the politics of the Russian government. The Church strongly influenced the daily lives of all inhabitants during Russia's eighteenth and nineteenth century mercantile expansion into the North American continent including activities such as rituals for those who died. The Church was expected to be subservient to the State while the government had an obligation to the Church as the official state religion (Afonsky 1977:34). The Orthodox Church has frequently been important as a "nationalist institution," defending the national culture against foreign domination or penetration. The Russian nationality is often identified with the Orthodox religion (Ramet 1988:6-7).

Because of the known conservative nature of mortuary behavior throughout time and across all cultures, this study of the historic cemetery at the Ross Colony provides an opportunity for analysis of a particular frontier society within the larger framework of Russian colonialism. Ross, an early

nineteenth century frontier settlement (1812-1841) established along the rugged Pacific Ocean coastline of Sonoma County in northern California, was the southernmost eastern outpost of the Russian American fur trading company. Ross was a community where Russians were in a numerical minority throughout the period of occupation but were the dominant group in matters of politics, economics, and religion.

Research into how European colonists were able to adapt their society to New World environmental and social conditions, and conversely what elements of New World culture they chose to adopt, has thus far been addressed primarily by historians. Analysis of the material culture found in the archaeological record of mortuary patterns in the Ross Colony provides a complementary avenue for integrating the historic record with the actual human behavior and ideology of this community (after Ewen 1991:38). Mortuary behavior, as it is expressed in multi-ethnic frontier locations, can help us understand the effects of colonial policies and geographic isolation on culturally diverse populations.

No community can successfully elude the inevitability of death, and the abandoned, windswept cemetery at Ross bears witness to the ultimate fate of all individuals. The following passage, from an account of the Ross settlement written by Ernst Rufus a few years after the departure of the Russians in 1841, speaks poetically of this lonely resting place:

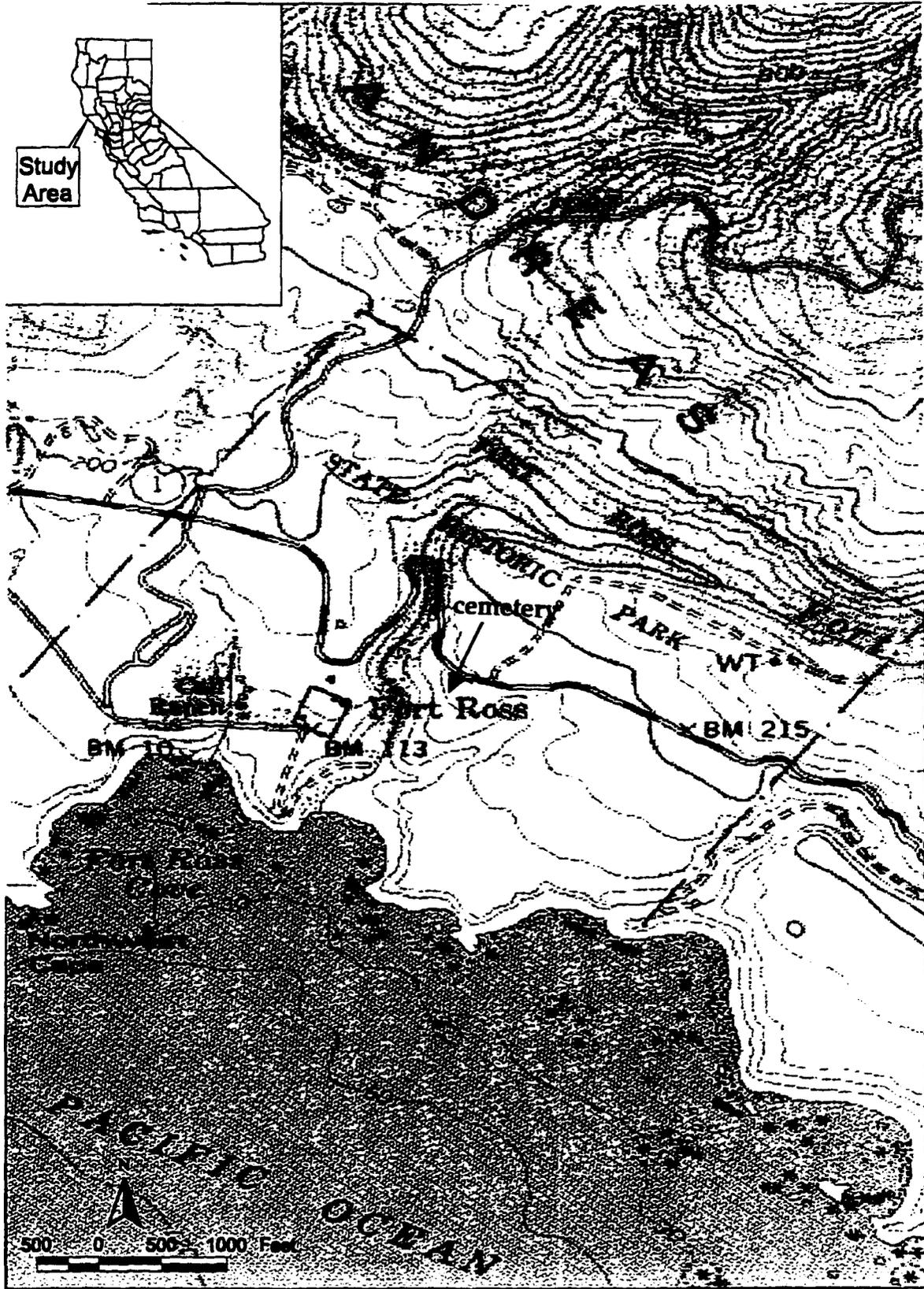
Silently are these sleeping in their far-away graves, where the eyes of those who knew them and loved them in their earthly life can never rest on their tombs again, and while the eternal roar of the Pacific makes music in the midnight watches will they await the great day that shall restore them to their long-lost

friends. Sleep on, brave hearts, and peaceful be thy silent slumber [Munro-Frazer 1973:369-370].

This study of the cemetery, at what is today known as Fort Ross State Historic Park (Map 1.1), combines the perspectives of anthropology, archaeology, cultural geography and history on the populations of both the living and the dead in colonial Russian America. By examining archaeological remnants of mortuary behavior in this frontier community we will learn more about those who were living and through an analysis of the documentary record of the living we will come to better understand the dead.

Taken alone each population, living and dead, is important, but our overall knowledge is diminished. When they are brought together we are enhanced by a more holistic sense of community and ideology. The integration of both archaeological and historical data throughout this study serves as a check and balance by which to challenge the interpretations that would have been made had these forms of evidence remained independent and offers confirmation of the value of an interdisciplinary theoretical approach.

This study focuses on nineteenth century Russian American mortuary practices as they are manifested in a cosmopolitan frontier location. It attempts to resolve, through the use of ethnographic, historical and archaeological data, previously unanswered questions about the extent of stability and change in societal values as evidenced by mortuary practices in a peripheral frontier outpost such as the Ross Colony. Anthropological models of frontier mortuary behavior are tested to help explain social organization and behavior.



Map 1.1 Fort Ross State Historic Park

## II. The Church in Russian America.

The early 19th century in Europe was "marked by an unusual spiritual unrest.... It was a period of great historical shifts, tensions, catastrophes and commotions" (Florovsky 1989:110). From the time of its initial articles of incorporation in August 1798 through the remainder of the Russian occupation of North America, the operation of the Russian American Company has been linked to the Orthodox Church. "What the private trader and trapper or the military commander with his 'serving men' and cossacks could not do in bringing about pacification, the priest and monk or nun did" (Kerner 1946:86). In fact, the primary purpose of the fur trading company was stated to be religious although some may question whether the economic motivation was really the primary impetus for its formation. Thus the Company's first duty was "to support the [church] mission in America, ... to teach the Holy Gospel and enable the illiterate people ... to gain knowledge of God. The Company ...will strive to supply all its needs for the maintenance of the churches ...." A secondary emphasis was placed on the commercial activities that was: "to engage in all trade and commerce which is associated with merchants and permitted by law throughout the Russian empire and abroad" (Dmytryshyn, et al. 1989:3,4).

The first Orthodox liturgy celebrated in Russian America occurred on July 20, 1741 aboard the ship *St. Peter*, commanded by the explorer Vitus Bering (Afonsky 1977:92). Between the Russian discovery of Alaska in the early eighteenth century and its sale to the United States in 1867, "a succession of adventurers, trappers, administrators, explorers, priests and monks left an indelible mark on the native population, but nowhere was

their influence greater or more lasting than in the province of religion” (Smith 1980a:3). The company treated the Church with deference and supplemented its economic means (Pierce 1984:vii). Three primary factors helped spread Russian Orthodoxy in Alaska and northwest North America during the 18th and 19th centuries. First, the discovery of Alaska and its subsequent occupation by Russian explorers, merchants, and promyshlenniks (fur traders). Second, the chartering of the Russian American Company followed by the company’s establishment of permanent settlements and the christianization of local native populations. And, third, the dedicated and persistent efforts of the actual Russian missionaries (Afonsky 1977:1).

Not only was the Orthodox religious influence felt by the Native Alaskans and California Indians, but also by the ethnic Russians, Creoles (the offspring of Russian fathers and Native Alaskan or California Indian women), and foreign employees of the Russian American Company. There was a swift conversion to Orthodoxy in North America despite a lack of aggressive proselytizing by the Church. Initially conversions were those of individuals who learned of the faith from laymen, usually the fur hunters “who brought with them aboard their ships the symbols of their faith, built chapels, and regularly conducted prayer services” in which any native people could participate (Black 1988b:81).

The “word of mouth” spread of the Orthodox faith was so successful that by 1819 parish priests were needed in several parts of Alaska. Father Sokolov arrived that same year in Sitka, and in 1824 Father Ioann Veniaminov arrived in the Aleutian parish, establishing a church on Unalaska in 1826 (Black 1988b:82). Their roles in the documentary record of the Ross Colony will be discussed again in further detail in later chapters. It is

not until the new charter of the Russian American Company in 1821 that the Company was required to "have a sufficient number of clergy in the colonies" (Afonsky 1977:42; Garrett 1979:32). Clergy were obtained from the Russian Orthodox diocese in Irkutsk, some 6,000 miles from Alaska. Priests serving the colonies governed by the Russian American Company were instructed to administer their parishes as they would any parish in Russia (Garrett 1979:42). The Company was to insure that the appropriate Orthodox rituals were performed for not just the Russians of the Company but for the native Christian population also (Afonsky 1977:42). However, the distances included within each of the three parishes in North America were extensive. The Unalaska parish reached from the mid-point of the Alaskan Peninsula to the Kurile Islands, Atka and the Pribilof Islands. The Sitka parish covered the territory from Mt. Elias south to Fort Ross, California; while the Kodiak parish went from Mt. Elias west to the mid-point of the peninsula where it met with the Unalaska parish (Garrett 1979:52). By 1833, the colonies still possessed only four churches and five chapels (Wrangell 1980:8). In 1840, one year prior to the Russian departure from Ross, the number of Orthodox Christians in Alaska were distributed as follows: Russians 706; Creoles 1,295; and Native Alaskans 8,312 (from Afonsky 1977:43-56).

"Despite the progress being made in studying cultural change during and after the Russian era, there is still relatively little analysis in depth of the role of the Orthodox Church in a specific community or as an institution" (Smith 1980a:58). No one has fully addressed the impacts of Eastern Orthodox Christianity in the multi-ethnic colonial frontier settlements of Russian America. This was recognized fifty years ago when Kerner (1946:86) stated

“The role of the Russian Orthodox Church and its monasteries in the history of Russian expansion, especially its economic and military significance, still awaits thorough research.”

The close interaction between church and state in all facets of daily life suggests a strong likelihood that rituals, including prescribed methods of burial, would be adhered to in the North American colonies and passed on from generation to generation. It is also likely that the Church, so politically connected to the Russian state and in North America to the Russian American Company, would exert its influence over the physical treatment of the deceased.

As early as the 10th century, Orthodox monastic communities attempted to respect and employ native traditions and languages when establishing Christian communities among the indigenous tribes during Russian territorial expansion from the Urals to the Pacific. This was the historical precedence upon which the later colonization of Russian America was founded - translating religious texts into native languages, and teaching native peoples to read and write in their own language (Ershov 1996:5).

The role of the Church in nineteenth century Russia and its colonies was substantial. The reforms of Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia from 1682-1725, were initiated in an attempt to integrate the religious functions of the Church in Russian society with his highly centralized imperial administration. Thus, Russian Orthodoxy was considered not really as a “church,” but merely as a body of beliefs shared by the Tsar’s subjects and requiring social and educational services. The Church was thus institutionally dependent upon the state (Meyendorff 1978:170). It was during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855) that the Church was most controlled

and directed by the state (Edwards 1978:155). While the early nineteenth century witnessed the “maximum extent of estrangement between the westernized intellectuals of the cities and the Russian culture of the unlettered narod” [folk, people], overall Russian society remained strongly homogeneous with regard to religion (Treadgold 1978:21, 35).

Whether the native converts fully accepted the tenets of Orthodoxy is debatable. However, it is known that nineteenth century ethnic Russians also had little in-depth knowledge of their religion. This is despite the fact that there were over one hundred thousand (108,916) full-time parish clergy in Russia in 1824 (Freeze 1983:xxviii). In 1858, a rural Russian priest wrote that the Russian people were “virtually ignorant of the faith” and that although “his parishioners had some attachments to the externals of religion, they do not have the slightest conception of the faith, the true path to salvation, or the basic tenets of Orthodoxy” (Freeze 1983:xxiv). The greatest asset of the nineteenth century Orthodox Church is considered to have been the intense piety of its laity, “however superstitious and ignorant they may be” (Freeze 1983:xxix). It is these “externals of religion” such as the funerary customs, that were most likely maintained in Russian America and captured in the archaeological record.

Prior to Nicholas I in 1825, the Orthodox Church performed primarily ritualistic functions. The Russian state used the Church clergy as a “spiritual arm” through which vital statistics were compiled and state laws disseminated. Clergy were also responsible for the stability of the local peasantry and the defense of Russian culture. While the average size of a parish in 1824 was 625 males (Freeze 1983:6-8, 54), the smaller more remote Ross colony was never provided with its own priest. Although only priests

were authorized to perform the Liturgy and administration of the Sacraments (except for baptism which could be performed by any layman), laymen were trained to conduct all other services (Smith 1980a:6).

Cultures are most conservative when they bury their dead. Although old burial grounds in Russia are now extremely rare, "generations of Russians have honored the graves of their loved ones in an unchanging tradition which ceased only at the beginning of our [20th] century" (Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989:146). A review of the contemporary Russian Orthodox Church under the Soviet regime (Ellis 1986) gives an indication of the continued importance of Orthodox funeral practices stating that "despite decades of atheist propaganda" the religious funeral is "the most persistent of all the rites" (Ellis 1986:179). While Orthodox marriages had declined to various estimates ranging from one to fifteen per cent, Orthodox funerals remained at the fifty per cent or higher level, and if "funerals by correspondence" are included the figures are almost ninety per cent (Ellis 1986:180). It is suggested that the one of the reasons for the continued high proportion of individuals having an Orthodox funeral is that the central figure in the decisionmaking process is not the deceased but usually a relative. There is "clearly no danger of reprisals ... to the person undergoing the ceremony [the deceased] and the relatives who arrange it can appeal to the wishes of the departed one" (Ellis 1986:179). In 1996, a U. S. News and World Report article noted that the [Orthodox] "church's appeal has more to do with ethnicity than spirituality" (Glastris 1996:47).

Thus, it has been shown that the Orthodox Church, from the tenth century to the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 and beyond, was pervasive in

Russian society. A similar maintenance of Orthodox customs would be expected in a Russian American colonial settlement. Like eighteenth century colonial Hispanic culture in St. Augustine, nineteenth century Russian American society could be expected to exhibit similar conservative, highly structured and rigidly organized behavior.

### III. Mortuary Behavior and Historical Archaeology.

Mortuary practices are one of the most reliable ways to interpret the behavior of past as well as current societies. They are very conservative in nature and can tell us many things about the organization of any group of people. Cultural anthropologists and archaeologists know that rituals of death and burial express each culture's core values about the nature of the individual and life. These rituals provide a window into certain aspects of the culture and lifeways of a particular society. The cultural reaction to the "universal impact of death" is not random, but rather it is always "meaningful and expressive" (Huntington and Metcalf 1979:1). The funerary practices of a society reassert the social order which is itself a product of rituals (Bloch and Perry 1982).

There has been extensive interest in mortuary analysis since the New Archaeology of the 1960s, precipitated to a large degree by the seminal works of Binford (1972), Saxe (1970) and Brown (1971). These early studies recognized that the relationship between an individual's status in life and death could be seen by the differential treatment accorded that person by the living community, i.e. the person would be treated the same in life and in death (Binford 1972; Goldstein 1980; Larsen 1995; Peebles 1971; Saxe 1970; and others). In addition, the structure of social dimensions partitioned the

mortuary population in such a manner as to indicate the structure of the entire population (Brown 1971). Later studies such as Goldstein (1980) observed that partitioning of space is an important form of symbolic differentiation, and that ethnicity can be distinguished through the application of mortuary theory. O'Shea's study of American Plains Indian village groups suggests and further documents the significance of the ethnographic record in the interpretation of archaeological evidence (O'Shea 1984).

Archaeological investigations reported from throughout the world have demonstrated that by almost all forms of measurement - "body treatment, orientation, artifact accompaniments, demographic composition, temporal and cultural association, and social complexity - mortuary behavior is highly variable" (Larsen 1995:247). Evidence collected about a society's mortuary practices allows for examination of the "most important cultural values by which people live their lives and evaluate their experiences," by revealing the most basic cultural and social issues (Huntington and Metcalf 1979:2). "Close attention to the combined symbolic and sociological contexts of the corpse yields the most profound explanations regarding the meaning of death and life in almost any society" (Huntington and Metcalf 1979:17). The roles enacted by the living population are a reflection of the structure of their particular society and therefore, have an effect on the rituals carried out after death. These rituals are the avenue through which the physical remains of burial are created. Patterns of mortuary practices provide a type of evidence for the degree of differentiation internal to a society, but one can ask of what type (Trinkaus 1995:54).

The study of mortuary practices, has traditionally been focused on the analysis of early prehistoric populations (Binford 1972; Brown 1971, 1995; Goldstein 1980; O'Shea 1984; Saxe 1970) and late prehistoric groups or early civilizations (Chapman 1990; Morris 1987). It has important applications, however, for historic archaeology as well, in particular for the study of historic frontier populations. In the latter, the additional value of the documentary record comes into play and provides a means for testing the written source against the archaeological evidence. Together they can enhance one another as well as providing checks and balances in our interpretation of the past. The ability to test the interpretation of burials against primary historical sources has an importance which "cannot be overestimated" and gives archaeologists a "measure of confidence" not always available in the context of prehistoric studies (Morris 1987:37).

Recently, there has been criticism of the use of material symbols such as those associated with mortuary practices to interpret social relations of past cultures (Shanks and Tilley 1982). Advocates of a post-processual school of thought have suggested that the ideology associated with burial symbolism cannot be extracted through traditional processual methodologies. Instead, post-processual archaeology seeks links to history, using the idea that the study of historical processes can be enhanced by the additional data from archaeology (Hodder 1986a:vii).

Historical explanation attempts to create an independence from more generalized statements which Hodder and others feel must be proven rather than assumed before their relevance to particular statements is understood (Hodder 1986b:1,2). Chapman addresses this and some of the other criticisms

by stating: "... when people participate in funerals at the present day, they do not necessarily think of their roles in rites of passage, but this does not make that an inappropriate perspective from which to try and understand the behavior observed" (Chapman 1995:37).

Archaeologists have undertaken relatively few studies of mortuary behavior during the historic period compared to similar analysis of prehistoric populations (Koch 1983:188). This is unfortunate for two reasons (1) the treatment of human remains indicates how a culture views death regardless of its temporal affinity and therefore much is to be learned from the mortuary evidence of the historic period; and (2) greater opportunity - through archival verification, oral history, and a continuity of practices - is present in the historic period to "deal with the ideational sub-system," that is, structures and ideology), which post-processual archaeologists have found lacking in much of the archaeological interpretation of past lifeways (Hodder 1986a:153).

What happens to these prescribed customs of funeral behavior when certain members of a society are removed from the familiar surroundings of family, friends, and church; and relocated to a frontier outpost such as the Russian colony at Fort Ross? What should we expect to find out about the mortuary practices and what indications of these should we expect to find preserved?

#### IV. Russian America as a Frontier.

The Russian eastward expansion from European Russia to the Pacific Ocean is frequently compared to the American settlement westward. Her relentless seizure and occupation of vast territories east of the Urals

beginning in the seventeenth century was “remarkable for both its speed and for the extent of the territories it embraced,” and ultimately placed Russia as a powerful force in the Pacific (Pallot and Shaw 1990:14). It was a “global movement,” first from the 30th meridian to the 180th meridian (eastern longitude) in Eastern Siberia, then on to the 141st meridian of the western longitude. The latter became the eastern border of Alaska, established in 1825 by international agreement between Russia, the United States and Great Britain (Bensin 1967:7). It was a process - comprised of the people, rivers, portages, the ostrogs, monasteries, and furs - which has been followed in its development from the village community to a world empire. It was dominated at all times by the urge to the sea (Kerner 1946:103).

This period in Russian history is known as the “eastern conquest,” a process by which successive Siberian river basins were colonized during a rapid advance by Cossacks and traders to the Pacific. The area was later occupied by Russian fur merchants, trappers, officials of the government, priests in the role of missionaries, and additional Cossacks (Afonsky 1977:2). Many commodities were important during Russia’s colonial expansion, however furs were “always the most valuable single item of trade from the very earliest beginnings to the eighteenth century and beyond” (Kerner 1946:8). With little modification, the same principles that had evolved in Europe and were successfully applied in Siberia, were now used in the North American expansion. The Pacific Ocean was like a Siberian river with a key island, similar to the ostrog, guarding passage and dominating other islands (Kerner 1946:88).

Four factors have been identified which facilitated the Russian eastward expansion: one, the physiographic features such as navigable rivers and broad plains; two, the ability of the participants to respond to the challenge of the new environment; three, the insatiable quest for furs; and finally, a "national psychology" which implied superiority of the Russians over indigenous populations already occupying the land (Lantzeff and Pierce 1973). These authors also reviewed the Russian frontier experience using criteria from Turner's American frontier hypothesis. They found that most of the more general points of his thesis probably do not apply to the Russian experience, but some of them may, in particular the idea of the frontier as "the outer edge of the wave," a meeting point between the European expansionists and indigenous populations (Lantzeff and Pierce 1973:226-229).

Seventeenth century Russians would certainly have endorsed Turner's Eurocentric description of the frontier as 'the meeting point between savagery and civilization'. Upholders of Orthodoxy and deeply suspicious of outsiders, Russians long held themselves aloof from untoward foreign influence. The prevailing attitude towards the frontier is well summarized in the later words of Klyuchevskii, who described it as 'the very edge of the world of Christian culture ... the historical scourge of ancient Rus [Pallot and Shaw 1990:19].

The most notable aspect of Russia's expansion to the east was "... its economic motive, primarily the quest for furs. Indeed, no search for any single commodity has ever resulted in the acquisition of as huge an area as the one acquired by Russia in this quest" (Lantzeff and Pierce 1973:17).

The outgrowth of the Russian frontier differed from Turner's original concept of the town or settlement as the end product of the frontier sequence.

In the Russian frontier the settlements served as the "spearheads," allowing the capitalist commercial expansion of the fur trade into areas of great geographic distances from the settlements. However, the establishment of fortifications did provide protection for the inhabitants in the event of attack, and housed administrative functions such as offices, stores, and the church (Pallot and Shaw 1990:22, 23).

According to Turner, one of the fundamental outgrowths of the establishment of a new frontier society in the American West, and differing from its parent colonial society, was the development of a "democratic, self-sufficing, primitive agricultural society, in which individualism was more pronounced" (Turner 1962:107). This emphasis on democracy and individualism does not appear to have been the case on Russia's southern frontier in Asia or in its later expansion into North America. Rather, the Russian frontier was characterized by "regimentation of life ... with state-controlled towns acting as pivots of frontier society under the control of Moscow, ... its lands carefully allocated according to [bureaucratic] norms, ...its social stratification with each individual allotted his due position in the social order" (Pallot and Shaw 1990:26). It was, apparently very difficult for the rigid hierarchy of Moscow society to be reproduced in its entirety on the frontier where the typical landowner had to rely on the labor of his family instead of serfs, of which he often had none (Pallot and Shaw 1990:29).

Frontier colonization can be seen as a process of change brought about through the migration of people into areas not currently occupied by their particular culture. The settlement of North America by the Russian American Company falls into the category of a "cosmopolitan" frontier to which an economic model for colonization of complex societies can be

applied. A cosmopolitan frontier (after Steffen 1980) has regional specialized extractive economic activities as its purpose, is more short term in duration, and is evaluated by the colonial policy of the parent state. Frequently, cosmopolitan frontiers "experience little indigenous change" (Lewis 1984:264). The conditions of a specialized extractive economy such as fur trading, a short period of duration (1784-1867) and control by the parent state (Russia) are all applicable to the Russian expansion into North America.

The outpost at Fort Ross and its associated ranches is the only Russian American settlement known to have existed in California. It is some 1,500 miles from the colonial headquarters and Church officials in Sitka, Alaska. Its history and archaeology exemplify Russian colonialism in a manner that affords comparison with Spanish colonial systems in California and other areas of the United States and for which there are more numerous studies available. In a global perspective, this geographical area is peripheral to the Russians, Spanish and to some extent even the Native Americans. It is also an area that, temporally, saw great changes during a short period of time due to the limitations of the Russian occupation (after Martinez 1996:3).

#### V. Historical Archaeology of the Frontier.

Recognition by anthropologists of the importance of frontiers has roughly coincided in time with previously described studies of mortuary practices. Although the comparative study of frontiers was first suggested as a theoretical basis for use by historians by Turner in 1903, it was much later that his approach made any impact in other social sciences. The idea of comparative frontier studies was introduced to geographers in 1960 and shortly afterward to anthropologists. It was pointed out in the mid-1960s that

the study of colonization provides a "challenge to anthropological theory and analysis" but that the literature had been "remarkably reticent" in seizing this opportunity (Casagrande, et al. 1964:282).

Through the study of frontiers or colonies, one can examine both the creative process and outcome of adaptation and cultural change. Because the process of frontier settlement usually involves accommodation to a new environment, economy, and/or socio-political arrangement, intrusive migration into an already occupied territory; and an effort to reestablish at least some of the more socio-cultural traditions, it lends itself exceptionally well to study of culture and cultural change (Casagrande, et al. 1964). One can anticipate that mortuary practices would be among those traditions most likely to be retained.

The study of frontiers is therefore critical to the analysis of social process. This type of study recognizes that all social systems are open and subject to change, regardless of their complexity. By directing attention to the peripheries of societies, it is possible to examine archaeological and cultural variability within a wider range of contexts than that tied to the more traditionally studied central place. It has been stated that "the organizational context can only be determined if the full range of sites and functional tool kits are studied within their temporal ..., spatial ..., and cultural ... contexts," and that frontier settlements are "part of the archaeological variability that is tied in with this range of contexts. This reason alone makes frontier and boundary studies critical elements in the analysis of social systems" (Green and Perlman 1985:4).

Previous investigations have demonstrated that change is most often found in the peripheral settlements of particular societies. Frontier occupations, while subject to complex relationships between an expanding group, an indigenous society, and/or a new ecological system, are also highly influenced by external factors such as political or economic control from the homeland or regional elite (Green and Perlman 1985:8). The "rapid tempo of change and basic fluidity" of the frontier area, which increases the further one moves away from the metropolitan area or *entrepot* can be attributed to a phenomenon described as the "colonization gradient" (Casagrande, et al. 1964). Settlements within the area of colonization exhibit characteristic patterns and include the link between the frontier and the metropolitan area, the frontier town, the nucleated settlement, the semi-nucleated settlement and the dispersed settlement. The farther one goes, either in geographic distance or in accessibility, the less integrated the frontier becomes in relation to the homeland (Casagrande, et al. 1964). Using this model, Ross would be one of the least integrated of the Russian American settlements due to its great distance from both Alaska and Russia.

A number of models have been used to explain change within a frontier population. Some of these derive from evolutionary or ecological models and stress the developmental implications of resource and human interaction (i.e. Abruzzi 1981; Casagrande, et al. 1964). Hardesty (1985) argues that some kind of general theory, such as the synthetic theory of biological evolution, is appropriate for the examination of frontiers of complex industrial societies. Others (Paynter 1985) have used political and economic models of explanation, or have combined archaeological and economic theories (Lewis 1984). It has been suggested that certain features inherent in

frontier settlement such as the colonization gradient may represent cross-cultural universals which allow, with some modification, the opportunity for the study of processes such as “culture change, integration and reintegration as they occur” (Casagrande, et al. 1964). Two major types of frontier colonization have been identified: internal colonization involves extension within ones own existing national territory or into an adjacent foreign territory, while external colonization, such as that of the Russian American Company and its frontier outpost of Ross, is contingent upon a more distant and non-contiguous expansion (Casagrande, et al. 1964).

The archaeological analysis of frontier settlements has included a number of areas colonized by European expansion into the New World which are pertinent for comparison to my current study. Among these are studies of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century plantations and other settlements in the southern United States (Kelso 1984; Lewis 1984; Otto 1984); French and Spanish creole communities in North America and the impacts of these on the aboriginal populations (Deagan 1983, 1995; Ewen 1991; Smith 1987; Walthall 1991); the Spanish borderlands in the west (Thomas 1991); Russian America (Crowell 1994; Farris 1989, 1990; Lightfoot 1990, 1992, 1995; Lightfoot, et al. 1991, 1993) and the California Gold Rush (Greenwood 1992).

What are the advantages to examining these frontier societies through historical archaeology, especially given that many of these regions have been thoroughly studied by historians and are already known through the documentary record? Ewen (1991:38-39) and others have answered that there is value added to our knowledge from use of an anthropological orientation

and the interdisciplinary perspectives of archaeology which focus on the cultural processes and material record to provide verification, and supplementation or refutation of the historical record.

One important potential of historical archaeology "is its ability to simultaneously observe multiple contexts of behavior, both in the past and in the present." Data can be integrated from "spoken, written, observed and preserved contexts" (Deagan 1983:263). According to Fagan (1995:15) "archaeology's most important contribution to human understanding [is] its ability to treat all societies evenly, to compare and contrast the humblest with the most elaborate, complex civilizations which flourished in widely separated parts of the world." Not only does archaeology treat all societies equally but it also potentially allows us access to all members of a society, whether by ethnicity, gender, or age.

## VI. Discussion.

While previous investigators such as Lewis (1984) have looked closely at the relationship between cultural processes and the archaeological record in the frontier areas of European colonization in North America, no one has addressed the relationship between adaptation of cultural practices and mortuary behavior in an historic frontier outpost. Successful integration of burial evidence with the written record and archaeological data was accomplished by Morris (1987) in his study of the rise of the Greek polis. Morris made a major contribution when he was able to trace changes in mortuary behavior over a period of time and analyze these against literary documentation. However, his emphasis was on the development of the city-state and he did not have the opportunity to test hypotheses about adaptation

and change in an outlying or frontier community. Likewise, while an examination of mortuary patterning at St. Augustine (Koch 1983) addressed changes in cultural attitudes within a single group through time and between persons of Spanish and British derivation, this settlement was a major stronghold of Spanish influence and would be considered by geographers today as an entrepot rather than a peripheral frontier outpost such as the Ross Colony. (The colonial residents of St. Augustine may have felt like they were living in a peripheral outpost despite what it may be termed today).

This research looks at combining anthropological theories of mortuary practices and frontiers by combining them in a unique manner which will allow for the edification of some of the major questions in these fields. The research centers on the mortuary customs of nineteenth century Russian settlers in North America using ethnographic, historical and archaeological data. The historic cemetery at the outpost of Fort Ross was excavated in its entirety in order that the processes of cultural change and adaptation in a frontier setting could be revealed. The extensive collection of historic and ethnographic documents from the Russian American occupation along with comparative materials was examined and demonstrates the validity of using mortuary practices as a means of understanding historical processes of stability and change in a peripheral location.

A number of historical and anthropological investigations have documented expansion of the European mercantile companies into North America. These studies have enabled us to more clearly understand the implications of the rapid movement of temporary, extractive economies into areas occupied by indigenous populations. It is known that traditional lifeways were often irreversibly altered as a result of these European

intrusions (Lightfoot 1991; Trigger 1981; Wolf 1982; and others). Indeed, most of the research efforts have attempted to a) use ethnographic and historic records to reconstruct precontact native culture, and b) document acculturation processes and the effects of colonialism on native populations. A less clearly understood area which still remains to be adequately addressed is the social organization of multi-ethnic frontier outposts.

The research issues which are addressed concern the effects that Russian colonial policies, in particular those of the Orthodox Church, had on the social organization and acculturation processes in nineteenth century multi-ethnic frontier settlements administered by the Russian-American Company. It is argued that these issues can best be addressed through an analysis of the society's mortuary practices. Unlike other periods of colonial rule in North America, such as those of the Spanish, French and British, many basic questions remain unanswered for the more obscure Russian period (Pierce 1987).

## VII. Approach and Analysis.

My investigation was undertaken in order to provide information on how the culture at the frontier Russian American settlement at the Ross Colony viewed death as evidenced through the deposition of the remains of its deceased; and to look into the "mirror" that this behavior provides of not only the Fort Ross culture, but also of nineteenth century colonial Russian America (see Brown 1971; Koch 1983). Toward this end, I made a detailed investigation of the burial evidence from one specific region, Russia's short-

lived California outpost, and analyzed it as “part of the ritual expressions of the structure of the community” (Morris 1987:1).

Research into the daily lives (and deaths) of frontier or colonial inhabitants has largely ignored mortuary behavior and religious activities of the community. There are a few notable exceptions to this, two of which are particularly applicable to my analysis of the mortuary behavior at Fort Ross. The first is the study of the Nuestra Senora de la Soledad (Soledad), St Augustine, Florida. Soledad was both a Spanish (1599-1763) and British (1763-1784) church and cemetery with separate, consecutive periods of occupation (Koch 1983:189). Second, is the study of the rise of the Greek city-state (1100-500 B. C.) by Morris (1987).

What are those special features of nineteenth century Russian American culture that I will try to account for? Little of the evidence available for this era is either archaeological or in particular, funerary. Most of what we think we know about Russian American frontier settlements and religious practices comes from the volumes of written documentary materials, described in later chapters. However, a general approach to burial practice and its relevancy is summarized below and discussed throughout the rest of this report as I attempt to integrate the archaeological evidence from the cemetery and other excavations at non-mortuary Russian American sites with the documentary record, both historical, archival, and ethnographic; and compare the Ross Colony with other frontier settlements.

What type of burial patterns and practices will be evident at the Ross cemetery once the literary and archaeological evidence are examined? Will the characteristics found suggest a “medieval” pattern of mortuary behavior, that emphasizes social and religious cohesiveness such as that which

occurred in the Hispanic Catholic mortuary patterns at the St. Augustine cemetery? Or will there be a "Georgian" pattern such as the one present during the British period, also at St. Augustine, where a greater emphasis was placed on the individual? Will the rigid socio-economic hierarchy of Russia and Russian America be evident in the mortuary practices at the Ross cemetery or will the strong religious affiliation with the Orthodox Church prevail despite ethnic, economic, gender, and age differences?

I will argue that the relationships between cultural affiliation, religious affiliation and mortuary behavior, can be directly observed in the archaeological record of historic populations and can be understood when these data are compared to the literary record (after Koch 1983; Morris 1987). Two additional propositions that can be further tested at the Ross Colony cemetery are a) that formal burial within the spatially defined cemetery boundary at Ross was considered a primary symbol of the social group monopolizing full membership of the community [Russian or Russian Orthodox], through lineal descent from the dead; and b) that this type of formal burial would be limited to a restricted [or specific] age or rank group, i.e. only those baptized in the Orthodox faith (after Morris 1987:9).

## Chapter Two: Methodology

### I. Background.

This investigation has taken a rather non-traditional approach with regard to subject matter, methodology, and analysis. It does not follow clearly defined antecedents from either archaeology, history, or ethnography. Unlike many studies that are primarily archaeological in nature, the archaeological aspects of this report are only part of the story being told.

Much of the information that appears in subsequent chapters is about the living population at Ross, of which those who died were members. The living population is also the group from which those who carried out this society's treatment of the dead were taken. The majority of the primary source documentary information presented has not previously been described or published, and greatly expands our knowledge of this colonial population. All of the data recovered archaeologically provides previously unknown information and opportunities for cultural interpretation.

Who were these people living at this faraway Russian colonial outpost in California and how closely did they follow traditional Orthodox religious practices? What were those practices and how will they be visible in the archaeological record?

### II. Organization.

Chapter 1 presents the overall setting for this study. It shows the potential relationship between anthropological studies of mortuary behavior, historical archaeology, history, and cultural geography in frontier

communities. This chapter will focus on the methodological approaches to gathering the data required and completing the analysis. Chapter 3 provides the historical background, establishes the literary record, and defines the Russian American presence in Alaska and California. Chapter 4 describes the archaeological investigations at the Ross colony including the cemetery excavations. Chapter 5 explains Orthodox rituals for the dead and what the known religious practices were at Ross. Chapter 6 focuses on two populations at Ross, those who lived there and those who died. Chapter 7 analyzes these data and how they support hypotheses of mortuary behavior. Chapter 8 presents the summary and conclusions of this effort.

### III. Analytical Steps.

What were Russian American mortuary practices in the colonial settlements of Alaska and California? This study was divided into overlapping phases that included archival and ethnographic research, archaeological field excavations, and analysis of the data from both the literary and archaeological records.

A. Archival Review. The initial steps involved an extensive review and analysis of the archival, historical (published), and ethnographic literature. An archival review was conducted to obtain information about early nineteenth century Russian Orthodox mortuary practices and various aspects of life and death in Russian America. This task included looking for the full range of burial practices from the time of or immediately preceding death, including those ritual activities conducted before, during, and after the physical placement of the deceased in the ground. I examined both church canon and historical or ethnographic descriptions. Once the expected burial

practices were known it would be possible to compare them against archaeological evidence found during the excavations. The documentation of mortuary patterns and their expression is considered important to the definition and understanding of the frontier cultural system (Koch 1983:189). Prehistoric archaeologists, primarily, have demonstrated that these patterns provide significant insight into a culture, and reflect such things as "status, social solidarity, age and sex importance." This study of the Ross Colony and other recent ones by archaeologists have begun to analyze the historic burial practices, finding many similarities between the types of information which can be obtained from both prehistoric and historic sites (Koch 1983).

A parallel step was to create a physical profile of the colonial population at the Ross Colony. To accomplish this I examined the various 19th century archival documents such as vital statistics and confessional records kept by the Russian Orthodox church and the correspondence of the Russian American Company. These extensive records were expected to provide a profile of the Ross population on an annual basis by ethnicity, gender, and age. At the onset of this investigation, I fully expected to find fairly complete listings of the births and deaths at Ross in the vital statistics annual confessional reports of the Church's Sitka Parish for the years 1818-1841. Although these records remain untranslated in handwritten Russian and are available for research only on microfilm, they still provide valuable and unique information about the population throughout Russian America. Other investigators have successfully used these records including a recent demographic study of population decline among Native Alaskans at the northwestern edge of the Alaskan Peninsula (Dumond 1990). Although

Dumond found that deaths and children under the age of five years were both “drastically” and “consistently” under-recorded or not entered for some years (1990:213, 214), he was able to adjust for the missing data by averaging these with the years that were more complete. I planned to follow his model and other standard demographic techniques to the Ross data to construct estimates of age-specific death rates for any missing years. The recorded and projected death rates could then be used to project the number of burials likely to be found in the cemetery and to compare the expected population against the actual individuals found during the excavation phase of the project. I considered it very likely that at least the adult deaths at Ross would be recorded somewhere, allowing me to recover a name, christening or marriage date, and a date and cause of death or burial. What the lives of these people were in between these events might not be as easy to recover: they could be just “so many lives, so many histories, recorded only as entrances and exits” (Riley 1989:1). Cause of death was expected to be less reliable since many were done by lay persons and the means of determining this cause cannot be ascertained.

As it turned out, the Alaskan Russian Church Archives [ARCA] of 1818-1841 contained very little documentation for the Ross Colony including only one partial report of three deaths from the year 1832 (ARCA 281:270). This required me to also review the Russian American Company Correspondence for those same years in hopes of finding entries in the official communications about those who died at the colony in California.

The ethnographic literature was also reviewed to determine the burial practices of Native Alaskan and California Indian groups known to have been part of the multi-ethnic community at Ross. These were found to be

significantly different from Orthodox practices, including cremation which was forbidden by the Orthodox Church. I decided that any of these non-Russian treatments of the dead would either not be allowed in the main cemetery or would be distinct enough to be recognizable. Ethnic distinctions could possibly be made if certain nontraditional artifacts appeared in the coffin.

B. Cemetery Investigation. The field strategy was to locate all possible burials and features in the cemetery. This number was originally placed at around "fifty" based on local folklore and post-occupation narratives, then revised to as many as seventy after an initial review of the archives. The fieldwork was accomplished using students from the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee summer field school and volunteers. Originally planned for one field season, the excavations eventually took three summers due to the large numbers of burials discovered. Although a sample of the interments may have been sufficient to determine the extent to which this frontier community followed Orthodox mortuary practices, it may not have provided an opportunity to assess the full range of mortuary behavior or the demographic composition of the dead. Based on my initial review of Orthodox canon and other literature, I expected that all of those interred in the Ross cemetery would be baptized Orthodox Christians and would be buried in strict accordance with Orthodox religious practices. These included burial in a coffin, placement of the coffin six feet below the ground, orientation of the coffin in an east-west compass direction with the head of the deceased at the west end. This is a traditional Christian practice, not limited to Orthodoxy, whereby the deceased faces the sun rising in the east and where Christ was thought to appear at the Resurrection. Grave markers

no longer existed at the cemetery but they were originally stated to have been of several varieties and may have denoted the ethnic origin or status of the person buried. Orthodox coffins traditionally contain no extraneous cultural materials with the deceased other than a religious cross or medallion, and the special burial garment worn by the deceased such as a shroud. Burial of clothed individuals was not common or widespread until after the abandonment of Ross. Those who may have been buried clothed included the wealthy and the nobility, military officers, religious personnel, brides, children, criminals, military casualties, and those who were required to be buried in haste (Koch 1983:224). Osteological analysis of the deceased was expected to provide parallel and collaborative evidence against which to accept or refute the data contained in the death records. This was also not to be. Once located, the grave contents were found to be in a tragic state of decay and decomposition. This also greatly altered my capability to use the anticipated analyses of the archaeological data and to compare these against the literary record.

C. Analysis. The analytical phase of the project was to synthesize the archival, physical, and mortuary data in an attempt to understand the ideology of this frontier community. Past research into the daily lives of frontier or colonial inhabitants had largely ignored mortuary behavior and religious activities of these communities with the exception of the work at a few sites including Spanish St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 1983; Koch 1983).

The data derived about historic Orthodox and native burial practices at the Ross cemetery from both the archaeological and documentary sources would be looked at to determine what conditions affected or caused any

variety or patterning among the burials. Analysis of the graves, artifacts, and provenience would be used to discover other information about burial practices at the Ross settlement. I hoped that cultural patterns - both religious, socio-economic, and temporal - could be delineated in the cemetery that would provide evidence of changes in mortuary behavior between the earliest frontier occupation of Ross versus the later more agricultural nature of the settlement. For instance, one might expect a higher number of males of Russian and Native Alaskan extraction in any earlier burials in the cemetery while later burials might reflect a greater number of families including women and children, and a larger Creole population.

This study would document any variation in treatment of the dead on the basis of age, gender or ethnicity. Were women or children treated differently in death than men? Was there any variation in treatment or location of the dead on the basis of ethnic group, gender, or age?. I will attempt to answer the question as to whether there were observable distinctions in burial practices among the major ethnic groups at Ross, the Russians, Creoles and Native Alaskans. Were these distinctions, if any, reflective of religious or cultural values and attitudes toward those who died? Do these values and attitudes reveal anything about the role and importance of the deceased in this colonial society? How do the mortuary rituals for the dead at Ross reflect this multi-ethnic community's beliefs about the individual, life, and death in the 19th century frontier.

Would the graves at Ross be disturbed by digging through older burials to place newer ones? I would not expect this to occur at the Ross cemetery due to the short duration it was in use and sufficient space available for additional interments. It was a common practice in many of the crowded

European cemeteries during the time of the Russian occupation at Ross, also occurring at the St. Augustine site in Florida and in parts of Mexico (Koch 1983:219). This practice was evident at the Orthodox cemetery in Sitka, Alaska when I visited there in 1989 and was further confirmed during my discussions with several Orthodox priests. Koch quotes the medieval European thought of this era about the final resting place of a person's bones after death, and says that this "was of little concern.... Thus the body was entrusted to the Church. It made little difference what the Church saw fit to do with these bodies so long as they remained within its holy precincts" (Koch 1983:219). Again, this was the impression I was given by several of the Orthodox priests I met during this investigation. Their concern was primarily for the soul of the deceased and not the physical remains of the person or any associated artifacts.

Would there be any partitioning of the cemetery into sections such as providing a separate section for the unbaptized or "unholy." This assumes that such persons were permitted to be buried in the main cemetery. Such persons may be distinguished by the lack of a religious pendant or other non-Orthodox practices. The Roman Catholic Church often set aside areas for "non-church-members, unbaptized children, condemned persons, suicides, lunatics, excommunicated persons, outcasts, strangers, and criminals" but the most common distinctions were made between the "important, affluent and the poor" (Koch 1983:220, 221). If these categories of people were not buried in the main cemetery then where were they buried?

As part of his predictive model for Three Saints harbor and other Russian period settlements that predate 1850, Crowell determined that there was a "restricted quantity and variety of imported food supplies, consumer

goods, and building supplies at Russian posts.” This was due largely to limited production capacity and ability to ship goods long distances. I predict that there will likewise be a lack of imported items or diversity of goods in the cemetery as was the case among the living population (Crowell 1994:28). Although consumer preferences clearly affected the archaeological evidence of burial practices in later years and at other locations, there was little opportunity in Russian America to obtain goods or materials that were not locally available or shipped to the Company warehouse. Shipping records for Russian America are very complete and no supplies such as coffin hardware or other such items have been noted. Coffins were likely built locally as required and perhaps decorated by the family. Any fabric lining inside the coffin would come from bolts of cloth shipped to the warehouse textile from Alaska. Grave markers would also be locally manufactured using nearby forest resources.

What was the ideology of the Ross community? Although Russian America had a very hierarchical social system would this distinction carry over into death? What were the contrasts between a living culture with an enforced hierarchy and a religious canon that purported social cohesiveness and equality? Would the identity of the individual be highly pronounced or immersed with the cultural group? Characteristics such as the lack of individual identity in death are considered part of a “medieval” pattern of mortuary behavior that emphasizes religious and social cohesiveness such as that encouraged by [Orthodoxy] and Catholicism” (Koch 1983:226). My hypothesis is that the mortuary practices in Russian America, and at the Ross colony cemetery in particular, would be expected to reflect this “medieval”

pattern of behavior in which emphasis is placed on religious and social cohesiveness due to the strong influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. This is opposed to the "Georgian" pattern where greater emphasis is placed on the individual, apart from the group. In the case of the British mortuary practices at the St. Augustine site, it was suggested that a more individual treatment of the deceased, such elaborate coffins and special burial garments, was due at least in part to the absence of a conservative religious influence such as that of the Roman Catholic church (Koch 1983:226-227). I believe that the Russian Orthodox Church was equally or more conservative than the Roman Catholic church and that this religious affiliation will affect the mortuary patterning of the Ross cemetery.

## Chapter Three: Historical Account - a View from the Past, Understanding the Present

### I. Introduction.

The historical account of nineteenth century Russian colonial exploration, settlement and religious influence in northern California begins with what really marks the end of Russian American Company's mercantile expansion eastward. This migratory translocation from west to east was a phenomenon frequently contrasted with the manifest destiny theory of the American frontier movement. It is the culmination of the Russian conquest of the entire northern part of the Asian continent (Lantzeff and Pierce 1972:228,229); the continued movement of fur trading companies and Orthodox religious practices eastward across the Pacific; and the founding, beginning in the eighteenth century, of several permanent settlements, frontier outposts, and a Russian commercial monopoly in Alaska that lasted until the territory was purchased by the United States. At the time Alaska was sold to the United States in 1867 there were over thirty Russian trading posts, forts and permanent settlements, some of which were also important religious centers such as Kodiak, Sitka, and Unalaska (Afonsky 1977:14-15).

Documentary sources confirm many of the cultural and religious activities in Russian America and in particular, of the multi-ethnic population at the Ross Colony through much of the twenty-nine years of Ross's existence as a remote outpost of the Russian commercial empire. The archives provide a wide range of sometimes contrasting views of daily life in the colony - the ethnic composition of the settlement; the overall population

of the community during different time periods; and the relationships between the Russians, Creoles, and Native Alaskans stationed at the colony with the indigenous California Indians who soon came under the influence of the Russian colonists.

This chapter describes the nature and usefulness of extant documentary sources specific to this study; to place Russia's colonial enterprise in northern California within a larger historical framework; and to compare this small frontier outpost with its administrative counterparts in Alaska and more generally with nineteenth century Russian religious practices that would be expected to affect the mortuary behavior of this community.

Various accounts describe what Ross looked like from the views of those who visited or lived there during its operation; those who arrived after the Russians left and by others who continued to write about the condition of this historic site in the first part of the twentieth century.

Of great importance is both the information which is included in their descriptions and that which is omitted. The physical characteristics of the main compound appear to have been of the greatest interest to all who passed this way. Almost all of the early accounts describe the outpost's fortification and the buildings within its confines, emphasizing the European flavor of the construction; some mention the structures and activities outside of the stockade along with numbers of livestock and fruit trees which range from estimates to seemingly precise quantities. Most describe the awesome beauty of the location along the lonely, treacherous and rugged coastline of northern California's Pacific Ocean.

Few, of these accounts, and none from the Russian period, describe the cemetery or the graves. Little information is recorded about death in the

colony - its causes and the effects it had on the community; how people were supposed to be buried and what ceremonies were held. Indeed, we have more accurate figures about the numbers of sea otters slaughtered, heads of livestock grazing in nearby fields, bushels of grain harvested and tons of cargo shipped than we do about those individuals who lived and died at Ross.

## II. The Documentary Record.

The archives of the Russian-American Company and the Orthodox Church are voluminous but tantalizingly incomplete. The materials were written by and for a small, educated segment of Russian society consisting of Imperial Naval officers, church and Company officials, scientists, and the merchant or middle class. The reports are often limited to commercial or religious matters. Documents reflecting the daily lives and beliefs of the inhabitants of the frontier settlements, especially those of the Creoles, Native Alaskans or Californians, and women are minimal to nonexistent.

These numerous and extensive primary or secondary sources are available for those wishing to study the Ross Colony or other contemporaneous geographic regions of Russian-America. Excellent summaries of these are found in the analysis of repositories for archives and manuscripts both within and outside of the former Soviet Union (Grimsted 1972; Polansky 1987, 1990). For materials related specifically to the Ross Colony there is an annotated bibliography prepared by the California Department of Parks and Recreation (Hussey 1979).

Many of the documents pertinent to the Russian American period in North America have been laboriously translated from the original

handwritten or printed Russian, edited and reissued in English through the Alaska History Series of the Limestone Press, Richard Pierce, editor. Key documents in this series and in other publications include the translations of studies on the Russian population in Alaska and California (Fedorova 1973; Wrangell 1980); histories of the Russian American Company (Pierce 1976a; Pierce and Donnelly 1979; Tikhmenev 1978); travel accounts, voyages, and scientific expeditions to Russian America (Alekseev 1987; Barratt 1981, 1983, 1988; Belcher 1979; Davydov 1977; Ivashintsov 1980; Litke 1987; Makarova 1975; Merck 1980; Shelikhov 1981); ethnographic descriptions contained in many of the preceding references plus additional contributions to our knowledge of the Native Alaskan peoples (Berkh 1974; Black 1980, 1984; Veniaminov 1985); and finally, compilations of official correspondence and biographical information (Pierce 1984, 1987, 1990a).

Important documentary evidence still remains in the original handwritten Russian manuscripts, largely untouched by all but the most diligent scholars such as Katherine Arndt, Lydia Black, James Gibson and Richard Pierce. Two fundamental difficulties were encountered when trying to use these materials for the study at Fort Ross. The first is the sheer massiveness of the collections and the second is the difficulty translating the handwritten text, specifically when it came to such things as Native Alaskan personal or place names transliterated into Russian. I am indebted to Katherine Arndt of Fairbanks, Alaska for her dedicated assistance in solving many of the intricacies of names and places in the Russian American period manuscripts, as well as to Alexei Istomin of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia; the late Oleg Terichow of San Rafael,

California; and Dema Dimitri from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee for assisting me with the translations that were so critical to this study.

**Church Records.** Civil registration of births, deaths and marriages as well as national censuses of population only began to become common by the mid-nineteenth century. Prior to this time, ecclesiastical registers were the most widely used sources for demographic information. Underenumeration of the vital events is considered to be the most critical deficiency of these sources (Jones 1981:27). For Russian America, the church records provide the most complete collection of surviving demographic data.

Russian Orthodox priests have long been tasked with the responsibility of collecting vital statistics, and after 1838 were supervised in this activity by the church bishops. Foremost among their records are the metrical books which serve as a registry for all births, deaths and marriages (Edwards 1978:165) and which are still maintained by priests today.

General guidelines for keeping these registries were devised by Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia (1682-1725), and further standardized by Tsar Nicholas I in the late 1830s. Since the Ross Colony was founded after the promulgation of these requirements, it was expected that the vital statistics for the colony would fall under the overall records management system for Russian America.

The Alaskan Russian Church Archives, also known as the records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America - Diocese of Alaska, were donated to the United States Library of Congress in 1927, 1940 and 1943. This massive collection of 87,000 items in 900 cartons, occupies 326 feet of shelf space in its original manuscript form. The entire contents have been reproduced for public use on 401 reels of microfilm and are widely

available in a number of libraries. An index of the contents is available (Polansky 1987:357; Shalkop 1984:1), although Black (1988d) and others question the usefulness of the index when trying to find specific types of information. This proved, as Black predicted, to be a difficulty for the current research since it was nearly impossible to find citations for specific records of the Ross Colony, as they were apparently subsumed by more generalized classification categories and became the proverbial "needle in the haystack" of 87,000 untranslated handwritten Russian church records.

The earliest extant records relative to the Ross Colony study appear to be those in the records of Sitka Parish, which Ross came under administratively. Dating from 1818 (Black 1988c) these parish records include the previously mentioned metrical books. The metrical books contain yearly accounts of births, infant and adult baptisms, marriages and deaths in a region. The name, social rank, ethnic or tribal affiliation, residence, and age of the person were supposed to be concisely stated. The cause of death, if it could be determined, was included. The metrical records, by year from starting on 1 May, were divided into separate sections for chronological reporting of births and infant baptisms, marriages, adult baptisms (conversions) and deaths (Smith 1980b:43). Metrical books do not exist for Russian America prior to 1818, thus there is no information of this type available for the first six years of occupation at the Ross colony or anywhere else. As part of the Sitka Parish, the metrical books for Ross were included with the other settlements in the parish. For an as yet unexplained reason, no death records for Ross are found in the metrical books of the Sitka Parish. The absence of information about Ross in the Sitka Parish records was

verified, in addition to my own perusal, by Arndt (1991, 1992), Istomin (1994) and Terichow (1991). Istomin (1994) states "there is no exact information on the deaths in Ross in this material I have seen."

Correspondence of Governors General. These original manuscript documents of the Russian-American Company are located in the United States National Archives with duplicate microfilm copies on 77 rolls also widely available. Like the aforementioned church records, this is an equally unwieldy collection of some 80,000 documents which were transmitted over a fifty year period. English translations are published through 1819, but the remainder of the correspondence is in the original handwritten Russian script. The correspondence contains numerous references to the Ross Colony, including deaths which occurred at Ross and other interesting information about specific individuals living there. The letters also provide lists of personnel being transported between the various company settlements, their ethnic identities, occupations and salaries. There is sometimes mention of certificates given to employees upon their departure from the colonies. For the period 1818-1840, there are only a few letters containing mention of deaths which had occurred at Ross (Arndt 1991).

The correspondence records for the twenty-eight years prior to 1818 were returned to Russia with Aleksandr Baranov when he was replaced as the chief manager of the Russian American Company. They were destroyed by fire sometime after 1867. Lost, in addition to correspondence, were census data, maps, log books, and reports of explorations (Polansky 1987:358). Any information relative to the Ross Colony for the period 1812-1818 contained in that collection can also be presumed to have been engulfed in the conflagration. Other Company records, some "forty wagonloads" of

documents, were presumed lost in 1870 when the Company transferred only thirty-four items to the Ministry of Finance. Several scholars have searched for the missing "wagonloads" over the ensuing years, without luck (Pierce 1976a:vi,vii). I spoke with Richard Pierce regarding this collection. He did not feel that it would be worthwhile to spend a lot of time going through the microfilm of the correspondence as many of the specific items contained in the extant collection relates to commercial activities of the Company (Pierce 1991).

The Microfilm Collection in the Rasmuson Library. This collection is located in the Rare Books Section of the Polar Regions Collections at the Rasmuson Library of the University of Alaska Fairbanks and contains microfilm copies of archival materials from eighteen different repositories in Russia and one in Paris, France. An index of the collection is available (Shur 1990a). The earliest records of vital statistics at Ross may be contained in the copies of the papers of Ivan Kuskov, founder of the Ross Colony (Black, 1988c); however, with the assistance of Katherine Arndt, a cursory check of microfilm copies did not reveal any obvious locations of this information. Journals of crew members who sailed to Fort Ross on Russian naval vessels and with von Kotzebue are also contained in the Shur collection as are the journals and papers of Kirill Khlebnikov, assistant to the manager of the Main Colonial Office in Sitka and frequent traveler to Ross (Shur 1990b). Some of Khlebnikov's writings have been translated into English (Gibson 1972, 1976b; Khlebnikov 1976; Mazour 1940; Shur 1990a, 1990b). It was determined largely unnecessary to attempt to translate these handwritten documents in the unlikely event they might contain information on deaths at the Ross Colony or Russian American burial practices.

Maps, Sketches and Photographs. A surprising number of maps or sketches of the settlement at Ross survive to this date. However, many of these focus on the main compound of the Fort and omit entirely any reference to or location of the cemetery. Any maps which show the cemetery would be of particular importance, such as a copy of the Russian American Company map sent from St. Petersburg to Madrid, Spain in 1817 (O'Brien 1980:14). Another more recent map was produced by now retired Fort Ross employee John McKenzie and shows the extent of prehistoric and historic features noted during the early years of his lengthy tenure at the State Park.

Voznesenskii's drawings demonstrate Russian cultural influence in North America prior to the arrival of Americans. Russian influence is seen in techniques for building techniques in Aleut huts, Tlingit dwellings and Kodiak Eskimos log cabins. Clothing made from Russian fabric is also prominent, as is the practice of gardening, introduced by Russians at the end of the eighteenth century. These things and much more were captured by Voznesenskii and others who sketched colonial life in Russian America (Blomkvist 1972:160).

As is the case with the maps, photographic collections often do not show the location of the cemetery. Two exceptions to this have been found in the photo archives of the California Department of Parks and Recreation and the Bancroft Library of the University of California. These show the timber encased graves, circa 1912 with the text "the more elaborate copings mark the graves of the officers;" the location of the cemetery to the right of the ravine , also from 1912; and an earlier "rare view" of the cemetery from 1898. Several of these photographs are included as plates in this report (see Chapter 5). No

additional photographs were located in searches of other libraries or museums such as the Anchorage Museum of History and Art, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Sitka Historical Society, Isabel Miller and Sheldon Jackson museums in Sitka, Sitka National Historic Park, California Historical Society, California Society of Pioneers or the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in Moscow.

### III. Early Russian Voyages.

One of the first Russian plans to colonize the North American coast can be found in the instructions of Peter the Great to Vitus Bering in 1725. Prior to his death, Peter directed Bering to travel along the coasts of Mexico and California; his goals were both political and economic - competition with Spain for the North American coast and control of the "legendary Mexican gold" (Okladnikova 1995:3). His purpose was to "establish the coastal line of Russian territory in the Pacific by a coastal and geodetic survey" (Bensin 1967:7). Bering did explore the islands between Asia and North America but never reached California. His voyages marked the initiation of scientific studies in Russian America (Okladnikova 1995:3). Bering passed St. Laurence Island, the farthest extension of North America, in July 1728 but failed to sight the coast of Alaska until his second expedition in July 1741 (Afonsky 1977:3). As early as 1741, Bering Island had become one of the first naval bases from which Russians later moved into the Aleutian Islands (Afonsky 1977:8).

In 1785, Empress Catherine the Great of Russia authorized an expedition to the coasts of eastern Siberia and northwestern North America. The expedition had both scientific and political aims, the latter to strengthen Russia's claims to territory on both sides of the Pacific and to delay

competition by other foreign powers. Cook's third voyage of 1776-1780 had shown English interest in the region, and France was planning an upcoming voyage. On August 8, 1785, Captain Joseph Billings (an Englishman in service to Russia) was appointed to lead the expedition. With Billings was the naturalist Carl Heinrich Merck of the renowned pharmaceutical family who had been working in the service of Russia's Imperial Government in Irkutsk (Pierce 1980:v-vii). In 1790 this expedition sighted Unalaska, arrived at Three Saints Bay, visited Prince William Sound, then sighted Kaye's Island (Kayak Island) and Mount St. Elias before returning to Petropavlovsk. In 1791 they sailed again to America where they sighted or landed at Bering Island, Tanaga Island, Unalaska, St. Lawrence Island, King (Sledge) Island, Cape Rodney, the Diomed Islands and St. Lawrence Bay on Chukotka Peninsula, arrived back in St. Petersburg in March 1793. This expedition led the way for the Aleuts, Kodiak Islanders, and Chukchi to become Russian subjects. It also showed the other foreign powers that Russia had an interest in the region and prevented other claims of sovereignty (Pierce 1980:xii-xiii). Many of the numerous Russian commercial and expeditionary round-the-world voyages that were planned and executed between 1803-1849 are documented in the report of Captain N. A. Ivashintsov (reprinted 1980).

The Russian colonization of North America can be divided into several phases or stages. Both Afonsky (1977) and Gibson (1976a) recognize an initial phase which occurred between 1743 and 1799. This was a period of numerous voyages for purposes of fur trade and exploration by as many as forty-two Russian companies. It was during this time that the first permanent Russian settlements were established in Alaska, on islands near

the coast and on the mainland by the Gulf of Alaska (Afonsky 1977:5; Gibson 1976a:4). The second phase, 1799-1819 begins with the charter of the Russian-American Company and covers the rule of Alexander Baranov, first Russian American governor in the colonies and was a period of further colonization in Alaska. During this time, expansion also occurred southward into California and Hawaii (Afonsky 1977:5; Gibson 1976a:10). Gibson defines two more phases. Phase three, 1819-1840, was the post-Baranov era and was marked by "corporate reorganization, a reorientation of settlement northward and inland, less active native hostility, and more regulated foreign competition" (1976a:15). Particularly noteworthy in 1818 was the change in the colonial government in Sitka from one originally administered by merchants to that governed by the Navy. From that time on, all governors of the American colonies were Russian Naval officers in service to the Company (Middleton 1993c: 5). His fourth phase post-dates the occupation of Ross and is not relevant to this study. Afonsky (1977:5) combines Gibson's last two phases into a single third stage from 1819-1867, defining it as a shift in fur-hunting to interior Alaska and the northwest latitudes.

During the period 1743-1800, over one hundred Russian commercial ventures took place in the Commander and Aleutian islands and along the Alaskan coast of North America. The Russians were searching for the pelts of sea otters and fur seals. Furs valued at ten million rubles were acquired by some forty-two different companies over this fifty year span of Russian activities in the Pacific (Gibson 1969a:17).

The search for new areas to hunt sea otters resulted in the Russian expansion eastward rapidly reaching America by way of the the Commander and Aleutian islands. During a period of only three years (1756-1758) a

individual promyshlennik discovered thirteen of the Aleutian Island. Kodiak Island was reached in 1763. The first permanent Russian occupation occurred in 1784, when the Golikov-Shelikhov Company founded the settlement of Three Saints Harbor on Kodiak Island (Gibson 1969a:23-24).

By the latter part of the 18th century the decline in the sea otter population and its receding range required longer voyages and brought lower economic gains to the fur trading companies headquartered in Siberia. Between 1750 and 1780 the sea otters had disappeared from the Kamchatka coast and the Kuriles. A few years later they were becoming rare in the Aleutians. The Russians had to sail furtherer and furtherer east in search of suitable hunting grounds which, at the beginning of the 19th century, took them to the California coast. California was both the end of the Russian expansion and the range of the sea otter (Gibson 1969a:31-32).

The Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands formed the hub of shipping traffic in the Pacific, beginning with the voyages of Cook in the 1770s into the 19th century (Pierce 1976b:1). The earliest documented Russian visit to the Hawaiian islands was June 1804. It was followed by other voyages whose goal was providing supplies and naval support to the Russian colonies in the Pacific (Pierce 1876b:2). The surgeon Georg-Anton Schaeffer, instructed by Baranov to obtain trading privileges and a monopoly on sandalwood, attempted to annex the Hawaiian Islands for Russia (Barratt 1988:84; Pierce 1976a:v)

The Russians seemed to be everywhere in the Pacific, not just the North Pacific which included the Russian far east, Alaska, Hawaii and California. During the reign of Peter the Great the Russians attempted to reach Australia (New Holland). A naval, social, mercantile, and scientific

enterprise was undertaken in New South Wales (southeastern Australia) between 1807-1835. Seventeen voyages were made to Australian ports by Russian ships carrying supplies to colonies in Kamchatka and Alaska. Many of the ships that visited Australia are also described by scholars of Russian America (Barratt 1988:vii) and include the Neva (1807), Suvorov (1814), Riurik (1822), and Elena (1825). The relationship between British colonists in Australia and Russian seamen was considered to be excellent and the Russians were allowed to pursue a wide range of scientific activities. Port Jackson came to be viewed as "a routine port of call" (Barratt 1988:ix). The Russian explorers Captain Bellingshausen and Lieutenant M. P. Lazarev also reached the perimeter of Antarctica (1820-1821) during their exploration of the South Polar Sea (Barratt 1988; Ivashintsov 1980:42).

#### IV. Colonialism in California.

Relations between the Russian settlement at Fort Ross and the Spanish in Alta California were considered, overall, to be quite good. Russians traded frequently with the Spanish and unofficially were given something equivalent to a "most favored nation" status (Pritchard 1990:85). This is despite the fact that both Russia and Spain claimed the Northwest Coast of North America, and had, since the mid 1770s been "nervous" about each other (Barratt 1988:9). Accurately defining the Russian-Spanish frontier relationship is difficult due to their largely undocumented informal exchanges which left behind no written records (Pritchard 1990:81).

In 1768 the Viceroy of New Spain expressed concern that the Russians had ventured too far into territory desired by Spain. It was

considered by Spain to “be neither impossible nor indeed very difficult” for the Russians to establish a colony at Monterey, California. Other Spanish officials in the Pacific were equally aware of the potential Russian encroachment from the North, though it had yet to materialize. “Russian naval officers would have felt flattered, had they known how far the ripples of their tentative and limited activities off North America had spread.” A mounting fear of Russian expansion resulted in five Spanish parties moving north from Mexico in 1769, including Portola who continued on to San Francisco Bay; and was the catalyst for the designs for the Monterey and San Francisco presidios (Barratt 1981:66-67). By the close of the 18th century, the Russians had become well established in the Aleutians and Alaska. Certainly naval and commercial activities of Russia in North Pacific waters brought fears of an inevitable expansion southward and accelerated Spanish missionization and occupancy of upper California north of San Diego (Barratt 1981:68; Jenkins 1951:21).

Alta California was a defensive frontier in the traditional Spanish practice of advancement by both the church and military. Initially, Alta California was supplied by San Blas in Baja (lower) California (Pritchard 1990:81). Four Spanish presidios (forts) were eventually built in upper California, partially in an attempt to dissuade future Russian claims and any movement southward from the Alaskan colonies. The Presidios from south to north were: San Diego; Santa Barbara; Monterey; and San Francisco, the closest to Fort Ross (Map 3.1). The presidios protected twenty-one religious settlements known as missions and numerous civilian settlements called ranchos. This tripartite of presidios, missions and ranchos formed the basis of Spain’s colonization of Alta and Baja California (Vance Bente, personal



Map 3.1 Spanish Presidios in California

communication 1994; Kyle 1990:xii). In 1817 the Spanish began construction of mission San Rafael, north of San Francisco Bay and closer to the Ross Colony (Pierce 1984:130).

One of the earliest events often attributed to the later settling of Ross by the Russians was the expedition of the Russian Imperial Court chamberlain and high ranking Russian American Company official Nicolai Rezanov in 1806, the first Russian to sail from Sitka to California. When Rezanov, arrived in Sitka that year, he found the settlement near starvation, and sailed to Presidio of San Francisco. Although the Spanish "permitted no foreign entry into San Francisco Bay and forbade foreign trade, this was an emergency" Rezanov was able to obtain food and supplies for the colonists in Sitka (Pierce 1984:22) and sailed along the coast of California looking for a suitable location at which to locate a settlement in California (Pierce 1984:3; Afonsky 1977:14; Essig 1991:5; Pierce 1990a:420; Thompson 1951:6). Rezanov, who died in 1807, "sought a prosperous, strong Russian establishment in North America. .... He wanted to freeze out the American competition in the fur trade" (Pierce 1990a). While at the Presidio of San Francisco, he also met the Spanish commandant's daughter in a much celebrated love story.

In 1818 the manager of the Ross Colony received "special instructions on trade with the Spanish." These included a prohibition on foreigners hunting or bartering with native residents, a caution to be ready for defensive action if needed, and a reminder to "preserve the colonies for the fatherland and the Russian American Company" (Pierce 1984:61).

It is possible that these periodic visits between members of the two cultures for trade and other purposes might be reflected in the grave goods of

the Russians buried at the Ross colony. Guthrie (1936) notes that the Russians supplied religious ornaments to the Spanish for the new mission San Francisco Solano "even though that mission had been established largely to check the Russian expansion. The two peoples always lived together without rancor or discord" (Guthrie 1936:30). It is possible that Spanish religious paraphernalia may have found its way into the Russian settlement as well.

#### V. Establishment of the Russian Colony in California.

For slightly more than a quarter of a century Russians held territory in northern California, a right to which was often disputed by Spain and later, Mexico (Bunje, Penn and Schmitz 1970: 2). Before California joined the United States in 1850, the territory experienced foreign incursions by explorers and settlers from these three nations. The Russians, who occupied California in 1812 and remained until 1841, lived primarily in the agricultural community of Fort Ross and never matched the geographic expanse of the Hispanic colonizers (Bancroft 1886).

Ivan Kuskov, an agent of the Company was committed to building at least a temporary settlement on the coast of California. One purpose was to plant and harvest crops which would relieve the continuing needs in Sitka, Alaska. Based on the observations of Rezanov in 1806, Kuskov's 1809 expedition constructed "some temporary buildings on the southeast side of Bodega Bay peninsula at an inlet now known as Campbell Cove," adding more structures in 1811. The bay had originally been reported in 1775 by the Spanish explorer Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra and later given his name - Bodega Bay. The Russians renamed it Port Rumiantsev and

Rumiantsev Bay in honor of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1807 and Chancellor of the Empire from 1809-1814 who had encouraged Russian expansion in America (Kinnaird 1966:165) In addition to this small settlement at Bodega Bay, Kuskov placed another site a few miles inland along Salmon Creek. Kuskov "peacefully annexed the entire territory" and became the first commander of the Ross colony. Bodega Bay or Port Rumiantsov, remained the Russian's southernmost outpost and point of territorial expansion on the mainland as well as their chief harbor (Jenkins 1951:11-29). Baranov sent Kuskov from Sitka to California in February 1811 to find a permanent location for an agricultural colony and trading post, and to expand Russia's commercial and colonial presence in California (Afonsky 1976:11-12; Ivanhintsov 1980:vi). Kuskov arrived at Bodega Bay on the schooner Chirikov on March 4th. He stayed at Port Rumiantsev until moving north to Ross, then sailed back to Sitka. He returned to Bodega in early 1812, again on the Chirikov with 95 Russians and creoles (including 25 skilled mechanics), and 86 Aleuts. Construction began on Ross in May 1812 and on September 10, 1812 Ross was dedicated. It was known as Fuerte de los Rusos by Spanish (Kinnaird 1966:165-167) and was 18 miles north of Bodega Bay. Ross lacked an adequate harbor but appeared to be safe from attack. Kuskov decided in 1818 that he needed to establish a station on the Farallon Islands, west of San Francisco, where hunters could procure a steady supply of sea lion meat. Kuskov remained in command of the California colony for nine years. He left the Company in 1821, returning to Russia where he later died in Tot'ma in 1823 (Blomkvist 1972:161; Kinnaird 1961:175-1977).

Three agricultural ranches were established by 1833 between Bodega Bay and Fort Ross. The first and closest to Ross, belonged to Vasilii Khlebnikov. Here, 8 hectares (20 acres) were under cultivation. The second, the Kostromitinov ranch, had 40.5 hectares (100 acres) under cultivation at the mouth and left bank of the Russian River. Finally, the Chernykh ranch midway between Bodega Bay and the Russian River, had vineyards, fruit trees under production with land for cultivation of grain, peas, peppers and onions (Kinnaird 1966:115). All three ranches had houses, barns, enclosures for cattle and were at least partially fenced. Personnel stationed here produced "potatoes, wheat, rye, buckwheat, fruits, tobacco, butter, hides, bacon and dried meat" (Blomkvist 1972:163). "The story of Fort Ross creates the feeling it was a sprawling semi-protected agricultural and hunting center rather than being a heavily fortified military outpost. No element of force ever actually faced the Russians during their stay on the California coast" (Treganza 1954:14).

The Ross Colony was one of five commercial subdivisions known as "counters" under the direct supervision of the colonial governor in Sitka and administered locally by a manager. These were in order of commercial importance: Sitka, Kodiak, Unalaska, Ross, and the Northern Islands (Gibson 1976b:177). When Khlebnikov visited in 1821 he found there to be "a small fort, a manager's house, a barracks, an office, workshops, a shed for storing timber and a windmill for grinding flour" (Gibson 1976b:186).

## VI. Visitors to Ross.

The record of personal narratives for the Russian occupation of California includes comments by a variety of European voyagers, explorers,

travellers, and government officials. The Ross Colony was the recipient of numerous visitors over the years and many of them reported their observations. Some are more reliable than others but they give us a flavor of the times and how the settlement appeared to them. An example of the variability in recordation comes from the Russian ship Riurik which left Kronstadt Russia on August 12, 1815, returning in the summer of 1818. During this period the ship and its crew visited Copenhagen, Denmark; Plymouth England; Teneriffe, Canary Islands; Santa Catarina, Brazil; Talcahuano, Chile; Easter Island; Kamchatka; the Arctic Gulf; Unalaska; San Francisco from October 2 to November 1, 1816; Sandwich, Hawaiian Islands; Polynesia; Manila; Madagascar; Cape Town South Africa; Azores Islands; Reval, Kurland; some of which were visited more than once (Barratt 1988:83; Mahr 1932:285-285). Noting those who kept records on the Riurik (Otto von Kotzebue (1787-1846) the Captain; Adelbert von Chamisso (1781-1838) the naturalist; and Louis Choris the painter) the following statement was made:

One should expect to find the report of the captain the most comprehensive of all three. But compared to Chamisso's, it is lacking not only in completeness but also in accuracy. The reason for the surprising fact seems to be that Chamisso, unhampered by political considerations, was at perfect liberty to say the whole truth about everything; whereas Kotzebue never could afford to disregard the fact that he was an officer of the Imperial Russian Navy and, at the same time, a private employee of one of the most influential, though retired, statesmen of his country [Mahr 1932:287].

Extracts from Chamisso's diary state that Kuskov had built a fort in Spanish territory, where twenty Russians and fifty Kodiak natives lived peacefully,

farming and owning livestock, and were defended by a dozen cannon (Mahr 1932:301). Other descriptions of Ross come from the following accounts:

a) The Spanish Cadet Don Gervasio Arguello inspected Fort Ross and reported to Governor Sola on October 21, 1816. He observed 25 Russians, including the commander. He estimated there were about 80 Kodiak Indians but was not able to accurately count them as most were out in their kayaks. He stated that the Native Alaskans lived outside the wall of the fort in 37 wooden houses that were built without a discernible order (Mahr 1932:381).

b) Peter Corney visited Bodega and Ross in 1814 and 1817. He described the Ross settlement as having "about 100 houses and huts, with a small fort on the point, and about 500 inhabitants, Russians and Kodiacks" (Corney 1896:82; Thompson 1951:iii). In August 1817, Corney and McDougal found 30 Russians and Kodiacks and their wives on the Farallon Islands (Thompson 1951:iv).

c) Auguste Bernard du Hautcilly [also cited as Duhaut-Cilly] visited Ross and Bodega, arriving eleven years after Corney in 1828 (Bernard du Hautcilly 1946). He is said to have left one of the most accurate characterizations of Ross. "... his description and his drawing are essential sources for any study of the fort's physical structures" (Hussey 1979:58). The manager of the colony at this time was Pavel Shelekhov. Bernard du Hautcilly contrasted the Russian settlement with the Spanish Presidios he had seen elsewhere in California and was impressed with the "well-made roofs, houses of elegant form, fields well sown and surrounded with palisades, lent to this place a wholly European air" (1946:4,5). He described a square stockade with a twenty foot high palisade, along with its turrets, port-holes and gun-carriages; the commandant's house, storehouses and

workshops. The chapel he says is newly built. "Pretty little houses" belonging to the Russians, Kodiaks and local Indians are said to be scattered outside the stockade (Bernard du Hautcilly 1946:11).

d) Cyrille Laplace, a French traveler, visited the Ross Colony in August 1839. "There was no doubt in my mind that I was on a genuine European farm ... In every respect Ross can be called the livestock farm, the garden and the fruit orchard of the barren Russian colonies in the Pacific" (Blomkvist 1972:162). He goes on to also describe the stables, chickens, milk and cheese at Ross.

e) H. M. S. Sulphur was assigned by the Hydrographical Office of the British Admiralty to precisely delineate thousands of miles of coastline for safer navigation and the advancement of science (Pierce and Winslow 1969:ix). The Sulphur was off shore of Fort Ross in September 1839. The only account of Ross is that of Sir Edward Belcher who got part of his description from a friend who stayed there and part from using his telescope (Pierce and Winslow 1969:xi). He describes a stockade or "square" with warehouses, a governor's house, chapel, and officers' dwelling. Outside the square were stables, a granary with a threshing machine, and a windmill. To the south in a deep ravine were three buildings, which contained forges, carpenters shops, and storehouses. On the slope of the hill were about twenty "huts" for the Kodiak Indians; of whom he estimated fifty to sixty were normally employed by the Company at the fort. Belcher also described the settlement at Bodega as "a small rancho" with two Russian buildings - one a store-house and the other a residence. He estimated the population at three men with their wives and children (Pierce and Winslow 1969:58-60).

f) I. G. Voznesenskii (1816-1871) was born four years after the founding of the Ross Colony and visited Russian America between 1839-1849. He is most remembered even today for the collection of drawings of indigenous peoples he made on behalf of the Zoological Museum of the Academy of Sciences (Moscow). He was in California from 1840-1842, making stops at Bodega Bay and Fort Ross, then under the command of its last Russian administrator (1829-1841), Alexander Rotchev. Voznesenskii made nine drawings in California, the first of which was a map of the California coast showing the locations of the Ross Colony, Rumiantsev (Bodega Bay), and the three ranches (Blomkvist 1972:104); and the second, a watercolor of the Ross colony showing the administration buildings and living quarters inside the fort, as well as the bathhouse, stables and some service buildings outside of the enclosed walls. When Ross was sold in 1841, there were fifty buildings outside of the compound. Voznesenskii states that there were 24 buildings in the Aleut part of the settlement (Blomkvist 1972:106). His ninth drawing is of the Chernykh Ranch showing the house, outbuildings, fenced stockades for cattle and what appears to be cultivated fields (Blomkvist 1972:114-115).

g) Eugene Duflot de Mofras visited Ross twice and "is one of the major sources of information about the Russian colony in California" (Hussey 1979:67). This and other information provided by visitors to Ross greatly enhances our knowledge of colonial lifeways. Unfortunately, little attention appears to have been paid to burial practices or the cemetery across the creek from the main compound.

## VII. Abandonment of the Ross Colony.

One of the reasons why the Russians were not prosperous in the sea otter business in northern California was that the hunting in this area had been ruined by the Americans almost before the Ross and Bodega settlements were established. The number of sea otter skins which were obtained by Americans before 1812 has been estimated at nearly 100,000 skins. This greatly reduced one of the Company's anticipated revenue sources and may have kept the Colony from becoming a financial success from its initial stages to the time of the Russian withdrawal from California. This has been referred to as the maritime version of the 'scorched earth' technique (Kinnaird 1966:179). In 1841 the Ross settlement and its associated ranches were sold to John Sutter. All inhabitants were moved to Bodega Bay in July, and on September 5, 1841 sailed for Sitka, arriving there a month later on October 4th (Blomkvist 1972:115).

The question has often been posed "And what happened to the settlers of Ross? Did they all leave for Sitka? To this date no one knows the answer" (Blomkvist 1972:164). Voznesenskii states they all left when he did. Kostromitinov, in a letter dated December 19, 1841, informed the Governor of California that service personnel and residents of Ross had sailed for Sitka. This observation was corroborated by the Governor General of Hudson's Bay Company, Sir George Simpson, who visited Ross on his trip around the world in 1841-1842. It should also be noted that all the Aleuts who lived in the Ross settlement had been moved to Kodiak Island by 1838 on order of the Chief Administrator of the company, Ivan Antonovich Kupreianov, in order

to augment the hunting personnel. This happened three years prior to the departure of most if not all of the Russian population.

There is some speculation that after the sale of Ross was completed some of the Creoles who lived between Bodega Bay and the Russian River may have remained there (Blomkvist 1972:164). Duflot de Mofras states the last of the colonists left Ross on December 30, 1841 on the brig Konstantin including Rotchev and Kostromitinov who stayed behind to complete delivery of the properties to Sutter. Earlier in the year, the sloop Helene had taken 400 colonists to Sitka (Duflot de Mofras 1937: 250). However "it has been deemed advisable by mutual agreement to leave out as guarantee [of Sutter's debt] the two farms of Khlebnikov and Kostromitinov in their entirety, the Russians reserving the right to return and occupy them in case the contract should not be fully executed on the part of M. Sutter or his heirs. For this reason the Russians upon their departure left an agent called Nicolai with a few men on the farms and two pilots at the port of Bodega" (Duflot de Mofras 1937:250).

#### VIII. The American Period (1841- May 1906).

By 1842 the Russians had left the Ross Colony and its associated farmsteads, marking the start of the American period of occupation. This historical period ends in May 1906 when ownership of the Ross settlement transferred to the State of California as a historical landmark, one month after the great San Francisco earthquake.

In 1843 William Benitz was appointed by Sutter as his overseer. When the Muniz Rancho was awarded to Manuel Torres by Mexican Governor Pio Pico in 1845, Benitz along with Ernest Rufus continued to operate a ranch and

in 1855 it was purchased by Benitz. The property remained with Benitz until 1867 when he sold it to Charles Fairfax and John Dixon of Virginia. They developed a large-scale lumber industry at the fort. When Fairfax died in 1873, the property was sold to G. W. Call and remained with the Call family until 1906 (O'Brien 1980).

The establishment of the Russian settlement of Ross in northern California was the finale of over two hundred years of eastward exploration and expansion by an empire set upon controlling both shores of the Pacific. It was the southernmost extent of Russia's colonial and religious influence in a new and distant frontier, in a territory claimed by Spain and perilously close to her military garrisons and presidios. Despite the fact that no priest was ever assigned to the colony, an Orthodox chapel was constructed and members of the community were buried in the only known Orthodox cemetery in North America outside of Alaska associated with the 19th century Russian colonization in California.

## Chapter Four: Archaeological Research Goals and Objectives

### I. Introduction.

Archaeological investigations at the Ross Colony cemetery (CA-Son-1876H) were initiated in order to understand and enhance the documentary record discussed in the preceding chapters. Insight into 19th century Russian Orthodox mortuary practices in this colonial frontier setting is dependent upon information that a) may not always have been recorded in the past; b) even if recorded, is not currently extant in written form and is, therefore, inaccessible by means of historical or ethnographic research; and c) has no archaeological counterpart for comparative purposes. This information includes how closely religious practices were adhered to in the absence of a priest; evidence of differential treatment in death by social class, occupation, ethnic group, age or gender; substitution of material items such as coffins, burial clothing, personal or religious items placed in the grave, and grave markers, due to either lack of availability in the colonies or influences of intermarriage with the Native Alaskan or local California Indian populations; and introduction of other non-Orthodox mortuary practices that might be attributable to one of several culturally distinguishable groups living in this multi-ethnic community.

A well-known archaeologist defines the three main goals of archaeology as: “[1] to study archaeological sites and their contents in a context of time and space, to describe long sequences of human culture; [2] to reconstruct past lifeways, to deduce how humans made their livings; and [3] to explain why human cultures changed, or why they remained the same,

over long periods of time" (Fagan 1995:13). The methodological and research aspects of this study use theoretical constructs, the documentary record, and archaeological evidence in support of these and other goals.

The study of the Ross Colony cemetery was designed to gather comparative information on the various aspects of mortuary behavior in order to more fully understand the societal relationships between the living and the dead in this frontier outpost. The composition of Ross included individuals of several different ethnic groups and a wide range of stratified social classes. Consistent with Fagan's three goals of archaeology the archaeological site CA-Son-1876H and its contents were, one, to be examined within the immediate context time- i.e. the Russian occupation of Ross from 1812-1841, and space- the physical boundaries of the cemetery, but also within the greater context of Orthodox mortuary practices over several centuries and a broad geographic expanse. Second, past colonial lifeways, including treatment of the dead were to be reconstructed; and third, the study would allow for a possible explanation as to why mortuary practices within a predominantly Orthodox culture would change or remain the same.

Some of this information is likely to be recoverable in the corresponding archaeological record. For instance, the number, age, sex, ethnicity, and morbidity of individuals who died and were buried at Ross during the twenty-nine years of Russian American Company administration of this site; the manner in which particular individuals were actually interred as opposed to what would be expected at an Orthodox cemetery, the overall character of the cemetery above and below the surface of the ground including the areal extent, and the number and types of objects or artifacts that were actually buried with the deceased. Analysis of the spatial

organization of the cemetery will be described in a future treatise by Lynne Goldstein. Neither the Russian American Company nor the Russian Orthodox Church are known to have kept cemetery maps showing where individuals or families were interred. Since there was no above-ground evidence of the individual grave sites prior to this current study, Goldstein's spatial analysis requires the locational data generated by the archaeological excavations.

In summary, the use of historical archaeological investigations can benefit situations where the pertinent documentary information never existed in the first place or has not survived over time. It can also enhance those areas where documentary information might be incomplete or biased toward a particular group or set of data. A common problem with the documentary records is the disparate treatment or recordation of women, children and Native Americans. This can be overcome through the use of archaeological techniques. The archaeological investigations of the mortuary behavior at Ross is important in the interpretation of burial practices of all elements of the community.

## II. The Archaeology of Fort Ross State Historic Park.

A. Previous Investigations. There are several excellent summaries of previous archaeological studies at Fort Ross State Historic Park. Among the most comprehensive are those of the University of California Berkeley and the California Department of Parks & Recreation. Information contained in these will not be repeated at any length here as these reports are widely available.

One of the earliest studies of the historical archaeology of Fort Ross was a 1953 archaeological investigation conducted by Adan Treganza of the University of California Berkeley for the California Division of Beaches and Parks (now Parks and Recreation). At this time there were very few reports on historic archaeology in California. Then (1953) it was reported to be the "only establishment founded by Russians to be excavated in North America" as work had not yet occurred in Sitka, Kodiak or other Alaskan settlements (Treganza 1954:1). The primary purpose of the earliest archaeological excavations at Fort Ross was to relocate the four original stockade walls, check previously reconstructed features in relation to the stockade walls and attempt to relocate the original Russian well (Treganza 1954:5). Treganza commented on the accuracy of the 1843 drawing by Waseurtz af Sandels, stating "such details as relationship and proportions of the buildings, the windmill, pump, cattle corral, burial ground, etc. provide every evidence that the artist sketched the Fort in situ and not from memory" (Treganza 1954:14). This study describes five California Indian village sites within one half mile of the Fort and mentions that the area which housed Aleut hunters and their families was not located. "This [referring to the Aleut village] will make an interesting study for the future" (Treganza 1954:18). Earlier excavations were undertaken in 1949 at the Russian fur sealing station on the Farallon Islands in an attempt to obtain information on Russian and Aleut hunters (Riddell 1955), however, Treganza does not appear to have considered this in his discussion of Russian historical archaeology, possibly due to the fact it was not a permanent settlement.

Several other excavations have been conducted at the Fort in more recent years. The Official's Quarters and trash dump areas were dug as part of

a Sonoma State College field schools in 1970 and 1971. Excavations of the Old Commandant's House area were undertaken by state archaeological crews in 1972 and 1975, and the chapel was investigated in 1972. Salvage excavations occurred in 1972 in conjunction with the realignment of State Highway 1 and included Russian period buildings and gardens as well as the Pomo village of Mad-shui-nui. Pritchard (1972) conducted preliminary excavations at the Fort Ross chapel, following the 1970 arson fire which burned much of the structure. A field school from Cabrillo College tested portions of the warehouse remains in the northwest corner of the fort in 1975 and 1976. Period site surveys and records of artifact discovery were maintained by long time park ranger and curator, John McKenzie (Thomas 1976).

Most recently, a proposal for a five year program (1987-1992) of survey and test excavation for prehistoric resources was approved for work to be conducted by the University of California, Berkeley in cooperation with Sonoma State College. Santa Rosa Junior College investigated two areas in 1996, one was a brick feature in front of the Official's Barracks, the other at the possible Russian boat building site in Fort Ross Cove.

There is a lack of archaeological investigations in either Alaska or Siberia which can be used for comparative purposes. According to Pierce (1987:362) only the Old Sitka settlement has been excavated "rather badly" in the 1930s with no excavations occurring at the major settlements of Slavorossiia, Ozerskoi Redoubt, Nuchek, and Voskresenskaia Gavan. More recent excavations at Russian American period ethnographic or historic sites such as Kolmakovskiy Redoubt (Oswalt 1980), Paxson Lake (Ketz 1983), the Kurile Islands (Shubin 1990) and Three Saints Bay (Crowell 1994) have made

significant contributions; but, not to the topic of mortuary practices in Orthodox frontier settlements.

Prior to the current investigation no scientific studies of the Ross Colony cemetery (California archaeological site number CA-Son-1876H) were ever conducted. State Park planning documents included management considerations and recommendations but no research design was developed and no work was ever funded, in spite of repeated requests by church authorities for identification of grave sites and preservation of the cemetery.

B. Discovery of An Isolated Burial in 1972. The remains of only one individual presumed to be associated with the historic occupation of the Ross colony have been examined prior to the this study (Napa Register 1972, Pritchard 1972, and Schulz 1972). On April 21, 1972, during an archaeological survey in advance of construction activities for the realignment of State Highway 1, a single grave was discovered on the west side of Fort Ross Creek, opposite the main cemetery, CA-Son-1876H. Work was halted until representatives of the Russian community in San Francisco were contacted. A week later on April 28-29, the burial was exposed and removed for retrieval of osteological information. An exhaustive search of State Park files failed to recover the field sketch map containing the precise location excavation. All datum markers were noted as destroyed by construction grading.

Excavation was conducted under the supervision of State Park archaeologist Bill Pritchard. Field crew members included Frank Martin Jr., Peter Banks, and Elise Wheeler. Field notes report that the interment was found approximately four feet below the surface in a six foot by three foot grave pit, and was contained within the remnants of a roughly-made

redwood stake coffin. A small silver cross of the Russian Orthodox faith was found in association with the burial, leading to Pritchard's deduction that this was someone who died during the period of Russian occupation.

The poorly preserved remains of this individual consisted of decomposed pieces of the cranium, mandible, left and right femurs, left tibia and 10 tooth crowns or tooth fragments (1 incisor, 2 canines, 2 premolars, 5 molars). They were identified by State Park archaeologist Peter Schulz as someone of European extraction based on the fact that the incisor had no traces shoveling, a characteristic expected for those of Native Alaskan or California Indian derivation. Insufficient information was available for defining the sex of this person who was approximately 21 years of age with an age range between 17-25 years. The deceased had been placed on his or her back in an extended position with the head aligned nearly due magnetic east (Schulz 1972).

Why was this person separated from what now appears to be the main cemetery, CA-Son-1876H? One suggestion is that the person died in the very early days of the colony's occupation prior to establishment of an official cemetery, and therefore was placed at a time period "prior to 1820" (Pritchard 1972). This purported antiquity of the burial appears in the initial media coverage of the discovery and in the official project correspondence and manuscripts. Other than the geographic isolation of the burial from the main cemetery, there does not appear to be any basis for this assumption other than speculation that it predates the better known main cemetery. Another possibility is that the person was for some reason not eligible for an Orthodox burial in the main cemetery and that the burial could be contemporaneous with the main cemetery.

The exhumation of this early Russian American colonist was attended by Metropolitan Vladimir and Father Kishkovsky of the Russian Orthodox Church. According to Bill Pritchard, following a church ceremony on July 15, 1972, the remains of this person were placed in a 6" diameter steel pipe 6-8" long and reburied in the cemetery 2-3 feet below the surface. Concrete was then poured into hole in an attempt to deter vandalism (Bill Pritchard, personal communication 1990). A mold of the small silver Orthodox cross was made prior to its reburial with the human remains. Copies of the cross are now sold in the Fort Ross Interpretive Association bookstore at the park.

C. Ongoing Investigations. The archaeological investigation of the Native Alaskan village site by the University of California, Berkeley occurred during the summers of 1990, 1991, and 1992. The village is located in front of the south side of the reconstructed Russian stockade. Many of the 75-123 Aleut and Koniag Eskimos employed by the Russian American Company lived at this village while hunting sea otters, fur seals, and sea lions for the Company. Archaeologists found evidence of houses, work areas, and garbage dumps associated with the village, as well as hundreds of cow, sheep and sea mammal bones which showed signs of butchering (Lightfoot 1992:3). In addition to its scientific value it was proposed to include this as part of the public "culture" trail (Lightfoot 1990:4, 1992).

Archaeological monitoring of trenches associated with replacement of the northeast section of the stockade wall verified that the original excavations in the same trenches by Treganza in 1956 recovered all cultural materials (Walton 1995:2).

The possible site of Russian shipbuilding may have been located at Fort Ross Cove. The severe winter storms of the 1995-6 winter changed the

channel of Fort Ross Creek and exposed archaeological finds thought to be related to the shipbuilding construction shown on the 1817 historic map (Walton 1996:1).

A Kashaya Pomo village site located on the ridge above the fort is currently being studied by archaeologists at the University of California Berkeley as part of an expanded research design in the greater Fort Ross area. "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" (Martinez 1996:3).

During the 1996 summer field season, two projects were underway at Fort Ross. Students from Santa Rosa Junior College (SRJC) investigated a feature thought to have been either from the Russian or American period but whose origin unfortunately could not be determined. Jim Allan from the University of California Berkeley continued his field investigations of shipbuilding at Fort Ross, with the assistance of SRJC students (Kalani 1996:3).

### III. Current Research Objectives.

The research objectives for this study were twofold. The first, and that which will be described in the most detail, is the scientific study and recordation of past human behavior through the use of applicable theoretical, methodological and analytical techniques. Of equal importance to the overall project purpose, but of less significance in achieving the academic goals of this

study, are the public benefits of the project, including the restoration of the cemetery.

A. Current Research. The analysis of the Ross Colony cemetery (CA-Son-1876H) has the potential, within the previously defined theoretical parameters of this study and other archaeological research at Fort Ross State Historic Park, to make a contribution to the investigation of mortuary practices in frontier settlements and to the overall knowledge of life and death in colonial Russian America. Therefore, the following research objectives for the archival studies and field investigations were defined in order to initiate the study of the cemetery (Osborn 1989, 1990; Goldstein & Osborn 1989; Osborn & Goldstein 1990):

- 1) Review of primary and secondary archival sources related to the Ross Colony, specifically; and Russian America, in general. The goal of this research was to locate the written documentation for those individuals who died at Ross, and to place them within the context of the other inhabitants of the Ross settlement.

- 2) Description and analysis of the overall cemetery site characteristics. Documentation of cemetery evidence over the entire area it could reasonably encompass. This would be accomplished through the use of archival sources such as historical sketches, maps, drawings, early photographs, church records and other primary or secondary written accounts. Establish, to the extent possible, what the appearance of the cemetery most likely would have been during the period of its presumed use (1812-1841); and chronicle the visible changes to the cemetery's appearance from the time of its abandonment by the Russians to the present day.

3) Determination of the maximum boundaries of the cemetery. Locate the north/south and east/west perimeters in order to be assured of having found, to the extent practicable, the entirety of the cemetery. Part of this process would include a determination of whether the boundaries of the cemetery extended north across State Highway 1; and south or east to the lower terrace. Fort Ross Creek to the north was considered to be a logical point of demarcation and it was thought unlikely that this cemetery extended beyond the creek to the main fort complex.

4) Description of the cemetery. Archaeological excavation and analysis of the entire cemetery in order to examine the physical evidence of Russian American mortuary behavior, determine the number of individuals interred in the cemetery, and, if possible, establish age, sex, ethnicity and cause of death for each person.

5) Comparison of the archaeological evidence for mortuary behavior at this frontier outpost with nineteenth century Russian Orthodox church practices and expectations. This includes a brief examination of artifacts traditionally associated with Russian Orthodox burials: crosses, medallions, other items of adornment, and clothing; the coffin, grave, and grave markers; and other physical evidence associated with the interment.

These goals and objectives were the basis of the research design formulated for the 1990-1992 archaeological excavations. Exhaustive archival research was the first and most extensive element of the plan. This included:

1) Contacting established scholars in the field of Russian American studies such as Lydia Black (University of Alaska Fairbanks), Svetlana Fedorova (Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Science, Moscow), James

Gibson (York University), Glenn Farris (State of California), Richard Pierce (Limestone Press), the late Kaye Tomlin (Fort Ross Interpretive Association), and Stephen Watrous (Sonoma State University).

2) Identifying archival sources. These include but are not limited to the U. S. Library of Congress, the U. S. National Archives, the Bancroft Library at the University of California Berkeley, the Rasmuson Library of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, the California State Library, the files of the California Department of Parks & Recreation, the collections of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association at Fort Ross State Historic Park, the Alaska Office of Historic Preservation, and the U. S. National Park Service regional office in Alaska. A complete listing is found in the bibliography.

3) Establishing a context for Russian American mortuary behavior in a frontier settlement through a historical review of Orthodox practices and interviews with modern-day church officials.

The second part of the research design was the definition and description of the Ross colony cemetery. This aspect included systematically inspecting the surface area of the cemetery to determine whether there were either mounded areas or depressions that might represent grave sites; looking for any evidence of crosses or other grave or cemetery markers; preparing a preliminary sketch map, later followed by a more accurate map using a transit and stadia rod; photographing the cemetery from various angles to compare with historical photographs and drawings; collecting a series of soil samples; and conducting a magnetometer survey using a system of grids overlaying the surface of the cemetery.

The third phase of the research consisted of the actual cemetery excavation based on the information derived from the archival and survey

described above. In order to meet the goals of the research as well as the wishes of the Orthodox church representatives and the California Department of Parks and Recreation, excavation of the entire cemetery was planned and carried out. The excavations were initially conceived to recover all individuals interred in the cemetery; conduct an in-depth osteological analysis to determine age, sex, ethnicity and cause of death; and then reburial of the deceased in the presence of Orthodox Church officials.

B. The Public Benefit. The cemetery project was a cooperative effort between the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the California Department of Parks and Recreation, the Fort Ross Interpretive Association and the local Orthodox churches. The additional purpose of the project from a public benefit perspective was the identification of the location and extent of the cemetery boundaries for it to be more effectively protected and managed by the State. Ultimately it was hoped that the cemetery would be restored to its historic appearance to become part of the park's interpretive program and to recognize the final resting place of these early colonists (Osborn & Goldstein 1990:1). Representatives of two Orthodox church groups in northern California participated in the project. Father Vladimir Derugin, a member of the now disbanded Fort Ross Citizens Advisory Committee and a priest at the Protection of the Holy Virgin Russian Orthodox Church in Palo Alto, his wife Nadia and their two daughters, Slava and Lisa, participated in the excavations and reburial ceremonies on several occasions. Father Alexander Krassovsky from Saints Peter and Paul Russian Orthodox Church in Santa Rosa visited the project, participated in reburial ceremonies, and was instrumental in the efforts leading to the cemetery restoration. Father Michael Oleksa, initially representing the Protection of the Holy Virgin Orthodox Church in Santa

Rosa, and currently with St. Nicholas Church in Juneau, Alaska, is a leading scholar on Russian America history and was from the very beginning a strong supporter of the cemetery investigation. Other church officials and parishioners participated in the project, most notably during the restoration phase.

Because this study was conducted within the boundaries of a State Historic Park and under the conditions of a research permit, it was appropriate to develop methodology which would incorporate the interpretive and scientific knowledge of the Russian cemetery site in accordance with the existing cultural resources management objectives for the Fort Ross State Historic Park. These objectives have been discussed in several planning documents, some of which are described below. An outgrowth of the cemetery investigation is to assist the historic park staff and the regional archaeologist in implementing a management program for the protection and interpretation of the cemetery once the remains are analyzed and reburied.

Of primary concern to the resource management staff is the mitigation of visitor impacts to the historic and prehistoric resources within the most sensitive areas incorporating the historical zone and reconstructed buildings. Second, is concern for the park unit's continued existence within the seismically active San Andreas faultline. Both of these are thought to be best addressed by means of "proper excavation, analysis, report formulation, and interpretation" which are "ultimately necessary to save the cultural resources of the unit" (California 1976:37).

The cultural resources described in the Fort Ross State Historic Park Resource Management Plan and General Development Plan are divided into two categories - prehistoric and historic. Within the historic resources are the reconstructed structures, mobile artifacts and "historic archaeological sites in the archaeological zone that have yet to be properly investigated." The historic cemetery site is placed in the latter category for which "proper archaeological research" will be required "before any further reconstruction/interpretation can take place" (California 1976:13). The cemetery also falls within what has been termed "The Zone of Primary Cultural Interest." In this respect, the cemetery is a crucial background element for implementing the primary interpretive theme of Russian political and economic affairs during their period of occupation, a part of which centers on Russian religious affairs at the Fort (California 1976:38).

A 1970 preliminary development and feasibility study (Hogg and Milstein 1970:27, 28) recommends that the restored cemetery should become part of the controlled admission area, which also includes the restored fort, the cove, Russian gardens, the reconstructed windmill, the boundary fence, and known Native American sites. That study suggests that the cemetery be explored archaeologically, and the remains "reburied with dignity" if they are disturbed. The objective of such work would be to "locate and identify, if possible, the graves of the [Russian] colonists. Burial practices and grave decoration during the early nineteenth century, in Siberia and Alaska should be investigated, the cemetery restored and developed as an extended tour of the site. It would further add to the extent of the project and the interest of the interpretation" (Hogg and Milstein 1970:42).

An earlier land use study (California 1964) includes the historic cemetery within the primary historic zone and the area considered to encompass the primary points of public interest. As recently as 1991, the late Kaye Tomlin proposed that a cemetery trail be developed in association with the Russian Road trail from Highway 1 to the cemetery (Tomlin 1992:11). To date, this trail does not exist.

#### IV. Preliminary Investigations at the Ross Cemetery: 1989-1990.

A. Coordination. The impetus for what was to become the archaeological investigation of the Ross Colony cemetery came out of a fortuitous meeting on August 25, 1988 with Svetlana Fedorova from the Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Science in Moscow who was visiting State Park archaeologist Glenn Farris in Sacramento, California. Both individuals strongly supported the idea of studying the Ross cemetery. Later that same month, my husband Dan Osborn and I drove up to Fort Ross and made a cursory inspection of the cemetery. Our purpose was to look at the condition of the site, briefly note any surface indications of graves or markers, and verify the site's accessibility for potential future archaeological excavations.

On October 10, 1988, the first contact was made with a church representative, Father Vladimir Derugin of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Protection of the Holy Virgin, to discuss the church's objectives and concerns. Father Vladimir was also a past member of the former Fort Ross Citizens Advisory Board and had actively sought restoration of the cemetery for a number of years. Father Vladimir received a preliminary research proposal from me in December 1988.

Also in October 1988, permitting and research proposal requirements were also discussed with State Park officials as was access to existing Fort Ross archaeological collections. On November 20, 1988, contact was made with Dr. Lewis Somers of nearby Sea Ranch, California about possible magnetometer surveys.

On November 28, 1988, I met with California State Park Regional Archaeologist E. Breck Parkman, to further discuss the possibility of conducting archaeological investigations at the site of the Ross Colony cemetery. At that time, park and church officials believed that the cemetery contained approximately 50 individuals, all of the Orthodox faith (Parkman 1990:1). A visit to the site was made again in January 1989, this time accompanied by Lynne Goldstein. We met with Glenn Farris, and Lewis Somers to discuss the proposed cemetery restoration project. In February 1989, Breck Parkman and I briefed Kent Lightfoot on the initial aspects of my proposal and how we hoped it would complement the ongoing University of California Berkeley program at Fort Ross. On 18 March 1989, I explained the proposed research to Father Michael Oleksa, then of the Protection of the Holy Virgin Church in nearby Santa Rosa, California. Father Michael is a noted scholar of Russian American history and someone who had also been very active in attempts to restore the Ross cemetery. (see Oleksa 1987).

Archival research was also begun at this time using microfilm copies of manuscripts contained in the Library of Congress and National Archives. Contacts were made with research librarians at Federal and state repositories as well as Russian American period archaeologists, historians, and other scholars, i. e. Lydia Black, Aron Crowell, Glenn Farris, Svetlana Fedorova,

James Gibson, Louise Jackson, Richard Pierce, Patricia Polansky, and the late Kaye Tomlin.

In April 1991, I wrote to Valery Shubin, of the Sakhalin Regional Museum regarding his excavation of an Orthodox burial in Kurile Islands (Shubin 1990). No answer was received, possibly due to postal difficulties between here and Sakhalin; however, I spoke with Dr. Shubin in person at the Alaska Anthropological Association meeting in Fairbanks, in March 1992. In June 1991 Glenn Farris and I met with Lydia Black in Berkeley and discussed the archival sources for the cemetery project. On July 4, 1991 Father Michael Oleksa visited cemetery excavations. In January 1992, I met with local historian Ruth Burke in Bodega about a possible Russian cemetery in the town of Bodega, Sonoma County, California.

B. Mapping and Surface Surveys. In June 1989, students Adele Baldwin, Shannon Bonilla, Richard Kwak, Leslie Nelson and Lloyd Pena from the University of California Berkeley summer archaeological field school helped me prepare an initial site record, a site contour map and sketches of possible surface features. They also inspected the ground surface of the cemetery for any markers, mounds, pits or rock piles that might indicate a grave location. The only possible surface indicators of the cemetery were several pieces of old lumber that resembled material depicted in photographs described later in Chapter 5. These pieces of wood were sketched and noted on the preliminary site map. Park officials stated that the wood had been moved several times over the years by park visitors and was not likely in its original historical location.

C. Magnetometer Surveys. During the winter of 1989-1990, Dr. Somers and I conducted magnetometer surveys. Our work began in October 1989

when a grid was established to be used for both the magnetometer transects and soil samples. The magnetometer data were collected in 20 meter squares over the entire surface area thought to be the cemetery. The magnetometer surveys were not immediately definitive although they did give us an initial sense of optimism. There were anomalies in the plotted data but in the course of three field seasons, no positive correlation was ever made between these anomalies and the actual grave pits. Some anomalies did turn out to be areas with graves, however other grave sites did not register positively in the magnetometer survey. Dr. Somers donated hundreds of hours of his time and the use of his equipment over the course of the cemetery project.

D. Soil Sampling. From Fort Ross north to the area of Point Arena, the San Andreas fault zone lies parallel to the coast but slightly inland two to five miles; appearing as a somewhat gentle valley (Alt & Hyndman 1975:50; Norris & Webb 1990:396). Moving south from Fort Ross to Bodega Bay the fault is offshore. During the 1906 earthquake extensive damage occurred in the Fort Ross area. Large redwood trees were split where they grew directly over the line of the fault (Alt & Hyndman 1975:49,50) and evidence of the earthquake can be seen when hiking in the State Park. Rock exposures between the Coast Road (Highway One) and the fault are part of what geologists call the "Salinan block." These folded sedimentary layers were deposited in the ocean sometime between 70 and 20 million years ago. There is no exposed granite in this stretch of the Salinan block. The available evidence suggests that "any granite rocks are resting directly on the ocean floor." Fossils indicate that the bedrock of Franciscan graywacke and shale is late Jurassic to late Cretaceous (Norris & Webb 1990:399). Numerous marine

terraces along the Pacific coastline reflect changes in relative sea level which occurred in the recent past. Only a few of these terraces have been (Norris & Webb 1990:406, 407) studied in detail, however, it is clear that they are discontinuous, and that terraces of the same age may not necessarily have the same elevation in different locations. This is further complicated by the various Pleistocene events that affected the California coast and caused changes in sea level. This has made it difficult to get precise dates on the terraces, however no terrace has been dated to earlier than Pleistocene. The higher terraces are usually older and show more surficial deformation than the lower and younger terraces.

In October and December of 1989, forty-eight soil samples were collected with an Oakfield 3/4" diameter probe. The soil was exceedingly hard to penetrate and the depth of the samples ranged from only 3 centimeters to 40 centimeters. The soil samples were sent to Dr. Robert Brinkmann of the University of South Florida (then Director, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Soils Laboratory) for analysis in November 1989 and January 1990. Brinkmann later personally visited the cemetery with Goldstein and me in February 1990 to take additional samples and to evaluate the range of site geomorphology. The purpose of the soil sampling was to determine if changes in soil chemistry could be used to predict the locations of graves (Crew 1989).

E. Test Excavations. On April 9-10, 1990 the first test excavations were conducted. These were under my direction with the assistance of Susan Alvarez and Breck Parkman (California Department of Parks & Recreation); and Vickie Beard, Bruce Dahlstrom, K. Harper, J. Husted, and William Stillman (Sonoma State University). Four one-by-one meter test units were

placed in the area thought to be the center of the cemetery site. Excavations were conducted with shovels, picks, and trowels to a maximum depth of 50 centimeters. The test units contained a dense lens of fieldstone, impenetrable clay soils, and were exceptionally difficult to excavate, thus the shallowness of the test units. No graves were discernible and the only artifacts recovered were six iron nail fragments.

The results of these three endeavors were disappointing. The test excavations did not appear to recover recognizable evidence of coffins or human remains. The reasons for this, however, will be apparent in later discussions of the cemetery. The soil samples, likewise, were not distinct.

## V. Cemetery Excavations.

A. 1990 Summer Field Season. In July and August of 1990 a rigorous investigation of the cemetery began under the co-direction of Lynne Goldstein and myself, using ten students from the UWM summer field school, local students, and volunteers from the surrounding communities. UWM teaching assistants for the project were Rob Brubaker, GERALYN Flick and Ellen Ghere-Paulus. The field school was four weeks in duration, the initial two weeks running concurrently with a UWM geography class taught by Robert Brinkmann.

A detailed topographic site map was prepared for the site and included a grid system. An official California State archaeological site record was completed and the cemetery was assigned Sonoma County chronological site number 1876, commonly referred to as CA-Son-1876H. This information is on file at the Northwest Information Center of the California Archaeological Survey, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California.

Two trenches (Figure 4.1) were placed in the area that was believed to be near the geographic center of the cemetery. This was based on a review of historical photographs, maps and descriptive accounts; and more recent analysis described above such as the magnetometer surveys conducted by Somers, and soils studies including auger samples analyzed by Brinkmann (1990).

Trench A was 4 meters wide by 40 meters long and aligned north to south. Trench B was 5 meters wide by 50 meters long with an east-west alignment. Trench B intersected Trench A as is shown in Figure 4.1 referenced above. Two smaller excavation units were placed outside of the trench area where piles of rocks on the surface suggested the possibility of a grave or other feature related to the cemetery. Both trenches were initially excavated by hand although this proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming due to the natural geologic formation which contains extensive deposits of bedrock and a sandstone "pavement" below the surface of the soil.

Excavation started on July 10, 1990 and several "suspicious" looking areas of soil discoloration began to show up in Trench A just below the root layer at a depth of 10 cm. The definitive outline of the first eight graves was conclusive on July 13. Work continued in the trenches to expose a wider areal expanse and deepen the excavations. The first coffin nail appeared on July 17 at 90 cm. below ground surface with several more found the next day. Two days later, on July 19, the first religious medallion appeared with a clearly defined burial.

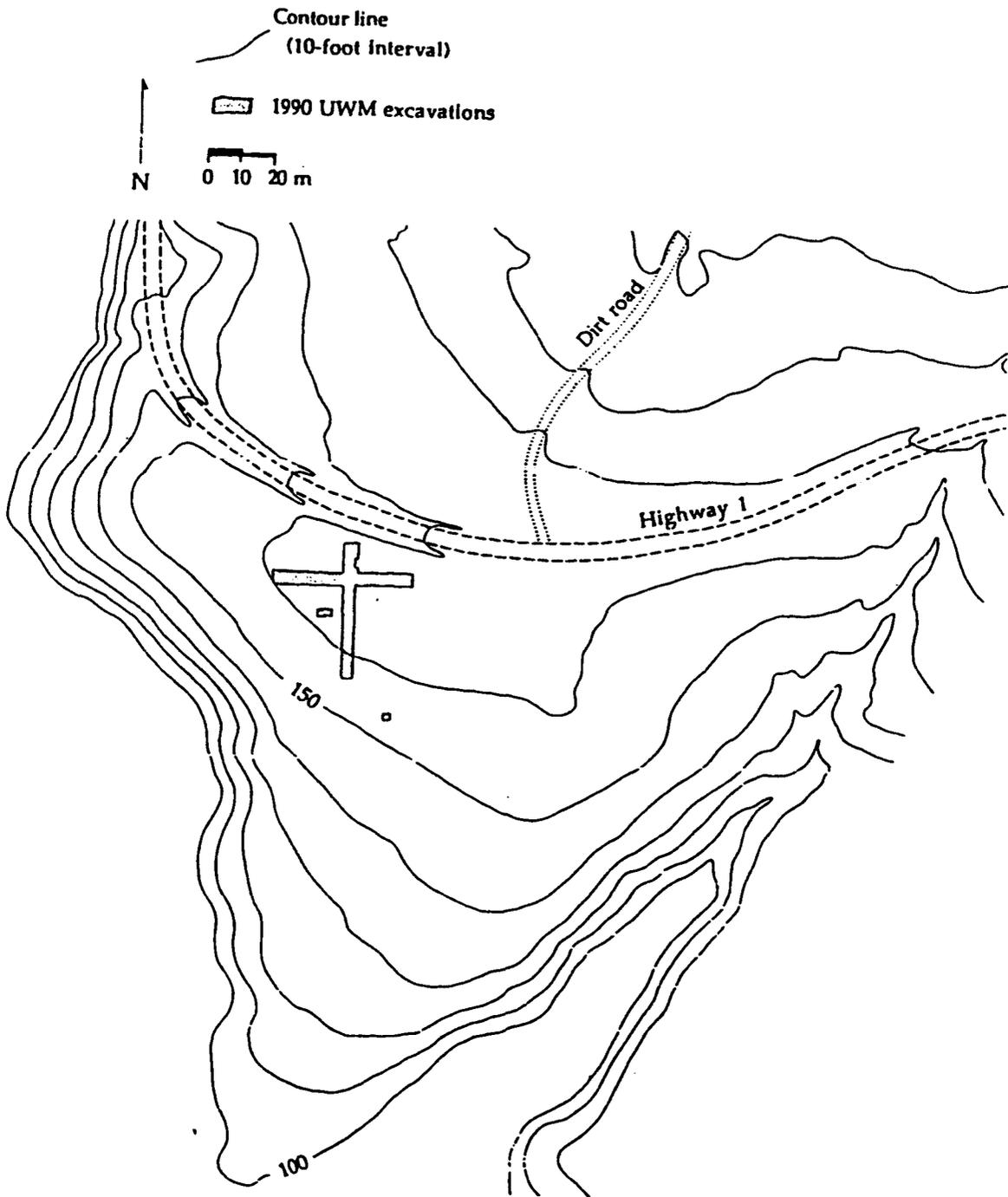


Figure 4.1 Excavation Trenches

Once the depth of the graves had been determined through hand excavation in the north-south trench, the east-west trench was stripped of the upper two feet of deposit, using heavy equipment, in order to expose additional graves. Burial proveniences could be distinguished from the surrounding soil matrix by the appearance of a dark stain. No evidence of disturbance that would indicate that older burials were dug into for newer burials. No cultural materials were found during the screening of the upper soil matrix in the first trench and we were confident that nothing would be lost due to use of mechanical stripping. All activities were closely monitored by observers following the equipment operator, Warren Parrish, and students who carefully checked the stockpiled earth removed from above the graves. Shovels, mattocks, and picks were required to clear the trenches until we were at a depth at which the graves were well defined. Inmates from the Black Mountain Conservation Camp were used one day to strip a cobble and clay layer from several of the trenches.

Each grave was documented in situ. This included measurements, drawings, and photographs describing the position and orientation of the deceased, the coffin if present, and the burial pit. All artifacts were drawn and mapped prior to removal. Two general types of burials were found, those with clear evidence of a coffin and those without. Coffin burials were identified by either the actual wooden remnants of the coffin or in cases of decomposition, by the wood stain and hardware left by the decaying coffin. Both the burial pit and the smaller area containing the coffin were recorded. Burials without a coffin are now noted as "shroud burials" and in these cases only the burial pit was recorded. "Shroud burial" is classification term

adopted from the analysis of the Colonial St. Augustine, Florida cemetery and refers to "uncoffered" burials regardless of whether the person was buried in a shroud, special burial garments, or everyday clothing (Koch 1983:195).

During the 1990 field season at least 37 of the 44 features or soil discolorations found in the trenches were thought at that time to be graves. Of these, 21 were excavated and were clearly graves, seven contained no human bone but were likely graves, and nine were thought to be graves but not excavated. The other six features may have been grave markers, posts or other cemetery architectural elements; and one feature was determined not to be cultural (Osborn & Goldstein 1990:2-3). These features are summarized below:

Number of Features	=	44	
Definite Graves	=	21	(contained human bone)
Likely Graves	=	7	(no human bone)
Possible Graves	=	9	(not excavated in 1990)
Non-grave	=	6	(markers, posts)
Non-cultural	=	1	

Of the twenty-one graves containing human bone, twelve were identified as adults or subadults and nine were identified as children or infants.

Preliminary evaluation of the remains by State Park osteologist Peter Schulz, was completed during the first field season. Initial indications were that the teeth from all of the graves were remarkably similar, indicating a homogeneous population. No clear evidence of any persons of California Indian descent was found. Most of the deceased were interred in wooden coffins and aligned according to church traditions in an east-west orientation with the head at the west end.

Preservation was extremely poor. Although teeth (or fragments of teeth) were usually found, the rest of the skeleton was rarely preserved in any form other than occasionally outlined through soil discoloration. The wooden coffins and articles of clothing were generally decomposed, while nails and nail fragments were found in almost every grave. Many of the individuals were buried with what appear to be Orthodox crosses or religious medallions. The metal from the crosses and clothing buttons frequently adhered to a fragment of cloth, resulting in greater preservation of the cloth than in those instances where there was no contact. One individual, upon initial examination, appeared to be wearing the uniform of a junior Russian naval officer, according to Fort Ross Interpretive Association president and Russian American period costume expert John Middleton, who identified both the fabric and the uniform buttons. One of the buttons was sent by Middleton to Victor Malischev, Objects Conservatory at the State Artillery Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia for further verification.

Time constraints prevented complete excavation of all features and a second field season was determined necessary. At the recommendation of Fort Ross maintenance supervisor Bill Mennell, the two trenches were backfilled with pea gravel at the end of the summer. The gravel would protect the trenches from vandalism, the public from injury, and could be easily removed prior to the beginning of the next field season.

B. 1991 Summer Field Season. The UWM field summer school students and volunteers returned for a second field season in 1991, again under the direction of Lynne Goldstein. This time the excavations were greatly expanded in order to locate the remainder of graves and define the

cemetery boundaries. Permission was obtained from the California Department of Parks and Recreation to conduct much of the clearing of soil above the top of the graves with a backhoe and road grader, both operated by park maintenance personnel. More than three acres was carefully cleared of vegetation and soil in this manner. Extraordinary caution was exercised by the equipment operators to avoid over excavation which might result in damage to the graves. Field school supervisors closely monitored the equipment scraping and determined when enough soil had been removed. The new ground surface was then cleared by hand to located individual graves. All graves and features were marked with pin flags, given a feature number, then measured and plotted onto the master field map. At the end of the 1991 summer field season, a total of 170 features had been identified, with excavations completed for 103 of these and of which 77 were graves. Most of the remaining 68 features were also thought to be graves based on their size and shape. These were left for yet a third (unplanned) field season.

C. 1992 Summer Field Season. Goldstein and several volunteers returned for the final field season to excavate the remaining graves and features. This last field season brought the total number of actual graves to 131 of the 170 features mapped. The remaining non-grave features consisted of markers, rocks, scattered wood, fence posts, as well as features later determined to be non-cultural.

D. Reburial. All human remains were reburied at location of their original graves. Soil from inside the coffin was included with the physical remains of the deceased. In cases where the physical remains were too decomposed for separation and identification, the soil from the coffin was collected and reburied. Officials from one of the two participating Orthodox

churches were present at the reburial of each of the 131 individuals. A priest or archbishop officiated as the remains were reinterred in each grave.

E. Reconstruction. Park maintenance personnel replaced the soil that had been removed during the three field seasons and regraded the ground surface above the grave pits. Native grasses and small shrubs quickly began to reestablish themselves. In December 1994, Father Alexander Krassovsky and members of the Committee for the Restoration of the Cemetery at Fort Ross, Western American Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, placed a hand made wooden cross at the location of each grave. Artifacts associated with the graves were taken back to Wisconsin for analysis.

## Chapter Five: Death in the Nineteenth Century

### I. Lines of Evidence.

Three lines of evidence are presented in this chapter: archival sources, ethnographic reports, and archaeological investigations. Each is, by itself, a legitimate and rewarding field of study. Brought together through the use of middle-range theory, they provide a powerful tool that allows us to move from the general to the specific, from colonial Russian American culture to the cemetery at Fort Ross, California.

A. Archival. The Company and Church archives were described in Chapter 3. These provide a large body of information specific to Russian America and its inhabitants, as well as instructions and directives to the field offices. I relied extensively on the archival collections throughout all phases of this project. Much of the literary record used for this investigation had not previously been studied or reported.

B. Ethnographic. The Ross Colony is a multi-ethnic community. Much of the knowledge about both the Russian and non-Russian colonists is found in ethnographic style literature or historical narrative. What were the mortuary practices of the various cultures comprising Russian America and the Russian colony at Ross. How might these be expressed in a multi-ethnic community? Equally important are the documentary accounts of how Russians, Native Alaskan, Native California, and other European nationals retained, reacted to, and/or assimilated the Orthodox canon into their daily lives and their treatment of the dead.

C. Archaeological. The archaeological evidence for the institutional treatment of the dead in nineteenth century colonial Russian America and its frontier settlement of Fort Ross, California was unknown prior to this investigation. To the best of my knowledge, no other Russian American period Orthodox cemetery has been scientifically excavated in its entirety. This meant a dearth of sites for comparison with the Ross cemetery, once it was excavated. Therefore, I had an even greater dependence on understanding the literary evidence described above, so it would become possible to predict many of the expectations about what the cemetery would reveal.

## II. Orthodox Rituals for the Living and the Dead.

A. Background. Orthodoxy is a form of Christianity which evolved between the fourth and eighth centuries of the Byzantine Empire before becoming a separate Christian denomination in the middle of the eleventh century (Preobrazhensky 1988:7). Its contemporary history began in the year 988 when Orthodox Christianity was officially established in Kiev, Russia. This is viewed by some historians as "one of the most important events in the making of Russia" (Papadakis 1988:51). The church was by law a state church. It was funded by the government which also defended the church against religious rivals. Prior to 1905 any Orthodox Christian in Russia who defected from the church had committed a punishable offense (Walters 1988:62).

The information which follows provides archival and ethnographic descriptions of many of the Eastern Orthodox rituals and practices, some of which may be identifiable archaeologically through excavations of the Ross

cemetery. Although these were strictly mandated by church canon, the likelihood of regional and temporal variations is occasionally mentioned by scholars of this subject. Some geographic areas were more influenced by the "pagan traditions" or indigenous native peoples in frontier regions, although burial customs are thought to have been very conservative and unlikely to undergo substantive changes (Istomin 1991b). Much of what is known about the physical evidence for historic Orthodox burial customs in Russia contemporary to or predating Fort Ross is from ethnographic and archaeological studies of medieval and European Russia. Few investigations have been undertaken in the more remote frontier areas occupied by the Russian American Company.

B. The Church or Chapel. One of the most recognizable symbols of nineteenth century Russian Orthodoxy is the chapel or church with its unique wooden architectural tradition of blockwork log construction and towers (Lidfors and Peterson 1990:222). The wooden church is considered to be the "finest achievement of Russian architecture" (Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989:143). Historically, great care was taken during the siting of the church in Russian America. All churches have the orientation of the sanctuary to the east, either on magnetic or true east delineation (Peterson 1990:137).

The "life of an Orthodox believer revolves around the church building" (Ellis 1986:13). The first Orthodox church in Russian America, the Holy Resurrection Church, was completed in 1796 in Kodiak and included bells shipped from Russia (Afonsky 1977:93, Florovsky 1989:164). The "Chapel of St. Helen" [chapel name is also the subject of debate] at Fort Ross was once

believed by some to have been constructed in 1812 (Afonsky 1977:93, Bensin 1967:27); however, no chapel is present on the detailed map of Ross prepared in 1817 (Fedorova 1973:358). This map is very precise and most scholars believe that if the chapel had been present it would have been entered onto the map. Bernard du Hautcilly (1946) visited Bodega and the fort in 1828. It was noted during his visit that the new chapel had been built (see also Hussey 1979:58). There is no mention of an earlier structure although there has been speculation in local folklore regarding a second building allegedly used by the commoners for worship while the chapel within the Ross compound was said to have been used by the elite residents. The Russian chapel at Fort Ross is now thought to have been constructed in 1825, although Russian American Company records are not precise with regard to this. Due to the fact that an Orthodox bishop never visited this settlement, the chapel building was most likely not properly consecrated nor given a formal name during the period of Russian occupation.

After 1821, all churches and chapels in Russian America were constructed using Company resources. This may be sufficient reason to believe the Ross chapel was constructed in the 1820s and not sometime prior. Until 1840, all were under the overall jurisdiction of the bishop of the Irkutsk Diocese (Afonsky 1977:44-45). Many areas of Russia, even today, have no churches in a community and travel to one could be a distance of hundreds of miles. There is no precise information about exactly what the Orthodox do when unable to worship in a church although at least one source states that "the believers go to the cemetery to pray, at Easter and possibly at other times." The need to worship may also be fulfilled by reciting traditional prayers in front of icons kept inside the home (Ellis 1986:32).

C. Baptism and the Cross. The "social character of baptism is obvious" (Florovsky 1989:30). Children are baptized on the ninth day after they are born (Preobrazhensky 1988:70) The infant's clothing worn during the baptism was saved by the family to commemorate this important event. The cross was a very important symbol of the Orthodox faith. It was almost always given at the time of baptism and was usually kept for the life of the individual. A more detailed description of the cross in Russian Orthodoxy follows:

Orthodox piety regards the wearing of the cross on the chest as obligatory for every Christian. No one would think of going to Holy Communion if he is not wearing a cross around his neck. The cross accompanies the Orthodox believer through his entire life. The so-called *telnik* cross is worn around the neck by Orthodox believers .... Various miniature images and icons are worn around the neck as well as *panagias* (pectoral images). These are somewhat similar in purpose and manufacture to crosses. The oldest images are executed in the cloisonne enamel technique. Among the various subjects depicted on the miniature images and icons the favorites were 'The Lord's Sepulchre' .... as well as subjects depicting the victory of the heavenly forces over the forces of darkness like 'St. Nikita the Martyr vanquishing a devil', St. George the Victorious, St. Dimitry the Martyr, killing a snake or defeating a pagan king; and the Archangel Michael. Numerous images are of the Mother of God, St. Nicholas, Russian saints Boris, Gleb and Sergy, and Holy Trinity [Preobrazhensky 1988: 245-246].

Another view is that the gentry or the elite would be less likely to wear a cross and that wearing a cross was optional: "At the end of the baptism, the priest, on the request of the parents, usually hangs a little cross of gold, silver, or other metal round the infant's neck; which some of the Russians,

especially of the lower people, hold in great estimation: but this is not ordered by the church; and therefore nothing can be more false than a notion which has been very prevailing amongst foreigners, that they deny christian burial to such persons as have not a cross upon them when they die; and indeed, as a further proof of the falsity of that opinion, it may be added that the gentry very seldom wear them" (King 1772:196).

Baptisms in 1794-1795 are described as being "voluntary" by Native Alaskans of Kodiak Island, Kenai, Chugach and the Alaskan Peninsula. In the summer, on Kodiak, baptisms took place in the local lake while during the winter it is presumed that the Russian steam bath was used (Bensin 1967:21). Traditional baptism occurred by a "threefold immersion" into blessed water (Meerson 1988b:21). In addition to the theoretical and theological benefits of accepting Christianity through baptism, Native Alaskans and Californians also became full citizens in the Russian Empire (Afonsky 1977:34). Church instructions to clergy in Alaska stated that they were not to "administer holy baptism to [adult] natives before they have been thoroughly instructed" (Afonsky 1977:45).

D. Priests and other Church Officials. The original Orthodox missionaries sent to Russian America were monks. They were replaced by married priests in 1825 (Afonsky 1877:16). Many of the first monks were from the Valaam monastery, which had been founded in the 12th century on an island in Lake Ladoga, in Finnish territory (Bensin 1967:15). This monastery was noted for "the strictness of its discipline and its purity of life" (Afonsky 1977:21). The other monastery cited was the Alexander Nevsky, from the same northern region and dating to 1398 (Afonsky 1977:20-21; Bensin 1967:16,

Kerner 1946:179). As early as 1793, Native Alaskans on Kodiak and Afognak Islands were selected by Company officials to be trained as priests and deacons in the Irkutsk seminary (Afonsky 1977:19).

From 1800-1825, there was little organized Orthodox missionary activity. Prior to 1816, only one priest was assigned to Alaska, Father Afanassy in Kodiak. Native people were located in areas of great distances from Russian settlements and access to their villages was often difficult. Russian Orthodoxy was nonetheless adopted by large numbers of Native Alaskans and priests arriving in Alaska after 1821 found the children were already baptized by their parents (Afonsky 1977:44).

E. Treatment of the Dead in the Absence of a Priest. In extreme cases, when someone of Russian Orthodox faith is buried without Christian burial rites, a priest may in the future complete inabsentia the rite of burial and complete the metrical books. This can be permitted only when presented with an affidavit from the village elder or other local or town authority, citing the reason for death and burial (Bulgakov 1900:1206). Recently, during the Soviet regime in Russia "a significant proportion of funeral rites were conducted by correspondence, in order to overcome the shortage of priests. Relatives send some earth from the grave by post to a priest, who blesses it and returns it in the same way." "... in some widely separated regions where there are Orthodox communities, funerals 'by correspondence' ranged from 46.8 to 89 per cent during the early to mid-1960s and increased after 1968 (Ellis 1986:179-180)." Funerals also continue to be conducted by laymen in those instances where a priest is not available. Religious funerals are described as "the most persistent of all the rites" and efforts to replace them with secular rites have been unsuccessful (Ellis 1986:180).

F. Role of the Priest. Today, Russian Orthodox priests use a prayer book which contains various rituals celebrating birth, baptism, marriage and death. Father Vladimir says the ceremony and procedures related to death have changed little if any over the past 1,000 years (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990). In the 19th century the clergy were structured in the following manner (from Freeze 1983:53): Ordained Clergy (Archpriest, Priest, Deacon) and Sacristans (Reader, Chanter). The sacristans were installed, not ordained, and could not administer sacraments. Priests performed the functions of administering sacraments and filing documents. While the average size of a Russian parish in 1824 was 625 males (Freeze 1983:54), the smaller Ross colony was never provided its own priest. Although only priests were authorized to perform the Liturgy and administration of the Sacraments (except for Baptism, which can be performed by any layman), laymen were trained to conduct all other services (Smith 1980a:16; 1980b:6). Nineteenth century Russian deacons and sacristans were categorized as "men of little education, men of little relevance to many pastoral or even sacramental functions" (Freeze 1983:63).

Black (1980) has translated the journals of Iakov Netsvetov from the original manuscript in the Alaska Church Collection of the Library of Congress. Netsvetov (1804-1864) became the first native Alaskan to enter the priesthood in the Russian Orthodox faith. He was also the first Christian missionary in Alaska's Yukon region from 1844-1863, having first served in the Aleutians from 1829-1844. His writings appear fairly complete and he notes several instances of death and burial, as well as information on the settlement at Fort Ross. For November 8, 1829 his journal reads "Sang the funeral rites for the Aleut orphan Vasilisa, who died on the 5th of this

month, and buried her in the local [not Ross] settlement's cemetery" (Black 1980:23). Periodically, Netsvetov gives a listing of baptisms, anointments with myrrh, marriages and deaths. His journals are important for comparative purposes with any that might appear for Fort Ross since he is writing during the same time period and received similar directives from the Archbishop in Irkutsk as did the Fort Ross settlement. This work also contains a glossary compiled by Black of important Orthodox ecclesiastical terms. Her list provides both the Russian terminology, the English equivalent and a brief definition.

G. Treatment of the Body. When anyone dies, a priest (assuming there is one) is summoned. Upon arrival, the priest "perfumes the dead body with incense" and conducts a short service (King 1772:336). Embalming is not acceptable to Orthodox faith. Reburial is unusual. Father Vladimir does not think remains were ever taken back to Russia (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990). It is forbidden to exhume bodies of those buried to take them to another place [i.e. another village or town], and is also prohibited to exhume bodies from an old cemetery and move them to a new one in the same village or town. No one can be exhumed without special authority (Bulgakov 1900:1241). The body of the deceased is considered to be the temple of the soul, and the sanctified body will be a participant in future life. Treatment has many extremely symbolic acts to be followed (Bulgakov 1900:1196; Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990). Some of these appear below:

The deceased is washed with water in order to stand before God cleansed (Bulgakov 1900:1196; Hapgood 1906:609, King 1772:337). New and

clean clothes are worn to express faith in the future of the body. In selecting the clothes, there is a correlation followed as to the rank and service of the deceased (Bulgakov 1900:1196). Hapgood (1906:609) also mentions the new garments which "correspond to calling or rank of the departed." Women and men of advanced age often prepare their grave clothes themselves, also assembling "all the velvet, brocade, muslin, calico, and linen required at a funeral," while it is not uncommon for a young married woman to be buried in her wedding dress (Romanoff 1868:235). In the early years of conflicts between Orthodox missionaries and Company officials in Alaska, it was reported that a few Native Alaskans brought new clothing to the missionaries and asked to be buried in it should they not survive their next hunting trip (Afonsky 1977:38). The clean body is placed on a table inside the house, where it lies in state for two days (Bulgakov 1900:1196; King 1772). Before being placed in a casket, the body is sprinkled with water (Bulgakov 1900:1196). The body is brought into the church or chapel the day before burial and spends its final night inside the church (Bulgakov 1900:1218). In the church, the deceased and the coffin are kissed by those present. From the church, the body is taken to the grave, accompanied with the singing of the "trisagion" (King 1772:337). It is forbidden, with a few exceptions, to inter the deceased of any age before the passage of three days from the time of death (Bulgakov 1900:1211, 1212). The exceptions are for contagious diseases when burial can occur immediately (Bulgakov 1900:1216) and during times of extreme heat or other cases where the body begins to decay, at which time burial may occur after one day (Bulgakov 1900:1218). Cremation is prohibited by the church (Habenstein and Lamers 1963:827). Since it would result in automatic

excommunication, it is unlikely anyone who was cremated would be found in the Ross cemetery (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990).

H. Arrangement of the Dead and Items Placed in the Coffin. Items placed inside the coffin with the deceased are traditionally very minimal under Orthodox practices. The deceased is placed inside the casket on his or her back with the face looking up. The hands are crossed across the breast in a cross-like fashion. The eyes and mouth are closed (Bulgakov 1900:1196; Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990; King 1772:337).

The deceased is normally still wearing the Russian Orthodox cross presented at baptism. A *venchik* (crown or halo) is placed upon the brow. This is a strip or piece of special paper on which tiny little icons occur. The placing of the *venchik* has significance, saying he who is buried is an Orthodox Christian. Some *venchiks* contain the written prayer used in the Orthodox funeral service "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Have Mercy on Us" (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990, Kan 1987:40).

There is also a description of a "chaplet," a strip of material placed on the brow with depictions of Jesus, his mother Mary and St. John (Hapgood 1906:610); and a type of band also placed around the brow called a coronet. Two inches wide and fitting around the head, the coronet was made of either satin or glazed paper with cherubs painted on it along with a prayer (Romanoff 1868:247).

There are two references to the placing of a parchment or printed paper in the hand of the deceased. It is reported in one case to have been a "certificate of good conduct" used as "a credential to assure ready admittance

into the realm of heavenly bliss" (Puckle 1926:54,55), while it is also said that the piece of paper is simply a prayer and not any type of "passport to the new world" (Romanoff 1868:246). Both authors agree that this custom appears to be exclusive to the Eastern Orthodox faith and that it may have originated in the year 988.

An icon or cross, frequently large and usually of wood but sometimes metal is placed in the hands of the dead (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990). This is in addition to the one worn around the neck of the deceased. Shoes were frequently removed. It would be highly unusual for any weapons to be placed in the coffin in an Orthodox burial. Every scrap or remnant of fabric used in making the grave clothes or decorating the coffin is placed inside the coffin with the deceased (Romanoff 1868:242).

Many other things were put inside the coffin with the deceased. This varies greatly by different regions. Irina Kremlyova, a specialist on historic Russian burial customs at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in Moscow, Russia recalled different cases where such items as a bottle, an awl, needle and thread or yarn in a woman's grave; or toys in children's graves. Sometimes a "skudel'nitsa" or vessel filled with ceremonial oil was placed in the coffin, and/or a cup containing food placed near the coffin (Istomin 1991b). A [married] couple save the candles from their wedding to the end of their lives. These are frequently placed with them in the grave (Preobrazhensky 1988:74).

I. Coffins . The coffin is normally brought to the house a few hours after death. In remote areas where there is no undertaker or joiner to make the wooden part of the coffin, the "distant relatives or intimate acquaintances" assume this responsibility (Romanoff 1868:241). They are also

the ones who decorate both the interior and exterior of the coffin. One form of traditional Russian Orthodox coffin is described as follows: the coffin is - "not like an English one" (Romanoff 1868:242) but rather is broadest at its head while gradually narrowing towards the foot at the opposite end. It is usually very shallow with a relatively deep lid. Some stand on four little feet like a tea-caddy. Many coffins have handles through which were passed long pieces of linen which then ran underneath the coffin and were held by the pallbearers (Romanoff 1868:244). There were other variations in the form and shape of the coffin. Among them were ones in the form of a house known as a "srub" which in profile had a "dvuskatnaya" or two pitch cover; and ones with flat covers (Istomin 1991b). The quality and accouterments of a coffin are reported to be variable by social class with the poorest having nothing but a "hollowed out log" (Romanoff 1868:242). Coffins of the "better" or higher classes are sometimes painted.

Regarding the exterior of the coffin - Kremlyova states that a coffin was tied around the outside with "rogozha" (matting) or cloth in the cities (Istomin 1991b). Nobles always have coffins covered with some kind of material, which varies in richness according to the wealth of the particular family. The most frequently used fabrics are cotton velvets, in the colors of black, violet, red, or blue; but also silver cloth, brocade, and glace [having a smooth, glossy surface] silk are used (Romanoff 1868:242). Nobles also trim the coffin with gold tinsel lace which is "very effective and extremely cheap - a long cross is formed of it on the lid." Traditionally there is no name plate attached to the coffin which would identify the deceased. The inside of the coffin is lined with calico and muslin, and is trimmed around the edges with

the ruches [fluted or pleated material] described previously for the outside of the coffin.

A feather pillow is never used in a coffin. The pillow placed in the coffin is made, instead, with wadding and refuse from flax. The common people "say it is a sin to bury a person with a down pillow" (Romanoff 1868:241). Kremlyova also describes a pillow filled with "kudel," the fibrous part of flax, hemp, or birch leaves and bedding of birch leaves, cotton or wool. Regional or local variations are common (Istomin 1991b).

The number of nails used to construct a coffin varied considerably but in Orthodox Russia, generally four to six were used. However, there was no exact number required by Russian tradition and in some cases, particularly with the Old Believers, no nails at all were used (Istomin 1991b).

J. The Cemetery. What does a traditional 19th century small village or frontier Russian Orthodox cemetery look like? Where is it located, what is its configuration, how is it landscaped, how are its boundaries identified, what are the patterns for placement of the deceased, and how are the graves marked? The answer to most of these questions cannot be precisely stated as there are few historical accounts that describe these cemeteries in any detail. Many cemeteries that remain visible today in those areas of Alaska that were influenced by the Orthodox Church have been subject to numerous changes from weather, natural deterioration, continued use during modern times, and restoration. Information about cemeteries in remote areas of Russia is difficult to find and many buildings and their cultural landscapes associated with the Church suffered from neglect or destruction during the period of communist control.

The accounts of cemeteries or graves that have survived are often ones describing the final resting place of a famous or well-known person. The explorer Vitus Bering died in December 1741 when his ship was wrecked on one of the Commander Islands, today known as Bering Island. He was buried on a knoll on the eastern side of this Island. A new Orthodox cross was placed on his grave site by the Russian military in August 1944. This replaced the original wooden cross erected by the survivors of Bering's expedition to mark his grave and to serve "as a token of our [Russia's] possession of the land." The original was destroyed by weather and time (Patty 1971:27). When Father Herman died on Spruce Island, Alaska in 1837, his pupils at the Kodiak mission built a wooden monument over his grave. Thirty years later, Father Peter Kashevarov wrote "I can now say that I saw the sepulchral monument of Father Herman, untouched by time, as though made today" (Gray 1925:64).

Historically, city cemeteries and places designated as cemeteries outside of cities in Russia were usually on land with even terrain and within reasonable walking distance from the nearest city. This distance was defined as no less than one hundred sazhen or 700 feet [a sazhen is a Russian linear measure equivalent to seven feet]. City and local cemeteries were required to remain as undeveloped areas for "decoration" by the church. They were to be kept clean, neat, fenced and planted with trees. All fences, gravesite monuments or markers, and places within the fence were to be kept clean, showing respect for the dead, and neatness or order (Bulgakov 1900:1232, 1237).

In his study of the architecture of the Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska, Peterson (1990:138) found that the village cemetery often surrounds

the church. In many cases both the church and the cemetery are inside of a picket fence. Sometimes the entire cemetery with all deceased parishioners can be found surrounding the church and sometimes only the graves of priests, readers, and other church officials. He does not describe any examples of a cemetery not contiguous to the church. Graves found in Russian Orthodox cemeteries conform to the same directional orientation as do the churches and chapels, and are in both magnetic and true east alignment.

In Karelia, Russia, old wooden crosses still mark the graves at some historic cemeteries. The crosses are carved in relief with the Orthodox pattern [two cross-bars at the top, an oblique bar near the foot]. Some contain lettering. Other crosses are roofed (Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989:144,145). In Eklutna, Alaska, there is a cemetery that is said to represent a combination of Russian Orthodox and Aleut beliefs. Here there are many rows of painted miniature "houses" placed over the graves in a custom said to be traditional to the local Native Alaskan community. There are Russian Orthodox wooden crosses placed next to these "houses" at the graves of those who had converted to Orthodoxy (Davis n.d.:29). Documentation of historic cemeteries in Russia also mentions a small "house" or memorial known as "*domovina*" that was decorated and placed over the grave (Opolovnikov and Opolovnikova 1989:146).

In accordance with stipulations of the Church, people are to be buried in a place that is designated as a cemetery. The cemetery is supposed to be dedicated by a priest (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990). The dead should always be buried in a designated cemetery (Bulgakov 1900:1232); however, historically church policy may not have required this if the deceased expired while away from a settlement and there was no means of

quickly transporting him or her to the designated cemetery (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990). The church permitted decoration of the bodies of the deceased, their caskets, and gravesites with flowers (Bulgakov 1900:1231).

K. Burial. The body is to be buried, the deeper the better. The depth of the hole is to be no less than 2.5 arshins [an arshin is a Russian linear measure equivalent to 28 inches; 2.5 arshins is approximately six feet]. The gravepit is to be covered soil even with the surrounding turf. As much earth goes above the coffin as is taken out and then pounded down to a height of one-half arshin [fourteen inches]. Bricks or rocks can be put around the grave (Bulgakov 1900:1239). Romanoff (1868:248) also mentions bricks but adds that in the summertime the grave is "lined with green turf." Kremlyova concurs with a variable burial depth usually of 2 to 2.5 meters or less (Istomin 1991b). The orientation of the body is with the head at the west and the feet to the east. A marker, such as a cross is placed at the foot of the grave, not at the head. Traditionally, unbaptized non-Orthodox persons are buried in a special section or in another cemetery. No unbaptized children could be buried in the main part of an Orthodox cemetery but would be placed in the corners or along the edges (Vladimir Derugin, personal communication 1990). Whether this rule was strictly adhered to in the frontier settlements is unknown. At Ross, children's graves (or at least child-size coffins) were found throughout the cemetery. Archaeologically, there was no obvious area where unbaptized children or adults may have been buried.

Burial at sea. The historic record mentions burial at sea. There is an account of this by Adelbert von Chamisso during his visit to San Francisco in

1816 (1873:201). He describes the death of an old Russian man by the name of Iwan Stroganoff [Ivan Stroganov] who was wounded from a powder explosion during a hunting expedition and later died on board a Russian ship. He was then buried at sea.

L. Funeral. Peasants and those residing in cities historically observed "special days" in remembrance of ancestors. Many of these were considered to contain elements carried over from ancient days of pagan ancestor worship which were later fused with Orthodox observances. Almost all of these special days occurred in the spring. They were: the eve of Shrovetide (Ancestor's Sunday), the Tuesday of the second week after Easter (Commemoration of the Dead), Demetrius' Saturday (Saturday before October 26), and the eve of Trinity (Undine's Saturday; Habenstein and Lamers 1963:427). Public ceremonies which honored the dead combined funeral motifs; lamentations, wailing, and other kinds expressions of grief; outbursts of unconstrained merriment; gluttony and drunkenness; and debauchery. Sokolov, a Russian priest in Alaska [Sokolov visited Ross in 1832], quotes a description of a ceremony of the eve of Trinity Saturday:

On Trinity Saturday, throughout the villages and throughout the church yards, men and women go out on mourning ceremonies and lament at the graves of the dead with a great crying. And when the buffoons begin to perform all kinds of demoniac games, then they cease from their weeping, and begin to leap and dance, and to clap their hands, and to sing satanic songs; at these same mourning ceremonies there are thieves and rogues [Habenstein and Lamers 1963:428].

For centuries in the southeastern Russian province of Saratov several days were set aside every year to remember the deceased. The observances

began with a memorial Mass in church which was followed by general offerings to the dead. Prescribed prayers were recited, porridge sweetened by honey was placed on the lectern, along with pancakes brought by everyone. It was understood that this food would later be given to priests and the poor of the parish. After the church ceremony, the priests and a large number of people gathered at the cemetery where they placed "pancakes, pretzels, loaves of bread, and one or two decorated eggs on the graves." Occasionally a cup of meal or sweetened cereal was added. The priests later gathered up the remaining food and took it home. At the end of the ceremony, the priests said the rites of the dead. The women were allowed to weep and wail. All ate the lunches they brought along with tea and vodka (Habenstein and Lamers 1963:429). There is little if any variation in the funeral services for a woman or child from that of a secular male or layman. The only differences in funeral services are for monks, priests or bishops (King 1772).

The time of internment is morning (King 1772:337, Romanoff 1868:243). "... The Russians always bury in the morning, in which they differ from other nations" (King 1772:337). Everyone participating in the ceremony is expected to "sprinkle dirt or flower petals at the end of the committal," the casket is then lowered (Habenstein and Lamers 1963:827) Four candlesticks are placed, one at each of the four sides of the coffin, forming a cross (Hapgood 1906:610). The coffin lid is fitted on at the cemetery. It is typically fastened with two square pegs that fit through the lid and into the coffin. The coffin lid is seldom nailed shut (Romanoff 1868:248). Services for the dead are held at the grave or church on the third, ninth and fortieth days after death,

the anniversary of the death, and on the birthday of the deceased - the latter "continuing for ages" (King 1772:337).

### III. Influence of the Church on Native Populations.

The preceding section described Orthodox Russian religious practices. Not everyone living at Ross was from a traditionally Orthodox culture. In particular, we might expect some variation among burial practices for the non-Russians residing in the colonial settlements and at Ross.

A. Archaeological Evidence of Koniag Burial Practices. In order to determine the extent of influence of acculturation, Christianization and Russian Orthodoxy on the Native Alaskan populations, one of the few archaeological excavations with a proto-historic or ethnographic period population was reviewed. In this report, Heizer (1956) documents Hrdlicka's excavation of the Uyak Site, located at the mouth of Larsen Bay on Kodiak Island. The upper stratigraphic level of this site is reported to contain materials attributed to the ethnographic Koniag period, while the two lower levels represent the oldest and later pre-Koniag occupations. In 1956, the following dates were assigned to the Uyak Site:

Pre-Koniag (Lower Levels)/Kachemak Bay II    A.D. 500-1000

Koniag (Upper Level)/Kachemak Bay II        A.D. 1000-1750

The importance of the Uyak site is the lack of evidence for a post-Russian occupation. It is thought to have been abandoned by A.D. 1800 (Heizer 1956:9). This provides a glimpse of pre-contact or proto-historic Koniag burials including age and sex distributions.

According to Heizer, individuals were buried randomly, both vertically and horizontally throughout the midden. There was "no localized cemetery"

(Heizer 1956:12). Due to lack of information about the location of the burials within the site, it is impossible to reconstruct their spatial arrangement. The most common method of disposal during all time periods consisted of placing a tightly flexed individual on the side or back into a dug grave pit. The grave pits, which at the earlier levels of occupation, were dug into the base of the glacial till, were only of a size sufficient to fit the flexed body. Direction of orientation was recorded for only 17 of the burials and there does not appear to be a preferred direction. Other than the previously described primary flexed interments, partial or incomplete skeletons were also recorded. The incomplete appearance of the individuals was attributed to post-interment removal or disturbance or initial burial in this condition. Heizer attributes this situation, most common in the intermediate levels, to cannibalism (Heizer 1956:12). Five instances of mass burials of six to twenty persons, both males and females, were documented. Of these four were in the lower level, and one containing 12 incomplete persons occurred in the upper level (Heizer 1956:15). There were two reports of cremation, and several cases of disassociated bones (Heizer 1956:12).

Causes of death are unknown except for cases determined to be from wounds. The "high" female mortality was attributed to childbirth. The reasons for the imbalance in sex ratios between the Koniag and the pre-Koniag remains and the male-female Koniag is not resolved (Heizer 1956:17). Numerous artifacts were found associated with the graves; however, field notes do not describe these in such a manner as to allow for any correlation between them. I agree with Heizer's observation that "it is to be regretted that accurate segregation of these cultural pieces with notes on the burial which they accompanied were not kept" (Heizer 1956:15). The following types of

objects did occur in association with the graves: bones of bear, bird, fox and seal; bone artifacts such as a club, arrowpoints, spearpoints, and a poinard; ivory earplugs, spindles, whale figurine, and pegs; slate cutters, knife and point; a stone maul and knife; and two lamps (Heizer 1956: 15).

B. Historic Native Alaskan Cultures. While the impact of other Christian missions on American Indians has been studied in great detail, scholarly work related to the theme of the effects of the Orthodox Church on native cultures has been neglected. It is suggested that the significance of this topic should be apparent from "the persistence of the faith and its continuing appeal to natives in Alaska" (Smith 1980a:7; 1980b:3). This argument can be extended to include the effects of the Church in the multi-ethnic settlements which occurred throughout much of nineteenth century Russian-America. The exception is a recent examination of the impacts of Orthodox Christianity on the mortuary complexes of the Tlingit in southeastern Alaska which shows native resistance to missionary domination and control of their funerary rituals by the church (Kan 1987). Although the Tlingit relationship to the Russian colonists and other Native Alaskan groups is very important, it has little applicability to the Ross Colony.

Previous studies in the New World have assessed the effects of missionization on indigenous Native American populations (e.g., Amoss 1987, Brown 1987, Kan 1987, Ray 1988, Ridington 1987, Swagerty 1988). The study of missionization impacts on the Algonkian Ojibwa in northeastern North America focused on the encounter of a single member of the clergy with a native population which was found to have patterned its relations with the church after those previously developed with European fur traders

(Brown 1987). Present-day Northwest Coast Salish combine precontact rituals for the seasonal arrival of salmon with elements of Christianity (Amoss 1987). The Athapascan Beaver shamans used elements of Christian imagery but kept their indigenous world view (Ridington 1987). Analysis of missionization and the response to it must equally consider the cultures of the native population with that of the colonizers; for the most part only the former has been examined in detail. "The two goals of the anthropology of missionization are to be able to interpret the meaning of each specific outcome of the missionary-native encounter and to construct a more generalizing model of the phenomenon" (Kan 1987:4). Likewise, I would argue, one must define in detail, those cultural elements of both religion and mortuary behavior which were retained or modified by the missionaries or colonists in addition to these effects on native cultures.

As mentioned above, the most exhaustive examination of Orthodox mortuary rites has been by Sergei Kan in his studies of the Tlingit (Kan 1987, 1989). His purpose was to look at the transformation processes from the traditional 19th century Tlingit mortuary complex into its more Christianized 20th century form. He did not evaluate Orthodox mortuary behavior of Russian colonists and their Creole offspring; or that of other native Alaskan groups who had longer and closer inter-personal relationships with the Russian colonialism. Relations between the Russians and Tlingit (or Kolosh as they were called by the Russians) remained unstable from their initial contact in 1783, throughout the Russian-American period (Gibson 1987:82,83). Several attempts were made to destroy the Russian fort at Novo-Arkhangel'sk [Sitka] including the battle of 1802 in which 20 Russians and 130

Aleuts were killed by a group of 600 Tlingits; and the destruction of Yakutat in 1805 which killed 27 Russians (Gibson 1987:85).

Christianization of the Tlingit did not begin until the late 1830s and only after the native population had been reduced in half by a devastating smallpox epidemic (Kan 1987:35, 36; Gibson 1987:89). This was unlike more cooperative relations with the Aleut, Koniag, Miwok and Pomo who were granted some privileges by the Company and in the case of the Native Alaskans, were considered subjects of Russia.

In his research in southeastern Alaska, Kan found that the "symbolic forms of Orthodoxy could be indigenized more easily" by this native population, but that when the Russian missionaries attempted to introduce Orthodox funeral observances the Tlingit maintained their traditional practices (Kan 1987:36). Tlingit funeral ceremony: deceased dressed in finest garments by the women, placed on the dais; requiem lasted two to four days (Blomkvist 1972:153); corpse of deceased then carried outside and burned on a pyre; after cremation, charred pieces of bone picked up by the women, wrapped in decorated cloths, placed in small containers in small huts for the dead above the settlement (Blomkvist 1972:154). Wealthy persons may erect monuments on the spot where the body is burned. After cremation, the body may be placed in a grave (Khlebnikov 1976:27, 29).

Many historical accounts describe and attempt to interpret the effects of Orthodoxy on the Native Alaskan populations. The literature contains statements like the following:

...the Orthodox Baptismal rite had a great psychological effect upon the Shamanistic mind, as all Alaska natives are believers of Shamanism. According to the Orthodox rite of baptism, a

converted unbeliever before baptism shall proclaim his renouncing of the devil and his servants, who are the shamans. .... After the renouncing of shamanism the baptised shall pronounce the Christian creed 'I believe'. This is usually done by the God father. God fathers were Orthodox Russians [Bensin 1967:20].

At the end of the 19th century, the Russian American Company and the church were often at odds due to mutually incompatible goals. The Company was concerned with expanding the political influence of the Russian Empire and furthering economic trade. This was in contrast with the Church's chief aim of spreading the "Word of God" among the native populations (Afonsky 1977:32). For the first twenty years of Russian settlement in Alaska, the Company's treatment of native people conflicted with the ideals of the Orthodox missionaries. The Company was in a strong position as both the commercial monopoly and the civil government in Alaska (Afonsky 1977:33).

Other areas came under the influence of the Russian American Company and the Orthodox Church during the 19th century. These, unfortunately, are not reported to the extent that Kan described the Tlingit. In the Kurile Islands native population reportedly buried the dead in the snow during the winter and in the ground during the summer. When twins were born, one was always put to death (Krasheninnikov 1972:297). The first Russian missionaries arrived on Kodiak Island in September 1794. At that time, 8,000 Native Alaskans outnumbered the 225 Russians and their workers. It was reported that the native people recognized a "Higher Being" who was a "Good Spirit" and also an "Evil Spirit." They are said to have

believed in "life beyond the grave" and "accepted Christianity gladly" (Afonsky 1977:25). In a somewhat amazing statistic, it was reported that during this first year, 6,740 native men and women were baptized and 1,573 weddings performed. A similar level of enthusiasm for conversion to Orthodoxy was reported in Unalaska among the Aleutians (Afonsky 1977: 25,26). In a two year period over 12,000 Native Alaskans were baptized - an unparalleled number; and it is said in at least one analysis that "although they possessed no theoretical knowledge of Church doctrine, most of the newly baptized people did feel that something new, something valuable in itself and important to them, had entered their lives" (Afonsky 1977:31). A sketch from Beechey's voyages in the Pacific and Bering Straits shows Eskimo burials from Kotzebue Sound but there is no narrative interpretation of the drawing (Beechey 1831; Chamisso 1986:28). McCartney (1984:130) describes late prehistoric or early Russian-period mummies (circa 1500-1740) which were "placed in rock crevices" ... at Sedanka Point (Fox Islands). Artifacts included "wooden spoons and spoon handles, limestone labrets, harpoon points and socket pieces, and fish or bird spear prongs. Similar burials in crevasses, rockshelters, and caves are common to the Unalaska area."

The following description of the burial practices for an Aleut from Fox Island or Kenai comes from the manuscript collection at the Rasmuson Library.

Whenever an aleut [sic] dies, all their relatives and acquaintances are called, excepting the small children, and sitting around the expired one, all weep saying in case of a man, that he will not hunt any more, ... in the case of a woman or a girl, that she will not wear any more parkas ... After they dig a pit some distance away from their habitation, the coffin is made in the

grave by placing cordwood criss-cross, - then they are placed there in their favorite habiliments and ornaments; then they are covered with lavtaks [unknown term], weighted down with rocks, and finally covered with earth and over the grave some place logs set an an angle [Alaska History Research Project 1936-1937:94].

Little is known about Aleut beliefs before Russian contact. Aleut mortuary behavior is reported to have varied over time and by region. Variations in burial practices were associated with a person's rank, occupation and manner of death. The majority of burials were interred in a flexed position with some extended burials (Black and Liapunova 1988:53). Burials were also placed in pits and caves, often in association with whalebones. "The use of double coffins persists to this day and occurs in Orthodox burials." These double coffins of stone and wood are recorded from the early period of Russian contact. Clothing and (undefined) grave goods were placed with the dead and are said to be indicative of the rank of the deceased (Black and Liapunova 1988:53).

The main forms of Aleut burial thus appear to have been: (1) burial in a flexed position ("the overwhelming majority"); (2) burial in an extended position (from Kagamil and Unga); (3) sarcophagus burials in stone, wood "double coffinlike structures" from the early contact period; (4) pit burials (Umnak Island, prehistoric); (5) pit and cave burials in association with whalebone (Near Islands, Ship Rock in Umnak Pass); (6) cave burials including mummy bundles on platforms or cradles, remains placed in rock niches or clefts (Unga Island); (7) burial of important persons in side chambers

of communal dwellings; and (8) burial of slaves (reportedly) in rock shelters.

Another manuscript reports the death of a Kodiak:

After a death has occurred in a house, it is usually destroyed, no one being willing to occupy it. If a person not belonging to the immediate family is taken ill and it becomes evident that death is approaching, they dig a hole outside, remove the sick man to it and leave him there to die. ... The poor are buried without clothing. The rich are dressed for burial. Stones are placed on top of the grave and a simple fence of sticks surrounds the grave. On top of the stones they place an old biadark or pieces of one. I never saw them place food ... There is no ceremony connected with a burial. Death seems to be regarded as a commonplace event by all concerned [Alaska History Research Project 1936-1937:III-29].

At one site in Siberia (Vorobyevo), prior to the arrival of the Russians, the Yakuts of the upper Lena region used "narrow crevasses and natural cavities in the cliffs" for final disposition of their dead. Most of the bones recovered from this site were fragmentary, however, there was an intact skull wrapped in birchbark. A pattern with bands of crescents was stamped into the birchbark. Other areas of the crevasse also contained ornamented birchbark fragments, some with traces of sewing. Okladnikov speculates that burial may have originally occurred using an aboveground structure known as an "arangas." Later, disintegrated pieces of the skeletons were collected and placed in a common crevasse "sanctuary" used by the whole tribe or clan. Grave goods were minimal and included a few bone awls and one shell ornament (Okladnikov 1970:341).

The burial customs of Native Alaskan populations are important to the analysis of the cemetery at Ross. Were these practices or those of the

Orthodox Church more closely followed? Were the two mortuary practices combined into a new form?

#### IV. Clothing.

What did the multi-ethnic frontier Russian American settlers wear while they were living; and what, if any of this, might find its way into the grave? Historical period clothing of Russian America (and many other western frontier locations) has not been well investigated, especially when compared to places such as colonial New England and Victorian England. Collections of folk costumes, even in Russia, are deficient in their accessions of everyday clothing of Russian and Siberian peasants. However, it is known that the men and women in Russian America had a "distinctive appearance" which resulted from the blending of the Russian peasant, European, Siberian, and Aleut cultures and their forms of dress. Native Alaskans adopted Russian and European articles of clothing, a practice which continued after the departure of the Russians. At the same time Russians were adopting elements of native costumes due to their adaptability to conditions in Russian America, and the scarcity of materials and people to construct traditional Russian clothing (Rickman 1990). The three primary approaches to finding out about clothing in Russian America includes analysis of information derived from archaeological investigations, ethnographic accounts of Native populations and colonial Russians, and the archives of the Russian American Company.

A. Archaeological Recovery of Clothing. Previous archaeological excavations offer little in the way of comparative materials, partly due to their failure to investigate any Russian American period cemeteries. Some

evidence of clothing, textiles, and other articles of adornment is present from excavations at Russian settlements in Alaska such as Three Saints Harbor (Crowell 1994), Sitka National Park (Blee 1985, 1986), and Kolmakovskiy Redoubt (Oswalt 1980); and the Kurile Islands of the Russian Far East (Shubin 1990). These "scraps and tatters of clothing" thus far provide "too little yet to draw many conclusions from" (Rickman 1990:240).

Excavations at Three Saints Harbor (Crowell 1994), the earliest Russian American settlement (1784-1820), resulted in the recovery of brass or copper artifacts including a belt buckle and a few other objects categorized as clothing fasteners. No textiles or remnants of clothing were reported. Although glass beads were, among many other uses, also "used on ceremonial and spiritually significant clothing ... but rarely on ordinary garments" (Crowell 1994:208); none of the 514 drawn and wound beads found at the Three Saints site had a definitive association with specific articles of clothing. Crowell's review of Donald Clark's earlier 1962 investigation of the Three Saints Harbor cemetery makes no mention of anything other than "decayed human bone and rotted wood" (Crowell 1994:126).

Preliminary descriptions from a multi-year study of eighteenth and nineteenth century Russian American Company settlements in the Kurile Island chain include mention of personal belongings of settlers, among which were remnants of clothing and footwear, buttons, Orthodox crosses, copper and silver rings, and gold and silver beads (Shubin 1990:436). These await further analysis and publication.

Little detailed information about clothing was derived from the late Russian era (1841-1866) excavations at Kolmakovskiy Redoubt, a Company

settlement on the Kuskokwim River in western Alaska which was excavated in the 1960s (Oswalt 1980). Some small pieces of fabric were recovered along with buttons and footwear. The imported fabrics consisted mainly of dark brown woolens thought to have come from coats, trousers, and blankets. Other fabric pieces included black felt, possibly hat remnants; brown silk, probably from a handkerchief; and fragments of gabardine, serge, longcloth, and a wool knit stocking. Footwear was dominated by factory-made soles and heels with the upper portions rarely attached. These were thought most likely to be boots and not shoes. The discovery of two wooden shoe lasts suggested that some footwear was crafted locally. The buttons were primarily plain four-holed ceramic forms frequently associated with shirts and underwear. Some decorated four-holed buttons possibly came from dresses and blouses. Cast metal buttons were two-holed, one having "small parallel lines facing the outer edge." A single stamped metal button was found with a back mark of Russian letters, possibly a manufacturer's name (Oswalt 1980:37).

B. Ethnographic Accounts. Primary source, eyewitness accounts that often mention clothing are accessible for the period 1741-1867. Often included in the written record is an assortment of drawings, paintings, and photographs which visually document the clothing of the everyday people. Many of the accounts are lacking in their portrayal of the Russian population who were often considered "not interesting enough to depict," and instead focus on the Native Alaskans and Californians. For an understanding of what the Russian promyshlennik or craftsman might have worn, the descriptions and visual depictions of Russian or Siberian peasants are often used, understanding, of course, that not every article of clothing was

exported from Russian and Siberia into North America (Rickman 1990:241). In his study of Russian peasant clothing in Russian America, Rickman (1990) documents four assumptions: (1) "there was never a regionally distinct folk costume created by the Russian people living in America," although he acknowledges outfits worn by promyshlenniks were "distinctive" due to their blend of elements from the various cultures in Russian America. This is due in large part to the fact that the Russians often returned home at the end of their contracts and were replaced by new colonists; (2) clothing worn by Russians in Siberia and America most likely resembled peasant costumes of northern European Russia from where most of the settlers coming to America were derived; (3) the worker's wardrobe underwent a homogenizing process where clothing styles of the homeland was altered or replaced by local costume characteristics. The latter is due primarily to the fact that Russian women formerly manufactured most of the clothing, and in America, the Russian wearer most likely hired a Native or Creole woman to make his clothes out of materials available from the Company store (Rickman 1990:242-243). This is supported by Jackson's study of Native Alaskan women. She reports that "since only women did the sewing, we can surmise that regardless of whom the cloth in the inventory lists was given to or intended for, ultimately all the traded raw cloth passed into and through the hands of women. This is not an insignificant point to make, since the quantities of cloth traded were large" (Jackson 1994:46); and (4) Russian adoption of native clothing was of a temporary and minor nature, with the exception of a few items such as the waterproof raincoat or kamlei; but Russian clothing had a "profound effect" on Native Alaskans who adopted in it preference to their own (Rickman 1990:243).

Due to the lack of Russian women in Russian American, particularly at the Ross Colony, little discussion of Russian women's apparel is needed.

Russian women did not have a noticeable presence in America prior to the 1860s, long after the Ross Colony had been abandoned. The Russian women, married to military officers and government officials in late-18th century Kamchatka "dressed in the European style." None of the literary evidence suggests that "this elite class of colonial women wore anything but European fashions" over the next sixty years, even those married to Company bookkeepers, clergyman, craftsmen, and merchants (Rickman 1990:257).

C. Russians. Rural peasant men from the mid-18th to mid-19th centuries wore the same things regardless of occupation. These were shirt, trousers, (sometimes undershirt and drawers), leggings, footwear, a belt, jacket or coat, a hat or cap, and mittens. The "tunic-like" shirt was made almost universally of white or unbleached material, either a homespun linen or a commercial fabric. It had sleeves without cuffs and either a stand-up collar or no collar. The shirt was long and hung outside of the trousers. All peasant garments from as far east as the Volga fastened by placing the right side of the garment over the left (Matossian 1992:21,22; Rickman 1990:244). Trousers were loose, full, and somewhat baggy trousers. The typical fabric was white, striped, or blue linen, with wool the preference for those who could afford it (Rickman 1990). Belts were used primarily by hunters and trappers, other peasants relied on cloth sashes or simple hemp cords. Leggings were made of linen, cotton, or wool rags, which were attached to woven linden bark shoes, birchbark clogs, or crude leather. For those who could afford them, the footwear of choice was a pair of high-top leather boots.

These were very expensive, had to be bought in town, were often worn only on holidays, and were expected to last for twenty years (Rickman 1990).

Several styles of outwear were common. The basic cold weather coat was below knee-length, made of coarse gray or brown homespun or commercial wool in the kaftan style, and fastened on the left side. For severe weather conditions a sheepskin or fur coat was used with the wool or fur worn on the inside. Lighter wool or linen coats reached mid-thigh. Coats were held together by sashes, ties, or toggles. Men wore a great variety of caps in all seasons. Most of these were felt and took many different shapes including cylindrical, conical, globular and square. They were often of felted sheepswool in warm weather and fur or lambskin in the winter, sometimes with earflaps (Rickman 1990).

In colonial America, one Native Alaskan article of clothing, the waterproof kamleika, became indispensable to the Russians as early as 1802 (Davidov 1977:133, Ramsay 1976:189-190, Rickman 1990:249)

**Russian Military.** The Russian Navy played a key role in the establishment of Russian America and Fort Ross. Officers and sailors of the Imperial Russian Navy wore the uniforms of that service, and those on ships that called in Alaska and California were most likely assigned to the Baltic Fleet. In 1818, a Naval administration replaced the original merchant administration in Sitka. Sailors wore cotton bleached linen trousers during the summer and black wool trousers in the winter, calf length boots, along with a shirt and black silk tie, a black jacket, and a black visorless cap (beginning in 1811). A greatcoat was used in the winter. A work uniform of sailcloth or blue cloth was worn for hard labor along with work boots. Sailors also kept a parade uniform with a jacket, trousers, and dress boots.

Noncommissioned officers were distinguished by rank using a strip of metallic braid around the collar and cuffs of the jacket, and the width of braid on the epaulettes. Jacket buttons bore the single anchor of the fleet. Officers had several types of uniforms and variations among these. The parade uniform was black or white trousers; cocked hat with sword, or after 1835, visored cap with cockade; and a black coat with epaulettes; and by choice, a Naval dagger. Medals were always worn on the parade uniform. The duty uniform was white trousers, frock coat or officer's jacket, cap, and black shoes. A gray cape coat with black collar was worn in the winter. Epaulets identified the officer's rank (Middleton 1993:6,7).

The first "regular" Russian soldiers were not sent to Alaska until 1855 to defend the colony during the Crimean War. They were stationed in the capital, along with regular navy sailors from 1855-1867 (Rickman 1990:265).

D. Creoles. Beginning in 1820 Creole students in Sitka were issued a set of warm gray woolen clothing lined with crash, set of summer clothing made of ticking, three fur hats, three linen shirts, one cap, cloth for leggings (Khlebnikov 1976:47). In 1818 the Main Office of the Company ordered Sitka to issue Creoles serving on Company vessels the following clothing on an annual basis: canvas for one pair of trousers, a "Holland" shirt, two pair of shoes, and a kamleia (Pierce 1984:106). Creoles serving the Company in other occupations wore comparable clothing to Russians. Creole wives or children of Russians appear to have had greater accessibility to cloth yardage and cloth apparel. Visitors to Sitka did not specifically describe the dress of Creole women at formal functions but mention only their European instruction and preparation, leading costume historians like Rickman and others to

hypothesize that they dressed in Russian or European style clothing. Creole and Russian women were simply referred to as "ladies" (Rickman 1990:273). Creole and Native Alaskan orphans were provided for by the Company, which ordered they be provided with ground squirrel and bird parkas on the Company account (Pierce 1984:23).

E. Aleuts. Accompanying Captain Joseph Billings on the Catherine II's "Northeastern Secret Geographical and Astronomical Expedition" to northwestern North America and eastern Siberia, Carl Merck describes Aleut clothing and adornment as it appeared in 1790 and 1791 (Pierce 1980, 1990a:353). Men wore pants of tanned sealskin, just above knee-length; an old shirt was sometimes worn next to the skin; and boots from fur seal throats were designed to be pulled up over pants. A parka was worn over the shirt or skin. It was made of bird skins with the feathers on the inside of the garment; outside has a red collar and two strips of sealskin. Rainwear was the *kamlei*, a circular waterproof shirt made of cleaned, sewn-together, thin bowel-skin, with or without hood. Hats were made of thin wood such as fir which had been boiled to make the wood more pliable. Hats were painted green, red, white and black., often with the image of an eye painted on each side. They could also be decorated with sea-raven feathers, figures carved from walrus tusks, or with sea lion bristles upon which glass corals or garnets [glass beads] were fastened. The young men wore a ring of gut string through their nose cartilage, often with some glass-garnets strung from the ring. Several similar ornamentations appeared on the ear. From the lower lip they wore a splint resembling a tooth.

Aleut women also wore parkas, which extended to their feet. These were made from young fur seal skin, sea otter, or ground squirrels (never

fox), worn with fur or hair on the outside, and had a stiff stand-up collar. The sleeves and collar were both decorated; the former embroidered in front, the latter decorated with alternating rows of white and blue garnets, and crosswise with red crosses. Three or four rows of white garnets or corals, measuring two or more inches, hung from the front of the collar. Amber was also used. The upper body of the garment was decorated with rows of white garnets which were striped lengthwise. Bands of dark fur from the fur seal were worn around the hands and feet, and were also decorated and buttoned together with glass beads. A string with one glass bead tied was tied around the neck. Some women wore short pieces of bone or alabaster in their nose cartilage from which hung rows of white garnets. Women's ears were decorated with round groups of garnets. On the lower lip on both sides was a pointed tooth made of walrus tusk (Pierce 1980:78-170). Many of the names applied by the Russians to Aleut garments were Siberian due to their resemblance to clothing of the Siberians (Rickman 1990:266). Veniaminov lived among the Aleut during the period 1823-1839. He commented that both sexes wore similar beaded earrings. Women's ornaments were initially very costly, especially the necklaces, they abandoned these in the early 1880s for smaller earrings and rings that more closely resembled those worn by Russian women (Ross 1997).

F. Kodiak Islanders. Both Merck on the expedition cited above, and Grigorii Shelikhov who arrived on Kodiak in 1784, left detailed descriptions of clothing and adornment worn by Kodiak Island residents in the late eighteenth century. (Pierce 1980, Shelikhov 1981). Hats worn by both sexes were small and decorated with one to four rows of white down-feathers and had a single feather at the top. Men also wore painted hats made from woven

fir or spruce tree roots and grasses trimmed with feathers, pieces of coral, and/or bird beaks; and curved caps from hollowed wood. Men's parkas were made mainly of birdskins, which prior to Russian settlement were also made from bear, deer, fox, ground squirrel, lynx, marmot, sea and river otter, rabbit, sable, and wolverine. Trousers were not worn. Knee high boots were made from the esophagus of sea lions or from sealskin. Rainshirts, a type of waterproof parka known as kamiakhliak {kamlei} were made from the intestines of sea lions, seals, and whales. Male adornment included a long bone inserted into the nose cartilage, and beads or corals hung from the ears, nose, and the lower lip.

Kodiak Island women wore collarless parkas trimmed with fur seal skin. Adornment included garnets of blue or white with white or blue ends worn through the nose cartilage; lip ornaments of corals (four rows of single corals with strings suspended from them) or blue garnets (six to seven little rings worn from lower lip hanging from strings held together with bone pegs or other variations); strings of blue corals hung from the ears (different number of strings in each ear, i.e. six in one, eight in another), six inch-long rings of blue or white garnets, or strings of alternating blue, white or red garnets. Both women and men wore strings of white and blue garnets around their necks. Sometimes pieces of highly valued amber were included on the strand.

As early as 1802 and 1806, Davidov reported on the increasing influence of Russians on the native Alaskan wardrobe. He described two Kodiak men wearing cotton trousers and jerseys in addition to the traditional kameikas and woven hats (Davidov 1977:101, 107). He also suggests that

certain beads may be losing value on Kodiak due to the numbers that have been accumulated there (Davidov 1977:153). In 1805, there are references to the influence of Russians on curtailing the Native Alaskan use of personal adornments and facial jewelry. By the 1830s the practice of nose and lip piercing had nearly disappeared along with tattoos (Rickman 1990:267). Changes in Native apparel can also be attributed to reduced access Native Alaskans had to their own clothing. They were often required to provide Russians with kamleikas or birdskin parkas. Aleuts in hunting parties turned over their catch to the Company for payment in goods from Company warehouses. In January 1818 the Company needed bird parkas and requested that Kodiak "send as many as you can." It was further noted in April 1818 that there were an insufficient number of bird parkas available to fulfill the Company's needs and therefore kamleikas were to be issued in substitution where necessary (Pierce 1984:23).

Three commodities had tremendous impact on Aleut costumes - cloth, beads, and split leather. Of these, cloth was the most significant and entire garments formerly made of hide were now copied in cloth. This was evident by 1805 and affected the clothing of both men and women. Men wore shirts of sailcloth or coarse cotton from China and women made parkas of Chinese satin, both acquired from Company stores. Some women also began to wear turbans of white cloth, as practice attributed to married Orthodox women in Russia. Glass trade beads became the adornment of choice for jewelry, clothing, and headgear [It has been inferred that some glass beads were present in the Aleutian Islands prior to Bering's voyage in 1741, Ross 1997]. Russian split leather replaced the use of walrus hide in boots (Rickman 1990:268). By 1832, Company officials in Sitka were complaining that the

Aleuts there wanted clothing made of “good frieze and fine wool,” not “regular soldier cloth” or bird skins; and the women wanted printed cotton dresses and shawls (Khlebnikov 1976:105). Veniaminov (1824-1834) reported Aleut men wearing frieze and cloth jackets, frock-coats, shirts, waistcoats, trousers, cravats; and women and daughters in skirts, shawls, and shoes (Fedorova 1973:229). Kodiak Islanders and other Eskimo appear to have continued to use their own clothing much more so than the Aleuts, purchasing mainly beads from the Company rather than cloth (Rickman 1990:269, Tikhmenev 1978:438).

Hiermonk Gideon, in 1805, makes the only mention of crosses when requesting supplies to give to the “Americans” [Native Alaskans]. He asked for “tobacco, woolen worsted, cotton cloth, linen, glass seed beads, needles, and crosses” (Ross 1997). It is unknown whether the crosses were actually in demand by the Native Alaskans or if Gideon as the Orthodox Church envoy to Russian America and son of a priest felt it necessary to provide crosses those under Russian jurisdiction.

G. Chugach. Merck visited Prince William Sound in July 1790 where he observed the clothing of the local inhabitants, the Chugach, who came to barter with the Russians (Pierce 1980:110, 111). His brief account (Pierce 1980:122) and that of Tikhmenev (1978:434) describe fur shirts made from squirrel and other small mammals, bird-skin parkas similar to the Aleuts, outer shirts of reindeer leather, and rainshirts or kamleis from sea mammal intestines. [One adult male Chugach was reported for the Ross Colony in the 1836 Veniaminov confession list]

H. Californian Indians (Coast Miwok, Kashaya Pomo). Russian accounts describe the Native Californians as disinterested in Russian articles

of clothing, although those who worked for the Company received blankets, jackets and trousers in payment for services. Men were said to wear no clothes other than the deerskin cloak worn by both genders. Women wore "aprons" of deerskin (Rickman 1990:277).

I. Archival Documentation. Captain of the Second Rank Vasili Golovnin inspected colonial settlements at Kodiak, Sitka, and California in 1818. He remarked about the lacking in "uniformity of dress or uniform" (Tikhmenev 1978:160). He suggested unsuccessfully that the government approve a uniform for Company workers, as did "everyone in service in Russia;" whereas in Russian America Company employees wore civil clothing (Fedorova 1973:231). Many commercial transactions took place between the Russian American settlers and foreign traders, including crews of English and U. S. ships. Foreign vessels made regular stops at Sitka after 1805, exchanging their commodities for Company furs including sea otter, river otter, beaver, seal, and fox (Khlebnikov 1976:9-11). A shipment of English goods to Sitka in February 1818 included 14 pieces of ribbon, 3 pounds of patches, 4 waistcoats, 20 pair of breeches, and 4 packages of buttons (Pierce 1984:41).

According to a study by Louise Jackson, cloth, clothing, and related paraphernalia are also "key in making Native Alaskan women visible in the colonial contact picture in a way that is not possible with other items of material culture." She recommends that this complex of material evidence be examined in future studies of Russian American sites (Jackson 1994:49).

The following items were listed in warehouses in Sitka for sale in the colonies by Khlebnikov (1976): In 1810 there was white bombazine;

unbleached, red, and black Chinese cotton; demicotton; first, third, and fourth qualities of Bengal [cotton?]; "atlas," flowered, black, and blue satin; seersucker; serge suit; silk, including fine Chinese silk and Chinese "kancha" silk; taffeta; thread; velvet; and raw wool (Khlebnikov 1976:13,14). In 1818, the list was similar with items such as bombazine; Bengal and Canton calico; low quality cloth; cotton, including blue and black Chinese cotton; flannel; frieze; handkerchiefs of black serge, Bengal cotton, and second quality Bengal [?]; Canton silk; and English leather soles (Khlebnikov 1976:19). In 1826 the warehouse list included: calico, both Russian and English; two types of Chinese cloth; three types of frieze; leggings, soles for shoes; pairs of stockings - knit, woolen, women's cotton, and men's cotton; thread; and woolens such as "ordinary" wool, English wool, Dutch wool, wool for soldiers' uniforms, and wool for sailors' uniforms (Khlebnikov 1976:72).

The most complete Russian-American Company inventory of cloth imported for garments dates from 1841. Among the types mentioned are calico, canvas, heavy soldier cloth, Romanov canvas, and tent cloth; woolen blankets and wild goat skins also were offered as materials from which clothing could be made (Oswalt 1980:36). Sources for some of these materials came from Irkutsk while others originated as follows (from Pierce 1976a: 31): heavy cloth, woolen stockings and mittens from along the Lena River; thick canvas, and fur coats from Tiumen; fine cloth, sail cloth, ticking, linen were found in Moscow, Makar'ev, and Irkutsk; while Russia leather and soles came from Irkutsk.

After replacing Baranov in 1818, the new Chief Manager of the Company, Navy Captain-Lieutenant and Cavalier Leontii Hagemester, instructed his office to issue to the Creoles "the kind of clothing worn by

sailors, two pairs of boots, and one kamlei [circular garment made of cured sea mammal gut, waterproof, worn over other garments or alone], in addition to their pay." Hagemeister also instructed his office to issue to Aleuts at Company expense the following: a whalegut kamlei and a birdskin parka (Khlebnikov 1976:22).

In 1839, two years prior to the sale of Ross, the Russian American Company reached an agreement with its competitor, the Hudson's Bay Company for the latter to supply the Russian colonies with provisions and manufactured goods (Gibson 1976a:201-205; Rickman 1990:258). Company inventories from the 1840s showed the growing references to mass produced ready-made clothing (Oswalt 1980:36). This occurred during the last two years of Russian occupation at Fort Ross and given that the Ross Colony, like Atka, Fort Aleksandrov, the Northern Islands, and Unalaska, received supplies on an annual basis, - whereas Kodiak was provisioned two or three times yearly - (Khlebnikov 1976:86), it is unknown how much of this manufactured clothing would have reached the settlement. Throughout the rest of Russian America, mass production had greatly altered the appearance of the settlers, making them look like Russian town peasants dressed in clothing of European styles, not frontier colonists (Rickman 1990:258-259).

J. The Ross Colony. Very little information, specific to the Ross Colony, is available about the costumes of these residents who included clerks, craftsmen, hunters, laborers, Company officials, traders, and their family members (see Ross 1997). Historical drawings and written documentation of Native Alaskans prepared during the time of Fort Ross' occupation are being reviewed by scholars as part of the ongoing Fort Ross

Apparel Project. Examples of these include the surviving visuals and commentaries from the voyages such as those of Cook (1778), Billings-Sarychev (1790-1792), Rezanov (1805-1806) which predate the settlement of Ross; and Corney (1813-1818), Kotzebue (1815-1818), Golovnin (1817-1819), Staniukovich (1826-1829), Beechey (1825-1828), and Litke (1826-1829) which are contemporary with Ross. The artists and writers describe Native Alaskan men, women, and children wearing beads as ornaments and beaded clothing. These include bracelets, bentwood closed-crown hunting caps, drawstrings for hats and parkas, earrings, looped earrings, beaded ears, collars, frocks, headbands, dance headdresses with and without feathers in addition to the beads, labrets, necklaces, nose ornaments, sleeves, and hunting visors (Ross 1997). During some of the voyages, it was noted that tobacco, ironware, mirrors, bells, small nails, shirts, kerchiefs, stockings, caps, linens, twills, and leather were also sought after in addition to beads.

The second manager of the Ross Colony, Karl Shmidt was a Russian naval officer in the corps of navigators (Middleton 1996:5). Correspondence from the Company's Main Office to the Ross Office dated 28 January 1818, orders that Aleuts hunting for furs be issued at Company expense two gut kamleias /kamleika (Pierce 1984:13). Three Sandwich Islanders (Native Hawaiians) were stationed at Ross in 1818. The Company office in Sitka provided the Ross Manager, Ivan Kuskov, with the following clothing "at company expense" for their provision: three shirts and pantaloons of striped linen ticking, ticking for making shirts, three cotton handkerchiefs, Flemish linen for a jacket and trousers (three of each), canvas for "Holland" shirts and trousers, and nine pairs of "soldiers" shoes (Pierce 1984:119). When Baron Ferdinand Wrangell visited Ross in 1832, he listed the clothing requirements

for one family - Vasili Permitin, his wife and five children: one pair of cotton stockings, two bundles of flannel blankets, one cotton dress, twenty-one pairs of [shoe or boot] soles, ten pairs of uppers [shoes or boots], various lengths of fabric including cotton ends, trouser burlap, gingham, soldier's broadcloth, plus two sheepskins. Wrangell noted that total cost for the Permitin family's food and clothing was twice his annual salary (Gibson 1969a; Khlebnikov 1976; Rickman 1990).

In 1836, Richard Henry Dana described the Russian officers and crew from a Company ship harbored in San Francisco. The men had knee-high doubled soled boots, thick woolen trousers and caps, frocks, waistcoats, and pea-jackets [possibly naval surplus, Rickman 1990:258]. Dana commented that regardless of the weather, which he felt was quite comfortable, the "clothing of one of these men would weigh nearly as much as that of half our crew" (Dana 1911:282). There was "never a uniform for employees serving aboard company ships" [until 1851, Middleton 1993c:5] nor was there ever any evidence that the promyshlenniks on land or sea in Russian America ever wore a uniform (Rickman 1990:264). Captain Edward Belcher, visiting Ross in 1839, commented that the sentinel guarding the gate "has no uniform" (1979:77). A drawing by Voznesenskii of the Ross Colony's Chernykh ranch in 1841 shows a man suggested to be Afonasi Chernykh on horseback dressed in the tradition of a Spanish caballero (Blomkvist 1972:112). As was the case in Alaska and the Aleutians, dampness at Fort Ross caused significant deterioration of cloth and leather (Black 1984:153, Golovin 1979, Khlebnikov 1976:124, Rickman 1990).

## V. History of the Ross Colony Cemetery.

A. Introduction. There are several historical characterizations of the cemetery at Fort Ross, written both during and after the Russian occupation. These descriptions, along with maps and photographs, tell us much about the appearance of the cemetery and how it has been altered, at least on the surface, over time. No firsthand accounts of the cemetery by Russians or other residents of the colony during the years 1812-1841 have been located in the official Company correspondence, or the church archives.

B. Early Maps and Sketches. Early maps and sketches often depict the Russian settlement on the west side of Fort Ross Creek but omit the cemetery which is across the creek to the east. In sketches of the fort during the Russian occupation and the later American period no cemetery is shown. The cemetery does appear in two sketches in a highly stylized concept. The "1826" sketch shows "burrial ground" (Plate 5.1). Glenn Farris (personal communication 1990) suggests this dates to 1841, not 1826 as does the 1843 sketch by Swedish traveler G. M. Waseurtz af Sandels (1843:80), who described the conditions of Ross where he stopped while visiting California in 1842-1843 (Plate 5.2). Although these sketches are not to scale and they take considerable license with topographic features, they are some of the few 19th century sketches or maps to show a cemetery at the settlement. If the cemetery is the main one associated with the Russian occupation, it is placed opposite the southeastern blockhouse instead of northeast of the chapel. An artist's concept of Ross during the Russian period has the cemetery misplaced (Plate 5.3) and the American period sketch (Plate 5.4) shows no cemetery.

## Key

A = Fort

C, D = Blockhouse

L = Aleut Huts

M = Cattle Yard

N = Sheep Enclosure

O = Gardens

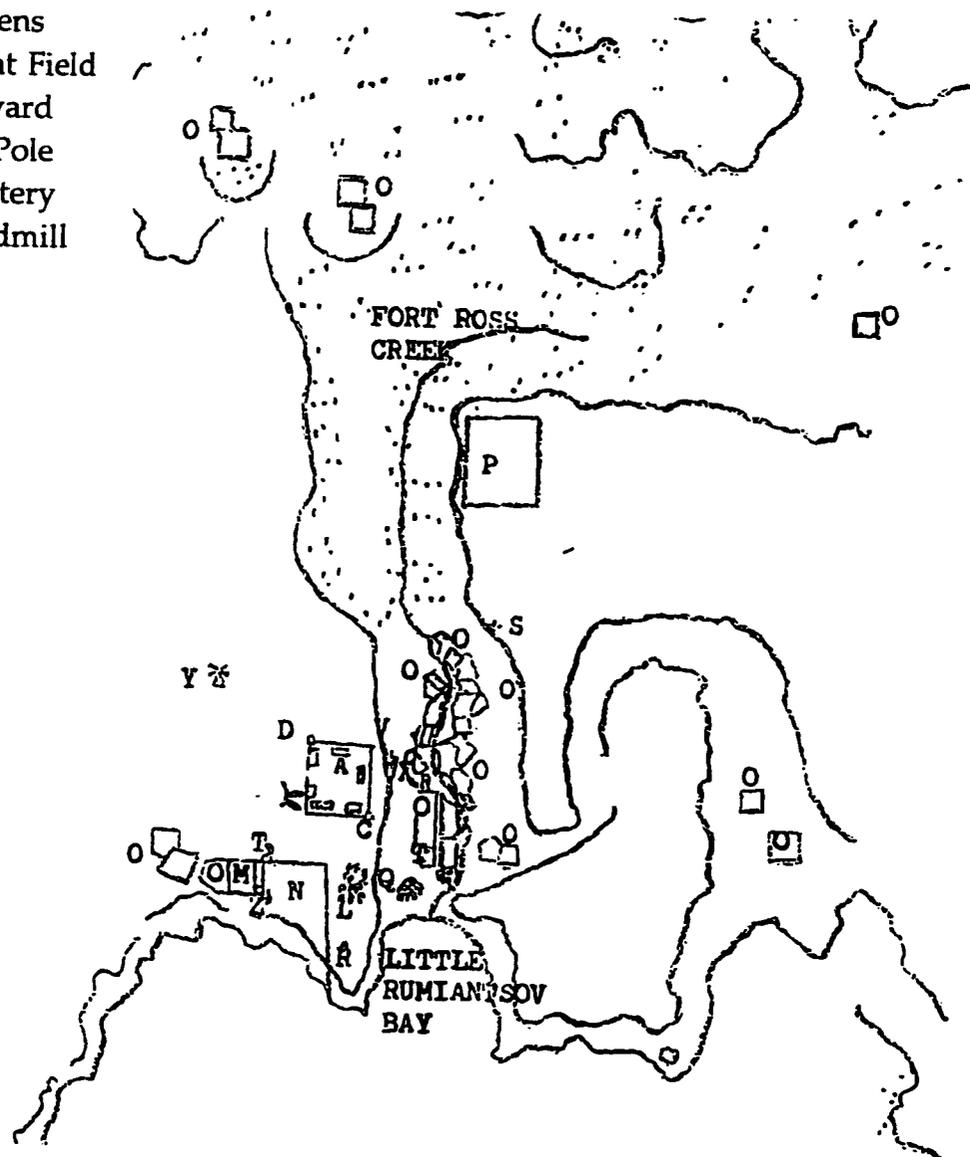
P = Wheat Field

Q = Shipyard

R = Flag Pole

S = Cemetery

Y = Windmill



Map 5.1 Copy of 1817 Russian Map of Fort Ross

The first evidence of the cemetery depicted on a map was in 1817 (Map 5.1). This map was sent to Madrid, Spain to document the Russian American Company's assertion of its legal right to occupy Fort Ross. In August 1817, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg, K. V. Nesselrode, received a letter from D. P. Tatishchev, Russian ambassador to Spain, which reported Spanish concern over the Company's occupation of lands in Upper California since 1812. In particular, the Russian settlement was regarded by Spain as "fresh evidence of the aspirations of our [Russian] factories [?] to extend southward." The Company Main Office replied that "the legality of occupation of the stated lands on the basis of 'popular right', based on agreement with the native population" (Fedorova 1973:359-360). The cemetery mapped in 1817 is accurately shown to be in the same area excavated by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee field school for this study. The Department of Parks and Recreation reproduced an overlay of the 1817 map taken from a modern aerial photograph which attests to the high degree of accuracy of the 1817 Russian map.

C. Narrative Accounts. One of the earliest accounts of the cemetery is that of Father Mariano Payeras, a Spanish priest who visited Ross in the fall of 1822. In this English translation by Glenn Farris we learn that:

Among [the graves] there are notable distinctions. For the three distinguished Founders [e.g. the Three Saints of the Russian Orthodox Church, Basil, Gregory and John], they put their memorial on a sepulcher of three rectangular levels from larger to smaller, and on these a pyramid of two varas (5.5'). On this is a sphere, and finally, a cross painted all in black and white in such a way that when we descended from the mountain it was the object which called itself most to our attention. Over other

Europeans they put only a sort of large box and over the Kodiaks a cross. Many of the crosses we saw are patriarchal: a small cross above, the main cross a short way down, like arms, and lower they had a diagonal wooden piece that we believe to be analogous to our I.N.R.I.(Jesus Nazareus, Rex Iudaeorum) [Payeras 1822, translated by Glenn Farris 1990].

The cemetery description in the History of Sonoma County (Munro-Fraser 1880) may be based on the notes of Ernest Rufus, who along with his partner William O. Benitz, leased Ross from John Sutter in 1845 (see Chapter 3; Haase 1952:25; Farris 1990; Kaye Tomlin personal communication 1990). The two men later purchased Fort Ross and 17,500 adjacent acres in 1847 (O'Brien 1980:24). Rufus reportedly took extensive notes during his early visits to Ross. His notes, which formed the basis of the 1880 description, have been searched for extensively by scholars but never relocated (Haase 1952:25; Glenn Farris, personal communication 1990). In Haase's opinion, "most accounts of Ross after Ernest Rufus's are either repeated descriptions of it as it was during the Russian period or details of what remains of the decaying Fort" (Haase 1952:26). It states that there were never more than fifty graves and at the time of writing only twelve remained. Five types of graves were described:

- rectangular frames of 6" wide pieces of wood in descending size from bottom to top
- rectangular frame with a 1' rectangular base and a roof
- graves with rude crosses
- graves with skillfully made crosses
- a single grave with a large round post

The complete description is as follows:

the cemetery lay to the eastward of the fort, about one-fourth of a mile, and across a very deep gulch. It was near the church for peasants. There were never more than fifty graves in it, though all traces are obliterated now of more than a dozen; most of them still remaining had some sort of a wooden structure built over them. One manner of constructing these mausoleums was to make a series of rectangular frames of square timbers, about six inches in diameter, each frame a certain degree smaller than the one below it. These were placed one above another until an apex was reached, which was surmounted with a cross. Another method was to construct a rectangular frame of heavy planking about one foot high. The top was covered over with two heavy planks placed so as to be roof-shaped, others had simply a rude cross, others a cross on which some mechanical skill was displayed, and one has a very large round post standing high above the adjacent crosses. They are all buried in graves dug due east and west, and, doubtless, with their heads to the west. There are no inscriptions now to be seen upon any of the graves, and it is not likely there ever were any. Some of them certainly contain children, judging from their size [Munro-Frazer 1973:369-370; Haase 1952:25-26].

The existence of a church reputedly used by the common people or peasants has never been substantiated. It is not described by the Russian-American Company or by foreign travelers to Ross during the time of the Russian occupation. State Park archeologist Glenn Farris states "to my knowledge, there has never been any physical evidence of buildings near the cemetery" (personal communication 1990).

The July 1893 Overland Monthly describes a dozen or more graves remaining which were marked by wooden slabs flat on the ground with no inscriptions; and a curious wooden column.

The old cemetery is another interesting spot. It lies across the gulch to the eastward of the Fort, on the brow of a hill where the ocean breeze sways the arms of the wooden cross as it hangs rusted loose on its wrought-iron nail. There are signs of a dozen or more graves beside the curious wooden structure shown in the sketch and the round wooden pillar. This pillar is said to have had a carved top and cross above it, now gone. Some of the Fort people speak of it as the whipping post, but I can hardly believe that that useful appliance could have been so far away from the Fort. It is a matter of record that there was whipping enough, as well as many executions, in the stern discipline of the Fort.

The graves are marked by wooden slabs prone of the earth. These slabs seem to have had no inscription on them as a rule. One with an inscription was found a few years ago and brought to San Francisco, but so many of the letters were gone that it proved undecipherable. The letters had been painted on, and the paint had preserved the wood under it so that they seemed to be carved. It was probably only an ordinary record of name and dates. It was given to the Woodward collection, and perhaps lost in the recent disposition of that property [Greene 1893].

Gertrude Atherton (1857-1948) was "one of the most famous, outspoken, and successful novelists of her time" (Leider 1991). In the winter of 1891, after a dispute with editor William Randolph Hearst, she ceased writing her newspaper column for San Francisco *Examiner* and sought refuge at Fort Ross. At Ross she wrote her novel The Doomswoman, one of more than fifty books she was to produce during her career (Leider 1991:126-132).

Atherton also wrote the following description of the cemetery: "while on a lonely knoll between the forest and the gray ponderous ocean, flanked

on either side by wild beautiful gulches, are fifty or more graves of dead and gone Russians, with not a line to preserve the ego, once so mighty. The rains have washed the mounds almost flat, thrown down the crosses, doubtless filled the graves. And in one of them a beautiful girl is said to sleep in a copper coffin" (Atherton 1893:58). [No other references have mentioned a copper coffin and none was found during our current excavations].

It is during this stay at Ross that Atherton is attributed with conducting the first excavations at the cemetery. "A few years ago [1891] Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, who made Fort Ross a hermitage for literary work, bribed some of the boys at the hotel to go over with her and excavate one of these graves. The redwood coffin was found in good preservation, except that the lid had fallen in and the interior was filled with earth. Search in this showed the shin bones, the soles of the shoes, and some buttons, all that remained to indicate that there had been an occupant. Mrs. Atherton was much disgusted; for she needed a dead Russian for literary purposes, and had hoped at least to get an officer with his trappings, if not indeed records buried with him" (Greene 1893:14).

Whether Atherton actually excavated one of the graves has not been established and is disputed by Laura Call Carr whose family purchased Fort Ross in 1873. Her father, George Washington Call had remodeled the Commandant's House and operated it as the Fort Ross Hotel since 1878 (O'Brien 1980:25), and it was here that Atherton was staying. According to Carr's first-hand account, "She [Atherton] hired my brother and a boy from the hotel to dig up one of the Russian graves. She wanted 'an officer in full uniform.' However, my father stopped this adventure, and she became

'rather annoyed'. I had hoped that my father would let her do it, as I, too, would have like to have seen the officer" (Carr 1987:20).

On February 14, 1897 the Russian Orthodox Bishop Nikolai visited the cemetery and found only insignificant remains of probable monuments, a modern wooden column, and a wooden cross. He states "quite a few" graves were still visible and were identified by small hills and rectangular squares.

From the church we went to the cemetery. It was on the other hill separated from the Fort by a deep ravine with growing trees and murmuring brook. To get there one must leave the Fort, descend to the ravine, then ascend the hill and enter the field where can be seen the graves. The (field) ending with an abrupt steep grade above the ocean. ....

At the cemetery we found only an insignificant remains of (existence here of probable monuments). One piece of sawn-lengthwise oak plank with a grape-vine branch around it, already half dry. A modern column (post) without any indication of writing on it, several over-grave rocks and wooden planks, but most of all small hills in regular squares, with wild growing flowers. Here, before a wooden cross we read Paneheda, for our departed brothers.

Service (was) by Father Sebastian while I, with lector Grenachevsky, sang. It was a charming picture, to the right a noisy ocean, to the left a hill covered with trees, behind which later was found gold in porous sand and clay. Behind the ravine with a murmuring brook following church and Fort, in the front an open field covered with a motley rug of green and flowers. The setting sun with the slanted rays gilded the ocean, the Fort, forest, and us. Father Sebastian, from emotion, with difficulty pronounced requests of the prayer. We seconded him with our singing 'The Sea of Life' in view of the noisy ocean, came out very touching. How many are here in repose, only God knows.

But I think quite a few, since there are visible quite a few graves. Yes, and people who lived here during 29 years (from 1812-1841), not less than one thousand, indicating that there were a number whom to inter.

About this, the graves are silent, keeping in mystery not only those in repose but the past as well. To them a Kingdom of Heaven! With quiet sadness and under the pressure of memories of the past and the present, we returned to the Fort [Nikolai 1897].

Flora Faith Hatch wrote about the cemetery in her 1922 Masters Thesis. The cross had fallen down, only 12 or more graves were marked by slabs of redwood and she thought that Kuskov was probably buried there. The Russian cemetery as it appeared then:

The cemetery across the gulch to the east of the stockade was not included in the land purchased by the State for preservation. The large wooden cross which called attention to the last resting place of many Russians has fallen down. A dozen or more graves are marked by large slabs of redwood, lying flat on the ground. Many of these are nearly gone, having been attacked by insects and the storms of a hundred years. Kuskof, the first commandant, was probably buried in this cemetery, as he died here in 1820; but there is no mark of any kind left to distinguish which of the Russians are buried in this neglected cemetery [Hatch 1922:64].

Hatch's work is now considered by many to be outdated "in view of the many Russian sources which have become available since 1922" (Hussey 1979:47). Kuskov is known to have died in his native Tot'ma, in northern Russia in October 1823 (Pierce 1990a:285) and is not buried at Ross as Hatch speculated.

Her statement regarding Kuskov's death and burial at Ross has, unfortunately, been cited and repeated in the popular literature. The basis of her other statements: "When the first death occurred, a site was chosen for a cemetery across the ravine to the east. There a wooden cross was erected, which was in full view from the stockade" (Hatch 1922:25) is also unknown.

An early 20th century history of Sonoma County describes the Russian occupation at Ross, including the cemetery (Tuomey 1926). The author made extensive use of local sources but scholars are cautioned that "tradition and fact seem to be extricably mixed" in her work (Hussey 1979:106). Ynez Haase visited Fort Ross several times between 1948 and 1952 while writing her Master's Thesis "The Russian-American Company in California" (Haase 1952). In October 1948, she reports that only three mounds were still visible at the cemetery. Her thesis contains her October 23, 1948 sketch of one of the graves and photographs of the cemetery from 1951. Haase, like others, relies on the description of the cemetery from Rufus and mentions the alleged "church of the common people" (Haase 1952:25).

John McKenzie wrote about the Russian cemetery site in September 1957. He noted that "A few depressions marking the site of graves and several oddly jointed timbers are all that indicate the site of the cemetery. An archaeology study of the site has rather fascinating possibilities. It should be more carefully marked and preserved" (McKenzie 1957:1).

None of these accounts comes even close to estimating the true number of deceased buried in the cemetery. No one describes the spatial organization of the cemetery or its boundaries. It is unknown whether the cemetery was enclosed by a picket fence. What is known, is that to many who visited Ross, the cemetery was a very special place. Several historic

photographs show the cemetery in the early 1920s with some remnants of the grave markers still present (Plates 5.5-5.10).

#### VI. Documentation of Religious Practices at the Ross Colony.

What are the characteristics of the religious and mortuary practices at Fort Ross? First, it is important to reiterate that with the exception of previously described brief visits from Sokolov in 1832 and Veniaminov in 1836, there was no priest at the Ross colony. Therefore, the institutional treatment of death and burial was most likely always left to a designated layman. At Ross this was delegated to the prikashchik Fedor Svin'in, who held this post from the establishment of the colony until his death in 1832. A secondary source purports that since there was no priest to attend to the matters of religion, one of the officers took charge. The officer supposedly handled baptisms, marriages and funerals for the colonial population (Guthrie 1936:23). The basis of this statement is unknown.

Although the most continuous and lengthy Russian occupation in California was at Fort Ross, the Russian American Company actively traversed the coast of California as far south as Monterey, entered San Francisco Bay on numerous occasions to interact with the Spanish at the Presidio of San Francisco, established a hunting station on the Farallon Islands, and maintained several settlements at and near Bodega and Bodega Bay just south of Fort Ross. Deaths and burials may have occurred at any or all of these locations. It is hoped that this information can be recovered during future research. According to Father Vladimir, church policy would not require burial or reburial in a designated cemetery if the deceased expired away from his settlement. He feels that persons who died away from Fort

Ross, for instance, were probably buried at the location of death and not transported back to the fort cemetery unless the distance was quite short. A painting of the "Russian burying ground on Russian Hill" in San Francisco is said to have been completed prior to 1854 by the artist Frederick Tobin. There are differing accounts as to whether the earliest four graves are of Russian sea otter hunters who were killed during infractions with the Spanish in 1809 or were bodies of sailors who died from scurvy aboard a Russian ship (Hussey 1979:107).

## Chapter Six: Life and Death at the Ross Colony

### I. Search for the Living in Russian America.

What was the culture of the past into which this study of mortuary behavior must be integrated? There were two populations at the Ross Colony, and throughout Russian America - those who lived and those who died. At one time all were attributed a role in colonial society. The focus of this chapter is on these two groups and the transition that took place between life and death.

The living were the "survivors" in the Ross society, and at least some of them were responsible for the treatment of the dead. Funerary activities were "significant and dynamic elements in the social life of communities that influenced and in turn were acted upon by the political, economic, and environmental realities of the society" (O'Shea 1995:126). It is important to understand the makeup of the living population in order to better understand the institutional requirements or constraints brought about by death in this frontier society. It is also essential to establish a demographic context within which to compare the population at Ross with other colonial settlements in frontier Russian America. The dead, unlike their living contemporaries who returned to Alaska, Russia or other parts of the world, remained at Ross below the surface of the ground. Until this project, we knew little about them.

A. Assumptions and Approach. My approach was to use the literary record to locate information on anyone and everyone who lived at or visited the Ross Colony between 1812 to 1841. This information would include not

only who that person was as a vital statistic; but also who he or she was as a member of a family, a community, and a society. What were that person's beliefs, attitudes, and religious practices? I assumed that women and children would be under-represented in many of the historical narratives, as is not uncommon in all geographic regions or time periods; but that any existing censuses, registers, or official communications might contain a more complete accounting of the entire population for a given point in time. I was fortunate enough to locate four very detailed censuses which are discussed later in this chapter: two prepared by Ivan Kuskov, the first manager of Ross, for the period 1820-1821 (Kuskov 1820, 1821); and two prepared by Father Ioann Veniaminov, the Orthodox priest from the Sitka parish, who personally visited Ross for several days in the summer of 1836, then later updated the confessional records in 1838 (ARCA 264:a,b; Garrett 1979:112). A number of other narratives also give population accounts. Also considered to be important was the occupation held by an individual. Although these are stated predominantly for men, they still give us an idea of how different people were organized or classified within the settlement.

B. Methodology. Considerable original archival research was necessary in order to locate sufficient primary source information that would allow me to recreate the composition of the Ross settlement between 1812-1841. This research forms the basis for what is now known about the population of the frontier Ross Colony. The information derived from this exhaustive study is presented and analyzed for the first time in this and other chapters or appendixes. The majority of the census material and Company correspondence for Fort Ross had not been previously examined in detail prior to the initiation of my study. For the first time, we know not only how

many people lived at Ross, but who they were; their age, gender, and ethnicity; where they came from in Russia or Alaska; how long they stayed; what their marriage patterns were; how many children were in a family; and many other interesting insights into their social structure. Some of the information, such as the large numbers of children and the age range of the population, contradicts the traditional image of a frontier colony dominated by young males.

The essential archival sources that were scoured for information were: Microfilm of the original Russian American Company's Correspondence (abbreviated RACC) of the Governors (1818-1840) from the U. S. National Archives (handwritten in Russian). No records exist prior to 1818. All years between 1818 and 1841 were examined for information pertaining to the Ross Colony.

Microfilm of the Alaskan Russian Church archives of the Sitka Parish (1818-1841) from the U. S. Library of Congress (handwritten in Russian). No records exist prior to 1818.

Transcriptions of the Kuskov Registers of 1820, 1821 for Ross (typed in Russian) and provide by Alexei Istomin (1991c).

Biographical Dictionary of Russian America (Pierce 1990a). Other primary sources including reports of the Russian American Company and travel accounts by Russians and foreigners.

These archival sources are described in detail in Chapter 3.

The name of every individual mentioned in these and other sources as having been at Ross were entered into a Macintosh Record Holder® data base. This allowed me to add information about each person as it appeared in

my research and to avoid duplication of names. Following the historical Russian practice, individuals and families were listed under the name of the patriarch, either husband, father or single male. The years the person lived at Ross were also recorded to document the length of stay. This is not totally reliable as there may have been interim movement between Ross and other settlements that does not appear in the records, however, it is the best indicator that could be developed given the lack of an annual census. Company correspondence from January 1818 also indicates that those living in California "have settled and do not want to return" (Pierce 1984:16). According to my research many of the Ross colonies did remain in California for long periods of time, some for 16-21 years, perhaps even longer.

Every person I located as a Ross inhabitant is shown in Appendix 1. This table consolidates the larger body of information contained in my database to include family groupings; place of origin for Russians, foreigners, and Native Alaskans; occupation and/or family relationship; confirmation of census listing for the years 1820, 1821, 1836, and 1838; and other information such as the year sent to or departed from Ross, arrival in Sitka, baptism or marriage. The final column indicates whether the person is known to have died at Ross. Those individuals are marked "yes." Persons marked "no" appear in the archives after departing Ross. Question "?" marks indicate some uncertainty, i.e. other family members remain but someone else is missing but the cause of their absence cannot be determined. California Indian women and their offspring of Russians, Creoles, and Native Alaskans frequently returned to local villages. Male children may have been sent to Alaska or Russia for education. Female "girls" may have married. Absence does not equal death but it can be a useful analytical tool.

## II. The Socio-Economic Hierarchy of Russian America.

The ethnic Russians were continually dependent upon the indigenous populations of Native Alaskans, California Indians, and Hawaiians (Sandwich Islanders) for labor, provisions, furs, and companionship (Gibson 1976a:11,12; 1987:77). It is widely reported, for instance, that the Russian promyshlenniks never actually hunted the sea otters upon which their mercantile enterprise in North America was based. Instead, they were considered to be "altogether incompetent at this" (Golovin 1979:76) and relied entirely upon the Aleuts for this task (Gibson 1987:79). The Russian personnel of the Russian American Company and the Orthodox clergy, although small in number throughout the period of Russian colonization, were the dominant force politically and economically. Economic and political power is an important factor in the institutional treatment of the dead, as indicated earlier in this chapter.

In general, the population of the Russian American settlements in Alaska was comprised on the following groups: Russians (including Yakuts), European foreigners; Creoles; subjugated or dependent Native American indigenous tribes such as the Aleuts, Kodiaks, Kuriles and Chugach; and independent Native Americans such as the Tlingit (Golovin 1979:13). The term "dependent" refers primarily to tribes who were not openly hostile toward the Company. Golovin did not consider any of the Native Alaskan populations to be "very dependent on the Company" (Golovin 1979:142). Additional expansion into California and Hawaii added native populations from those areas to the overall ethnic composition of Russian America. These will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Some of the first and the most authoritative discussions of population composition of Russian America were prepared by Fedorova (1973, 1975). According to her research (1973:274), "an analysis of ethnographic data concerning the Russian settlements in Alaska and California shows that in the period before 1867 stable centers of Russian culture were created which retained their distinctiveness even under conditions of isolation from the metropolis." She asserts that this "scanty Russian population" was able to exert a considerable amount of influence on native culture. This influence continued to some extent even after 1867 (Fedorova 1973:272).

In 1799, there were about 225 Russian men in Alaska, including 200 promyshlenniks (Fedorova 1973:151; Gibson 1976a:7). Most of these men were non-serf (state) peasants from Pomorye in northeastern European Russia (Gibson 1976a:7). By 1819, the population of Russians had doubled but it still remained a small percentage of those inhabitants throughout the immense geographic expanse of Russian American economic control. The population composition of Russian America was as follows in 1819 (Gibson 1976a:11): 391 Russians (378 men, 13 women); 244 Creoles (133 men, 111 women); and 8,365 Natives (4,063 men, 4,322 women) for a total of 9,020 persons. The Russians comprised 4% of the colonial population, with the Creoles at 3%, and Native Alaskans the significant majority at 93% (see Table 6.1). Fourteen years later (1833) the census figures were: Russians 627 (6%) and Creoles 991 (9%). These were slightly higher than previous counts, with native groups comprising the other 85% for a total population of 9,120 persons (see Table 6.2). All groups show an increase in actual numbers of individuals at this later date but the biggest change is among the Creoles

Table 6.1: Population of Russian America in 1819

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>%</u>
Russians	391	(04%)	378	(04%)	13	(<1%)
Creoles	244	(03%)	133	(02%)	111	(01%)
Natives	8385	(93%)	4063	(45%)	4322	(48%)
Total	9020	(100%)	4574	(51%)	4446	(49%)

(after Gibson 1976a:11)

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>%</u>
Russians	627	(06%)	563	(05%)	64	(<1%)
Creoles	991	(09%)	511	(05%)	480	(04%)
Natives	9120	(85%)	4462	(42%)	4658	(43%)
Total	10,738	(100%)	5536	(52%)	5202	(48%)

(after Fedorova 1973:276; Gibson 1976a:18)

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833 (cont.)

<u>Location</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% Russians</u>	<u>% Creoles</u>	<u>% Native</u>
Ross Colony	(253)	20%	30%	50%
Kuriles	(198)	09%	01%	90%
Northern Area	(238)	03%	14%	83%
Atka	(780)	05%	19%	76%
Sitka	(822)	46%	37%	17%
Unalaska	(1498)	02%	12%	86%
Kodiak	(6949)	02%	03%	95%
Total	(10,738)	06%	09%	85%

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833 (cont.)

Number & Percentage of Women by Ethnic Group and Location

<u>Location</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% Russians</u>	<u>% Creoles</u>	<u>% Natives</u>
Ross Colony	(111)	05%	40%	55%
Kuriles	(71)	00%	02%	98%
Northern Area	(121)	00%	18%	82%
Atka	(389)	<1%	19%	81%
Sitka	(256)	14%	56%	30%
Unalaska	(795)	01%	09%	90%
Kodiak	(3,459)	<1%	04%	96%
Total	(5,202)	01%	09%	90%

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833 (cont.)

Number & Percentage of Men by Ethnic Group and Location

<u>Location</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% Russians</u>	<u>% Creoles</u>	<u>% Native</u>
Ross Colony	(142)	32%	23%	45%
Kuriles	(127)	13%	<1%	86%
Northern Area	(117)	05%	10%	85%
Atka	(391)	10%	18%	72%
Sitka	(566)	61%	29%	10%
Unalaska	(703)	03%	16%	81%
Kodiak	(3,490)	03%	03%	94%
Total	(5,536)	10%	09%	81%

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833 (cont.)

Population of Russian Men & Women

<u>Location</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u># Men</u>	<u>%</u>	<u># Women</u>	<u>%</u>
Ross Colony	51	45	88%	06	12%
Kuriles	17	17	100%	00	00%
Northern Area	06	06	100%	00	00%
Atka	41	40	98%	01	02%
Sitka	379	343	91%	36	09%
Unalaska	30	22	73%	08	27%
Kodiak	103	90	87%	13	13%
Total	627	563	90%	64	10%

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833 (cont.)

Population of Creole Men & Women

<u>Location</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u># Men</u>	<u>%</u>	<u># Women</u>	<u>%</u>
Ross Colony	77	33	43%	44	57%
Kuriles	02	01	50%	01	50%
Northern Area	34	12	35%	22	65%
Atka	146	71	49%	75	51%
Sitka	307	163	53%	144	47%
Unalaska	186	113	61%	73	39%
Kodiak	239	118	49%	121	51%
Total	991	511	52%	480	48%

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833 (cont.)

Population of Native Men & Women

<u>Location</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u># Men</u>	<u>%</u>	<u># Women</u>	<u>%</u>
Ross Colony	125	64	51%	61	49%
Kuriles	179	109	61%	70	39%
Northern Area	198	99	50%	99	50%
Atka	593	280	47%	313	53%
Sitka	136	60	44%	76	56%
Unalaska	1,282	568	44%	714	56%
Kodiak	6,607	3282	49%	3325	51%
Total	9,120	4462	49%	4658	51%

(after Gibson 1976a:18)

Table 6.2: Population of Russian America in 1833 (cont.)

Population of Ross				
<u>Ethnic Groups</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Russians	51	(20%)	45	6
Creoles	77	(30%)	33	44
Natives*	125	(50%)	64	61
Total	253	(100%)	142	111

(\*There is no notation as to whether this includes only Native Alaskans  
or all native peoples including California Indians)

whose population nearly quadrupled in actual size and tripled its percentage of total population (Figures 6.1, 6.2). Overall, the Russian population remained the most consistent, the Creole population experienced growth, and the Aleut population declined as more and more native tribes came under the Russian sphere of influence (Fedorova 1973:151).

During the period of its charter, there were several changes in the geographic origins and occupations of Russian men who were employed by the Company. From 1799-1829, information on class and points of origin is described for 143 of the Company employees (Fedorova 1973:172,173). In 1833, the promyshlenniks were predominantly lower- to middle class Siberian townsmen, although there were an increased number of seamen including several Finns (Gibson 1976a:17,18).

Even though the Ross colony was occupied for only 29 years, these shifts in Russian origins may well have been reflected in the social organization and mortuary behavior of the colony. Certainly, the ethnic and geographic origins of company personnel was important as seen in the 1837 request of the Ross office for people from either Finland or European Russia, "but not Siberians, the greater part of whom, not knowing any trade and having a violent and rebellious character, often cause the office problems." The Chief Manager of the Company responded to Ross that due to personnel shortages they (Ross) could not be so selective but could return those they were unable to discipline to Sitka (RACC 14/354:396v). Much of the workforce at the Ross Colony was comprised of Native Alaskans and California Indians.

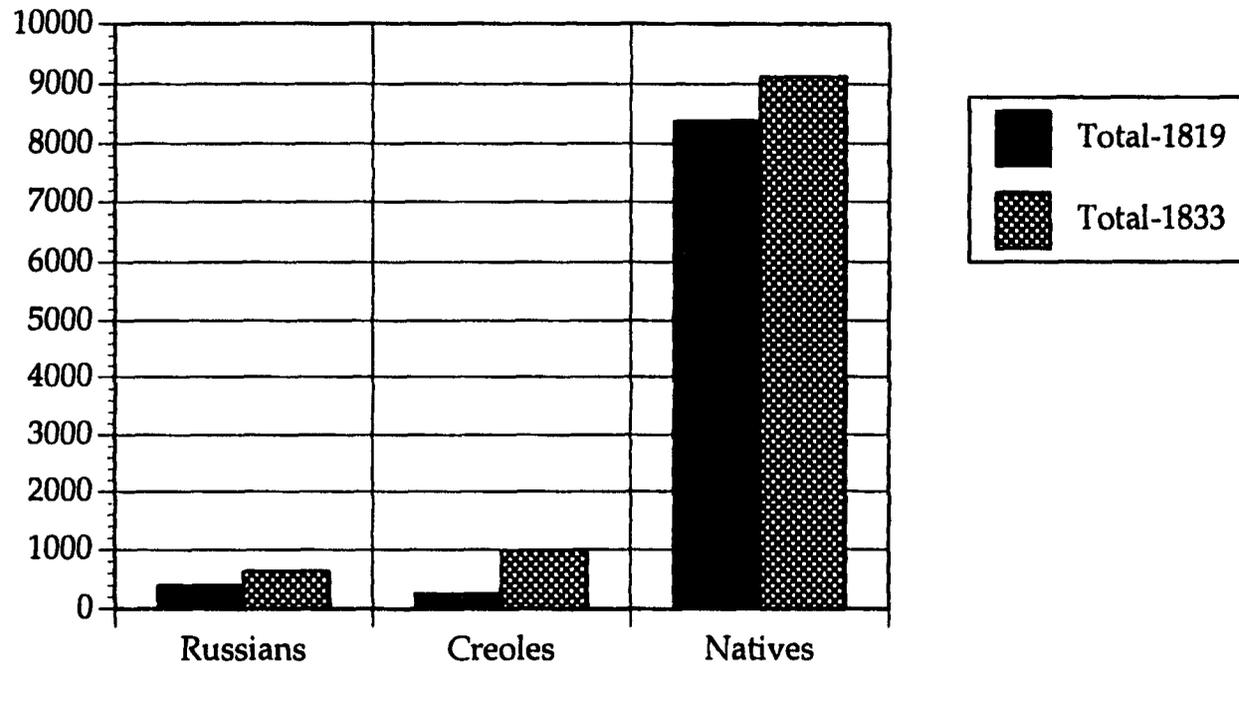


Figure 6.1 Bar Chart of Russian American Population in 1819 and 1833 by Ethnic Derivation

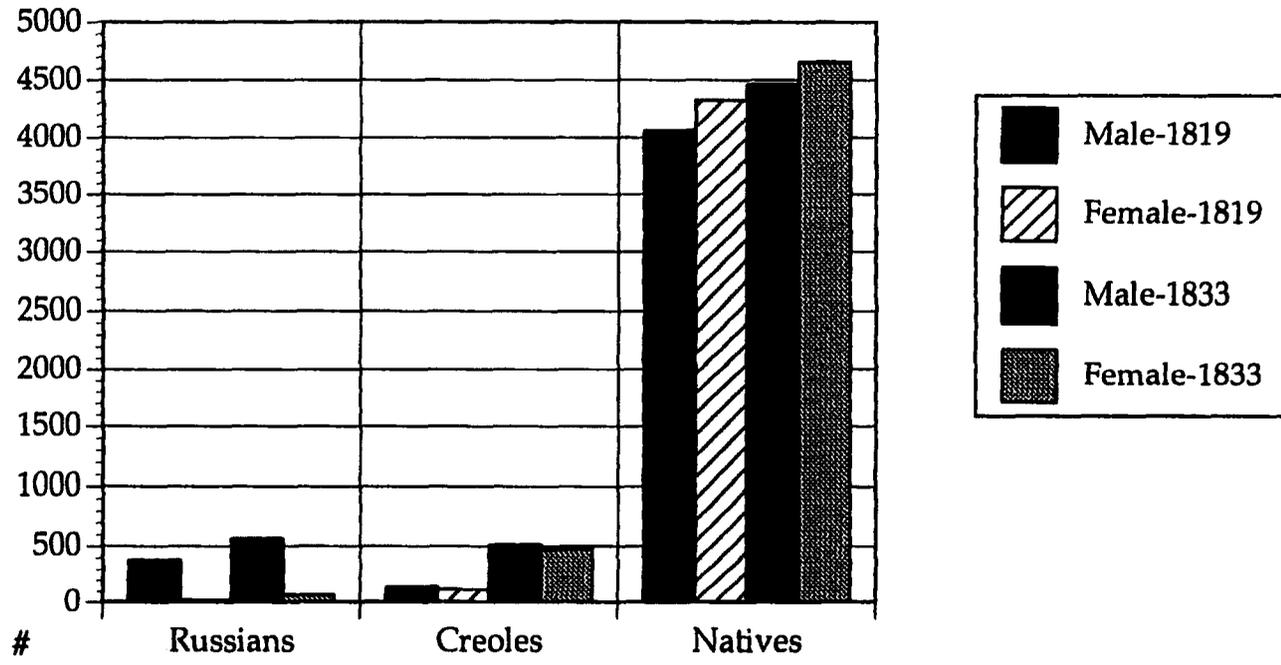


Figure 6.2 Bar Chart of Russian American Population in 1819 and 1833 by Ethnic Derivation and Gender

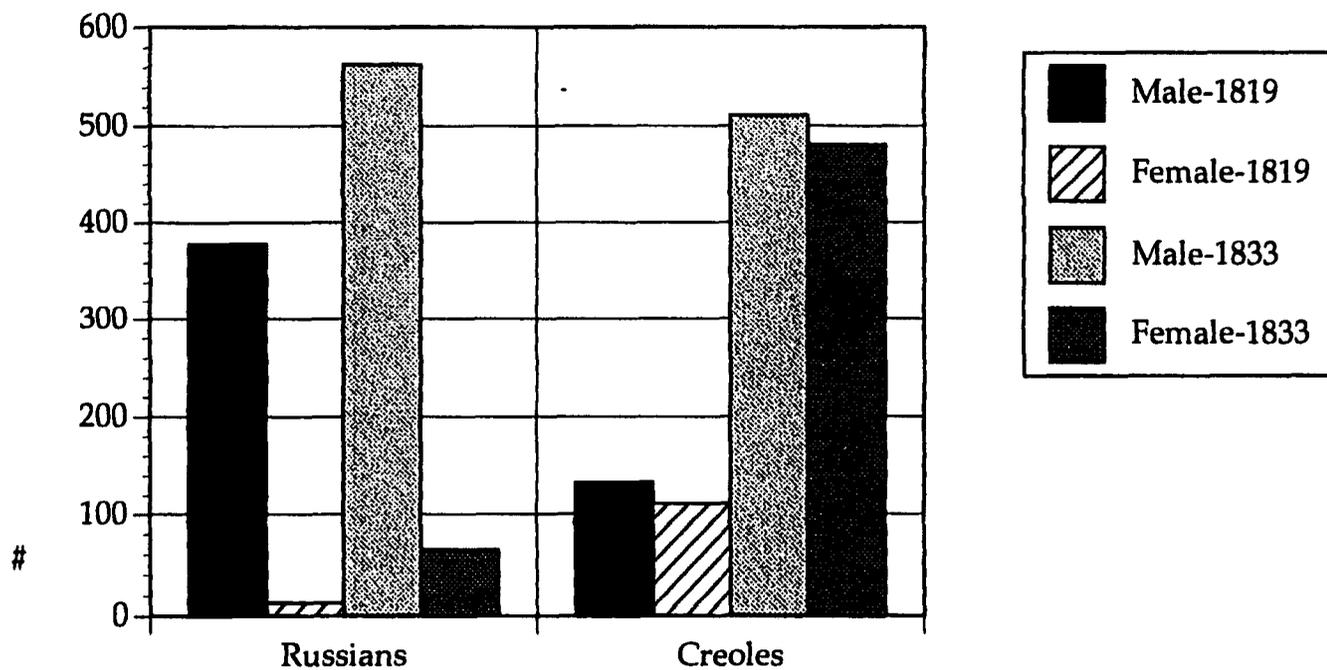


Figure 6.2 Bar Chart of Russian American Population in 1819 and 1833 by Ethnic Derivation and Gender (cont.)

The Russian naval visitors to Alaska, California and other areas of the Pacific have been described as being in general "well-educated, cultivated men as befitted representatives of the elite branch of their navy." They were trained naval officers, who also conducted scientific experiments and attended high level social functions wherever they stopped (Barratt 1988:ix). Their scientific and ethnographic observations provide some of our earliest information about this region of North America.

Throughout the entire period of the Russian American colonization in North America, the colonial population was a multi-ethnic one, that is one comprised of people from several different ethnic, tribal or national origins; and one that was social stratified by legally defined categories.

A. Russians: The number of ethnic Russian colonists in North America was never large compared to the overall size of the colonial population. It ranged from a low of 225 Russian men in 1799 to a high of 823 in 1839 (Fedorova 1975:8), and averaged about 550 men a year (Fedorova 1973:198). During the initial eastward expansion (1743-1799) into the Aleutian Islands and the northwest coast of Alaska, the greatest number of Russian men came from the peasant classes of northern Russia and Siberia (49%). Second in number and from the same geographic regions were townsmen including merchants and craftsmen. Only a few (5.9%) of the peasants came from the central and southern regions of Russia. When the Russians colonized Siberia during the 16th-18th centuries, initially the composition of the social groups moving from the Urals to the Pacific Ocean consisted of promyshlenniks (hunters and trappers), persons in civilian or military government service, and traders. On a regional basis, these were followed by

agricultural peasants who emigrated from European Russia to Western Siberia; compared to service men, descendants of Cossacks, and promyshlenniks in northeastern Siberia. The latter groups formed the basis of permanent settlement.

Beginning in 1799 with the charter of the Russian American Company and its monopoly on fur trading in North America, there were substantial changes in the geographic places of origin and the social composition of the Russian migrants. During the first twenty-five years, most of the laborers and employees were townsmen rather than the peasants who had constituted the majority in the prior period. The townsmen came from Siberian towns such as Irkutsk, Tobolsk, Tomsk, and Yeniseisk. The principal places of origin for seventy-five per cent of all peasants were the rural areas of the Siberian provinces of Irkutsk, Tobolsk and Tomsk. The remainder of the population came from the northern Russian provinces, in particular Vologda (Fedorova 1975:6). More detailed information can be found in two extensive studies of Russian American population in Alaska and California (Fedorova 1973; 1975).

The government recognized five social groups that came under the control of its colonial administration of Russian America. These were "contract employees, colonial citizens, Creoles, settled foreigners, and foreigners of other religious faiths [non-Orthodox] not fully dependent on the administration." Russians, Siberians, their wives and their children were eligible to become colonial citizens if they desired to settle in the Russian American colonies (Black 1990a:145). Captain P. N. Golovin (1979:13) described the Russians in colonial service in his 1862 report as being divided "according to the responsibilities assigned to them." Foreigners were found scattered throughout the Russian American settlements including Ross

which had American, English, and Finnish workers at the colonial outpost.

#### Number of Russian Men in Russian America

(after Fedorova 1973:151)

Year	Average	Date	Maximum
1799	—	1799	225
1805-1820	400	1818	400
1821-1827	549	1827	734
1830-1846	669	1839	823

Information about women in Russian America is more difficult to ascertain. Ethnic Russian women were always in the minority, even within the small Russian population. Russian women of this era had little mobility except for the wives of some government officials who accompanied their husbands. In 1819, the thirteen Russian women in the American colonies comprised only three per cent of the ethnic Russian population and were outnumbered by Russian men twenty-nine to one. In 1833, the ratio increased to ten per cent but included a total of only 64 women throughout Russian America; they were still outnumbered by Russian men, although now only by a multiplier of nine to one (Gibson 1987:102). A small number of colonists in Russian America were Yakuts. Fedorova (1975:12) defines Yakuts as "men from Siberia." Yakuts were usually distinguished separately in the written record but may also have been grouped with Russians. Yakuts, along with ethnic Russians were usually among the highest ranking persons in Russian America. Company correspondence in December 1818 orders the Ross office to accept all Yakuts onboard the brig Il'men when it arrives in California, use them for cattle keeping - a task for which they have proven

ability, and replace them on the ship with Aleuts or others at Ross (Pierce 1984:171). Two married Yakut men were sent to Kodiak in 1828 for the purpose of tending cattle. After Company reports indicated that the Yakuts were better than the Aleuts or Creoles at this task, more were sent to the colonies to serve as cattle herders (Gibson 1976a:109). Two Yakut families were reported to be settled on Atka in 1828 as cattle keepers and instructors of the local population in basic cattle-keeping skills (Black 1984:103). [The Yakuts on Kodiak and Atka in 1828 may be the same individuals]. In 1979, the 328,000 Yakuts were one of 93 nationality groups and comprised one-tenth of one percent of the population of what was then the Soviet Union (Lydolph 1984:8).

B. Creoles: The word "Creole" is derived from the Spanish term "criollo." It was originally used in the 16th century to describe persons of European descent who were born in the West Indies; and later, more generally, descendants of European settlers in the New World. After extensive research, it still has not been determined when the term was introduced into Russian America and by whom. The first appearance of the term in church records was in 1816, the first published account was by Golovnin in 1822. Golovnin defined Creoles as those born of Russian men and Aleut or other native women (Black 1990a:142, 143). The Creole status was extended to subsequent generations in the Second Charter granted to the Russian American Company in 1821 by Emperor Alexander I. A Creole was defined as "those born of European or Siberian and an American woman, or of a European or Siberian woman and an American, as well as their children" (Black 1990a:143-146). Fedorova (1975:14) defines the Creole as the "intermediate" class situated between the ethnic Russians and the various

native populations. Creoles were "those who were born of mixed marriages of Russians with Aleuts, Eskimos or Indians" (Fedorova 1975: 26). Creoles were originally thought of as the offspring of Russian men and native women due to the lack of unmarried Russian or Siberian women in the frontier during the early settlement of the American colonies (Black 1990a:147; Oleksa 1990:188). It was not profitable for the Company to send women from Russia to the colonies, and early Company policy advocated accustoming the native population to Russian lifeways through mixed marriages (Fedorova 1973:206). Many Creoles were illegitimate, their fathers already having wives in Russia and therefore, not legalizing the relationships in Russian America (Gibson 1987:102)

In practice, not all persons designated as Creole were of mixed ancestry. Some individuals of entirely native descent were designated as Creole because of their occupations or positions within the Company hierarchy. After 1821, Native Alaskans who became naturalized citizens by pledging allegiance to the tsar could be also considered Creoles (Oleksa 1990:185). And, others who were Creole by definition, were listed as Russian on the basis of the social position of their father (Black 1990a:152). Perhaps more importantly, being a Creole was "more a matter of the spirit, a state of mind, a question of self-identity" (Oleksa 1990:185).

By 1818 the small Russian population was being supplemented with members of the Creole class. Creoles were raised to a special status in Russian America. They were made Russian citizens or subjects; and became equal to the class of a townsman or burgher (*meshchane*) in Russia. They could advance on equal terms with ethnic Russians in government service and could obtain the rank of an officer. Financially, Creoles were placed in a

nontaxable category which also freed them from all duties and assessments (Black 1990a:143; Fedorova 1975:13).

The Creole population in the colonies increased yearly. There were 300 Creoles in Russian America in 1821, then 553 a year later in 1822 and by 1863 a total of 1989 (Fedorova 1975:13-14). The Creoles were "beginning to take a place in the running of the colonies as crewmen on vessels, employees in the fur warehouses, and as scribes and clerks in the offices (Pierce 1984:viii)." By 1843, Creoles outnumbered Russians two to one, the reverse had been true twenty-five years earlier in 1818 (Gibson 1987:103).

C. Native Alaskans. Russians and other contributors to the literary record frequently classified all Native Alaskans from the Aleutians, Kodiak Island and other coastal Alaskan communities as "Aleut." Many differing native peoples were grouped in historical and ethnographic accounts under this single term. These groups include the maritime cultures of the Aleut, Eskimo (Chugach, Koniag), Eyak and Tlingit. "Though each was unique in its own right, these cultures were strongly linked to one another by shared ideas and ways of life. This may be seen in numerous aspects of technology, economy and social organization, art, mythology, and ceremonial practices. These similarities imply a high degree of past contact and cross-cultural borrowing, a theory whose plausibility is enhanced by the seagoing mobility of South Alaskan groups" (Crowell 1988:130). Because of these similarities, historical accounts by the Russian American Company and foreign visitors to the colonies may not accurately identify or distinguish between the correct indigenous populations. Since the Company recognized and ranked them as a single group at Ross, I have chosen to follow the current protocol (Lightfoot,

et al. 1991:21) and refer to them as Native Alaskans except in those instances where a distinction is important to the report.

Aleut. The term "Aleut" has more than one meaning in the literature of anthropologists, historians and the Russian American Company. There are the traditional Aleuts who called themselves "Unangan" and originally inhabited the Near Islands. They are distinct from other Aleuts both linguistically and culturally. Today the term Aleut is a self-designated and preferred term which includes the Unangan, the Koniag or Kodiak Islanders, the Chugach, and Yupik-speakers of the eastern Alaskan Peninsula. "All of these groups came under intensive Russian influence in the 11th century, and in the last 200 years their history followed the same or very similar courses. Members of these groups were considered citizens of the Russian Empire with civil status equivalent to the free peasants in metropolitan Russia" (Black and Liapunova 1988:52,53). Aleuts now inhabit the 1300-mile-long Aleutian archipelago, extending nearly to Kamchatka from the Alaskan Peninsula.

Pacific Eskimo. These people, who today prefer to be called Aleut, were one of four distinct groups of Eskimos. Ethnographically, they occupied Kodiak Island, Prince William Sound, Cook Inlet and the south coast of the Alaska Peninsula. Their association with the Aleut is an historical one, related to the Russian colonial influences. The better known Pacific Eskimo groups are the Koniag of Kodiak Island and the Chugach of Prince William Sound (Fitzhugh 1988:50)

Tlingit: The Tlingit are also known in Company records as the Kolosh. Although they played an important role in Russian American history in Alaska, there is little evidence that the Tlingit were ever a factor at Ross.

Native Alaskan Women. In addition to providing companionship and children to Russian, Creole, foreign, and indigenous men, women were also employed by the Russian American Company. They worked as translators, receiving clothing and subsistence allowances on account for their services. Jackson (1994:47) cites a case from 1818 in which the Tlingit language interpreter, Domna, asks to be supplied "as usual" with various items including clothing. As she had not previously been assigned a subsistence allowance, the Company agreed to give her, beginning on January 1, 1818, 60 rubles a year of clothing to be issued on account. They also sewed or mended clothing and provided domestic services throughout the colonies. Although less is known in general about Native Alaskans than the Russians and some of the Creoles, women in particular are not well documented in the historical record of this period.

D. California Indians: Native Californians occupied the lowest rank group in the hierarchical social structure at Ross. The relationship between the Russians and the California Indians (Kashaya Pomo of the Ross Colony and Coast Miwok of Bodega Bay) has often been described as "exemplary," especially when compared to the treatment of these and other Native Californians by the Spanish and Americans (Farris 1989:488). While Farris takes some exception with this "benign reality," he does comment that there were some notable differences between the California colonization and earlier efforts in Alaska: (1) skilled Aleut hunters came with the Russians from Alaska, alleviating the initial requirement to press local Pomo and Miwok

into service of the Company; (2) the Californians were less warlike than the Alaskan Tlingits, and welcomed an ally against the Spanish northward encroachment; and (3) the Indians were allowed to remain in their local villages rather than being forced to settle at Ross, with the exception of Pomo and Miwok women who married Russians, Creoles, or Native Alaskan settlers (Farris 1989:488-489). Company correspondence documents Russian concern over the Spanish treatment ("mankind must recoil in horror") of the Californian Indians whom they describe as being easily overpowered and conquered by the Spanish (Pierce 1984:130)

E. Sandwich Islanders: The first Russian visitors to Hawaii arrived in 1804. From 1815-1817, the Russian American Company briefly occupied and attempted to annex the Hawaiian Islands, the hub of commercial shipping traffic in the Pacific. The plan was to build a Russian fort on each of the islands (Pierce 1976b:12). Although this venture was a failure, In 1818, sixty-four persons employed by the Russian American Company remained on the Hawaiian Islands. These included 24 Russians and Creoles males and 40 Aleuts, three of whom were women (Khlebnikov 1976:16). No report is given of the number of Sandwich Islanders in the employ of the Company, however several Hawaiians ended up at least briefly at the Ross Colony. Native Hawaiians were never a significant part of the Russian American population.

F. Children of the Colonies. Considerable discussion regarding the status of children appears in the literary record. Company correspondence in 1818 suggests that "children born here in America, it seems, ought to be equal

to children of Russians born abroad” and should be registered in the census (Pierce 1984:44).

### III. The Ross Colony Inhabitants.

Current work by the University of California Berkeley and the California Department of Parks and Recreation at the Fort Ross Native Alaskan village site attempts to examine the acculturation process of native peoples in sustained contact with European-American businessmen and to “elucidate the diverse range of native responses to different kinds of European colonialism” (Lightfoot 1990). Russian society in the early 19th century was highly stratified. At Ross, Farris and Lightfoot have defined the habitation area as being comprised in the following manner: inside the stockade were the elite Russians; the Russian village was situated to the west and inhabited by the non-elite Russians and Creoles; while the Native Alaskans (Aleuts and Koniag Islanders) occupied the terrace south of the fort. Native Californians (the Kashaya Pomo) were found to the north of the fort.

Little was known about the women who lived in Ross colony, prior to the cemetery investigation and the studies cited above. Some inferences about marriage patterns and ethnic origins were made from previous works by Fedorova and documents pertaining to Alaskan settlements. Translations of materials directly related to research at the Ross cemetery as well as contemporaneous but coincidental recent translations shed new light on the status of women in the settlement: Native Californians, Native Alaskans and Creoles. It can be assumed that this is also reflected in the treatment of women in the cemetery.

A. Population Estimates and Census Information. The study of human population is one of the more interesting fields in both geography (Jones 1981; Newman and Matzke 1984) and archaeology (Hassan 1981). The core of population geography consists of three demographic variables: fertility, mortality and migration, of which "death is the most certain demographic event" (Newman and Matzke 1984:5,10). From these variables, which are impacted by age, sex, and marital characteristics, population change and distribution are derived (Newman and Matzke 1984:5). Archaeologists also utilize these same population variables, frequently in combination with ecological models to interpret causes and processes of cultural change and adaptation (Hassan 1981:1-5).

Interpretation of the population characteristics, in both life and death, at the Ross Colony relies heavily on the integration of archival and archaeological data. Archival evidence is pertinent to establishing fertility, mortality and migration for Russian America in general and the Ross colony in particular. Archaeological evidence will be used to corroborate, enhance or question the archival record.

The informal and formal census information for the population of the Ross Colony is difficult, at best, to use. It is hard to compare consecutive years or groups of years because each reporter collected and tabulated different information. Some lists contain specific names, ages, ethnic affiliations, and family relationships; while other lists are by broadly defined ethnic group notation, i.e. "Native Alaskan" and perhaps by gender within the ethnic group, but this is not always the case. There are also a number of years for which no population data of any type are surviving in the archives.

Preparation of annual census reports was required of both the colonial managers and the church through its confessional records. Both the Company and the Church were required to maintain death records. Several censuses appear to have been conducted in the colonies prior to the extant registers of Kuskov discussed below. Company correspondence from 1818 notes the receipt of the 1815 and 1817 census which were sent to Okhotsk and included Ross (Pierce 1984:43). The correspondence also mentions a "listing of Russians but not of Creoles and Aleuts" that had been received from Ross and sent on to the Main Office (St. Petersburg, Russia). The Company requested, twice in January 1818 that a new census of all inhabitants under the Ross jurisdiction, and a list of "children of Russians and Aleuts eligible by age for education" so that a school could be organized. A similar request was made of Unalaska (Pierce 1984:13,18). Company correspondence of March 1818 refers to the Imperial Manifesto of 1814 requiring that a census be conducted of the Russian promyshlennik but "not to register the children born to the Russians by American women in the islands, as the authorities have not yet issued a directive as to the basis on which such children are to be registered." In April 1818, the baidarshchiks (head of a work crew of hunters) were ordered to submit monthly reports to the Company on the number of births and deaths. Also in April 1818 the Main Office references a list with the names of the Aleuts from Ross that had been prepared and orders Baranov in Sitka to send the records of deceased prikashchiks [administrators] in the colonies to Okhotsk (Pierce 1984:43, 80, 83). Unfortunately, most of these including the aforementioned have not been located for the Ross Colony and likely no longer exist.

To obtain population figures for Ross from 1812-1841 I had to rely on reports of visitors and Company officials to Ross and well as two primary sets of documents which give detailed population information - the Kuskov registers of 1820 and 1821, and the Veniaminov confessional records of 1836 and 1838.

B. Population Estimates by Visitors. Visitors to Ross frequently gave population estimates in their travel accounts or official reports. The accuracy of many of these cannot be determined as the manner in which the count was conducted is not referenced. It is unknown whether the enumerations were received from company officials or employees at Ross; were made by educated (or not so educated) guesses; or were the result of physically counting the number of persons present at the colony for a given time. Therefore, the numbers themselves are questionable. There is uncertainty in using these reports with regard to the accuracy of the numbers, the ethnic and gender composition of the colony, and the tabulation of children. Visitors might have had difficulty distinguishing between Creoles and the various Native Alaskan or California Indian groups.

The first occupation of the Ross Colony in 1812-1814 is said to have included twenty-five Russians and eighty to one hundred-twenty Aleut hunters (Essig 1991:6; Khlebnikov 1976:107). The number of Aleuts cannot be determined since the report simply says 40 baidarkas of Aleuts. A baidarka seats either two or three persons, the three-person baidarka was normally used for transport. Among the earliest foreign visitors to the new Ross colony was Peter Corney who visited Bodega and Ross in 1814 and 1817 in the North West Company vessel Columbia. He reported a population of 500 Russians and Kodiaks (1896:82). Khlebnikov's 1821 report states that there

were "up to 25 Russians and 100 Kad'iak Aleuts" living at the Ross settlement under the management of Ivan Kuskov, along with one Russian and "several" Aleuts at the artel on the Farallon Islands (Fedorova 1973:203; Gibson 1976b:186). It is not clear whether the Farallon inhabitants are part of the overall count for the colony or are in addition to it. One year earlier, Khlebnikov stated that one Russian and ten Aleuts were sent from the Ross Colony to the Farallon Islands to hunt for sea lions and fur seals (Shur 1990a:59).

The French naval officer, Auguste Bernard du Hautcilly (1946:11; also known as Duhaut-Cilly) visited Ross in 1828 and gave the population as sixty Russians, eighty Kodiaks, and as many [80?] indigenous Indians. Bernard du Hautcilly also remarks on the relationship between ethnic groups, saying that Shelekhov [Pavel Ivanovich Shelekhov, manager of the Ross office from 1825-1830], like many of the Russians, is a bachelor and "has no woman in his house." He further states that "there are then only the women of the Kodiaks and of the Indians in the settlement; but whatever be the relations which may be formed between these women and the Russians, the stranger, to whom they are objects of disgust, considers this little population as no less deprived of a sex whose mere presence makes life bearable." He attributed his own "sombre and melancholy thoughts" to what he says is a society that is "incomplete" (Bernard du Hautcilly 1946:13).

When Khlebnikov returned to Ross in 1829, a year after the visit of Bernard du Hautcilly, he reported 50 Russian men, 38 Aleuts, and an unidentified number of California Indians at the settlement. The Potechine visit to Ross in 1833 reported a total population of 643 [sic] which included 293

Russian, Creole, Aleut and California Indian workers plus an additional 150 California Indians (Haase 1952:54). Sir Edward Belcher, traveling around the world on Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur visited Bodega in 1839. He did not visit Ross himself but relied on information from a friend who had visited the settlement. Belcher said that in 1836, three years prior to his being in the area, the population "amounted to three hundred" (Belcher 1846:315; Pierce and Winslow 1969:58). In July 1840, Voznesenskii visited two of the Russian farms. He found three Russians, two Creoles, and two Indians at the Chernykh ranch; and twelve Russians, three Creoles, and eighteen Indians at the Kostromitinov ranch (Alekseev 1987:15). I have expanded on the Fort Ross population table prepared by Haase (1952) to include some additional sources (Table 6.3).

C. The Kuskov Census 1820 and 1821. The census information recorded by the founder and first manager of the Ross Colony, Ivan Kuskov, provides the earliest existing tabulation of the Ross population by name, gender, ethnicity, origin and familial relationships. He did not record the ages of any of the colonists. Kuskov prepared two lists which are known to have survived. These were transcribed and typed (in Russian) from the original handwritten documents and provided for me to use in my research by Alexei Istomin. These documents are being translated and analyzed by Alexei and James Gibson, and cannot be reproduced prior to their publication. For purposes of this investigation, I relied on my own translation which allowed me to compare these data between the two years and against other information I obtained including the Veniaminov confessional records.

Company correspondence from 1818 states that Kuskov made other lists (Pierce 1984) but they have not been located in the archives and may not

Table 6.3 Population Figures at Ross Between 1811 and 1841

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>Creoles</u>	<u>Alaskan</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Children</u>
Golovin	1811	--	25	--	--	80-120	--	--
Khlebnikov	1812- 1821	--	25	--	100	--	--	--
Corney	1817	500	x	--	x	--	--	--
Tchitchinov	1818	--	--	--	12	32	--	--
Tikhmenev	1819	--	27	--	--	--	--	--
Kuskov	1820	335	43	17	139	56	5	75
Kuskov	1821	236	29	12	93	38	3	61
Bancroft	1821- 1830	-- --	25 to 50	50 --	150 to 120	-- 400	-- --	-- --
Kotzebue	1824	130	x	--	x	--	--	--
Litke	1825	--	--	--	100	--	--	--

Table 6.3 Population Figures at Ross Between 1811 and 1841 (cont.)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>Creoles</u>	<u>Alaskan</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Children</u>
Duhaut-Cilly	1828	--	60	--	80	80	--	--
Khlebnikov	1829?	--	50	--	--	--	--	--
Vallejo	1833	300	70	--	--	--	--	--
Potechine	1833	293	50	88	83	72	--	--
Wrangell	1833	253	51	77	? 125	?	--	--
Wrangell	1834	163	--	--	--	--	--	--
Belcher	1836	300	--	--	50	60	--	--
Veniaminov	1836	260	120	51	50	39	--	--
	1836	260	50	28	29	40	3	110
Veniaminov	1838	263	51	29	28	29	2	124
De Mofras	1840	700	300	x	x	x	--	--

Table 6.3 Population Figures at Ross Between 1811 and 1841 (cont.)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Russians</u>	<u>Creoles</u>	<u>Alaskan</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Children</u>
<u>Farallons</u>								
Corney	1817	30	x	--	x	--	--	--
Hatch	>1818	1	--	6-10	--	--	--	--
<u>Chernykh</u>								
Voznesenskii	1840	7	3	2	--	2	--	--
<u>Kostromitinov</u>								
Voznesenskii	1840	35	12	3	2	18	--	--

(--) not mentioned; (x) = mentioned by not counted  
 (Table after Haase 1952, with additions and corrections)

be extant. The first of the two known lists is the "Register of people who live in the settlement and fortress of Ross: Russians, Kadiak and other tribes, of masculine and feminine sex" (June 1820-September 1820). The second list is a "List of people attached to the settlement of Ross and on the Farallons: Russians, Kadiaks, Chugach and Indians of both Sexes" dated October 1821.

The total population of Ross was 335 persons in 1820 including 179 adult males, 81 adult females, and 75 children (Kuskov 1820). There were 236 persons in 1821 - 121 adult males, 54 adult females, and 61 children (Kuskov 1821). The adult male population of the Ross colony had the following composition: Russians, Yakuts from Siberia, Creoles, Native Alaskans (Chugach, Kodiaks, Tanaina, Tlingit), California Indians (Coast Miwok, Kashaya Pomo, Southern Pomo) and Sandwich Islanders (Hawaiians). Ethnic composition of the female population was similar with some exceptions. There were no Russian, Yakut or Hawaiian women documented by Kuskov. Groups represented by Native Alaskan women were different in that there were Aleuts from the Fox Islands (not reported for men) but no Tanaina from Kenai. The ethnic origin of one woman could not be determined (see Table 6.4).

The origins (in Russia) for the Russian men prior to their serving in Alaska were not well documented by Kuskov. The few locations cited by him were Irkutsk (Vasilii Grudinin), Pskov (Il'ia Andreev), Tobol'sk (Filip Gorbunov, Vasilii Vasil'ev, Nikifor Zyrianov), Tomsk (Vasilii Permitin, Pavel Stepanov), To'tma (Ivan Kuskov), Ustinov (Feodor Svin'in), and Yeniseisk (Efim Munin). Native Alaskan men were listed as coming from twenty-seven different geographic localities including the Alaska Peninsula,

Table 6.4: Population of Ross in 1820 and 1821

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	1820			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Russians	38	(16%)	38	0
Yakuts	5	(02%)	5	0
Creoles	17	(07%)	8	9
Native Alaskans	121	(50%)	116	5
Californians	56	(23%)	8	48
Hawaiians	4	(02%)	4	0
subtotal	241	(100%)	179	62
Children	75	(22%)	38	37
Total	335		217	118

Table 6.4: Population of Ross in 1820 and 1821 (cont).

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	1821			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Russians	24	(14%)	24	0
Yakuts	5	(03%)	5	0
Creoles	12	(07%)	6	6
Native Alaskans	93	(53%)	79	14
Californians	38	(22%)	4	34
Hawaiians	3	(01%)	3	0
subtotal	175	(100%)	121	54
Children	61	(22%)	29	32
Total	236		150	86

the Fox Islands, Kodiak Island, the Kenai peninsula and numerous specifically named villages or settlements (Fedorova 1975:12; Kuskov 1820, 1820). In the early 1800s Kodiak Islanders and other Native Alaskans often used their native names as surnames and adopted Christian names as first names (Pierce 1984:172). Their names appear in different orders depending on the chronicler, i.e. Aletula Boris or Boris Aletula. This makes it difficult to keep track of specific individuals unless the village name is also given.

D. Veniaminov Confessional Records 1836 and 1838. The Orthodox priest Alexei Sokolov and subdeacon Nikolai Chechenev visited Ross in 1832 (RACC 9/352:268v, 9/372:276v). The Company correspondence mentions that this was the first visit by a priest to perform church rites at Ross (RACC 9/529:417v). His book of vital statistics for the visit to Ross mentions chrizmatations of the following: 12 children of Russian fathers, 2 children of Yakuts, 10 children of Creoles and Aleuts, 16 illegitimate children of Kodiak Aleuts born to Indian women, and 39 Indian adults and children (ARCA 281/264-267). Father Sokolov was replaced in 1833 by the Orthodox priest Ioann Veniaminov. Sokolov was described by Chief Manager of the Company Wrangell as "a man of extreme negligence and remarkable unconcern" who for 15 years had "done nothing" including teaching his own children to read (Pierce 1990a:476). Whether these accusations are true is unknown, however, they could provide at least one explanation for the absence of Ross vital statistics in the files of the Sitka parish for other years. Chechenev gave a brief summary of the population as having 255 members of the church including 216 Russian, Creoles, and Aleuts; and 39 baptized Indians (UAF nd:II-6).

Father Veniaminov was authorized by the Company to travel to Ross aboard the sloop Sitkha in order to perform church rites (RACC 13/376:254). He visited Ross in July and August of 1836. He compiled a confessional list for those who were at Ross during his visit. Everyone on the list over the age of seven years participated in confession and communion unless noted otherwise. The reasons given for not participating were "laziness" (the Alaskan Mikhail Aliazha of Karlutskoe village, age 63), "impossibility" (the Russian Dementii Kavanskii, age 36; and the former Irkutsk settler Lavrentii Godlevskii, age 71), and "Lutheran" (the Finn, Karl Flink age 39). [In 1836, Godlevskii was expelled from Ross for being a "lazy and useless person." During the five years he lived at Ross he "caused the manager there much unpleasantness, and pretended to attempt suicide" (RACC 14/201:231v)]. The second confessional list prepared by Veniaminov was annotated that no one participated "due to impossibility" since a priest did not visit Ross. Although it was habitual for priest to often recopy the list from a prior year, Veniaminov did adjust the 1838 list for departures, births, and new arrivals from Alaska. The Chief Manager of the Company, Kupreianov, visited Ross in the summer of 1838 but no census from this visit has been located. He does mention that all of the Aleuts at Ross had asked for and been granted permission to leave for Kodiak. Only three baidarkas of Aleuts were being left at Ross (6-9 persons?) and Indians would assume the work now assigned to Aleuts (RACC 16/440:249).

The total population of Ross as recorded by Veniaminov in 1836 was 260 persons including 89 adult males, 61 adult females, and 110 children. Veniaminov also included the age of each person on the list. Anyone under

the age of 20 was recorded as a child with the exception of six married women who were between the ages of 15-19. They were listed with the adults. In 1837, Veniaminov remarked in the confessional files that 24 people had departed Ross and the population was now 236. The population of Ross in 1838 was 263 individuals including 89 adult males, 50 adult females, and 124 children (Veniaminov's register shows a total of 262 including 123 children. However, in reviewing his ledger entries, I noticed he only counted Dii and Vasili, the two month old twins of the Creole couple Ioann and Elena Larionov, as one person instead of two even though he notes that they are twins). See Tables 6.5 and 6.6 for the population of Ross in 1836 and 1838.

E. Comparison of the 1820/1821 and 1836/1838 populations. Table 6.7 and Figures 6.3-6.4 show a comparison of the Ross populations for the two census groups. As with all population counts made by the Russian American Company or the Orthodox Church during this era, the members of a colony were grouped in accordance with their social rank. Women and children were reported in relationship to a male family member, usually a legal husband or common-law husband, a father, or a male guardian. In both the Kuskov and Veniaminov lists the adult males are sorted in the following hierarchy: Russian officials; Russians, Yakuts and foreigners; Creoles; Native Alaskans along with village name (Kuskov attempted to distinguish between the various Alaskan groups such as Koniag, Chugach, and Aleut while Veniaminov categorized all Native Alaskans as Aleuts even though they are not all technically Aleutian peoples); and California Indians. Widows or orphans are identified individually when there is no husband or father to group them with.

Table 6.5: Population of Ross in 1836 and 1838

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	1836			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Russians	43	(29%)	43	0
Yakuts	7	(05%)	5	2
Foreign	3	(02%)	3	0
Creoles	28	(18%)	10	18
Native Alaskan	29	(19%)	24	5
California Indian	40	(27%)	4	36
subtotal	150	(100%)	89	61
Children	110	(42%)	65	45
Total	260		154	106

Table 6.5: Population of Ross in 1836 and 1838 (cont.)

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	1838			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Russians	48	(35%)	47	1
Yakuts	3	(02%)	2	1
Foreign	2	(01%)	2	0
Creoles	29	(21%)	12	17
Native Alaskan	28	(20%)	22	6
California Indian	29	(21%)	4	25
subtotal	139	(100%)	89	50
Children	124	(47%)	77	47
Total	263		166	97

Table 6.6 Population of Ross by Age Group 1820, 1821, 1836, 1838

## I. Children from the Years 1820, 1820 (Kuskov)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1820	75	38	37
1821	61	29	32

## II. Children from the Year 1836 (Veniaminov)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
0-4	49	26	23
5-9	26	17	9
10-14	24	14	10
15-19	11	8	3
Total	110	65	45

## III. Children from the Year 1838 (Veniaminov)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
0-4	61	34	28
5-9	30	24	6
10-14	15	6	9
15-19	17	13	4
Total	124	77	47

Table 6.6 Population of Ross by Age Group 1820, 1821, 1836, 1838 (cont.)

## IV. Adults from the Year 1836 (Veniaminov)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
15-19*	6	0	6
20-24	29	10	19
24-34	38	19	19
35-44	48	31	17
45-54	18	18	0
55-64	8	8	0
65-74	3	3	0
Total	150	89	61

## V. Adults from the Year 1838 (Veniaminov)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
15-19*	6	0	6
20-24	22	9	13
24-34	43	24	19
35-44	41	30	11
45-54	19	18	1
55-64	6	6	0
65-74	2	2	0
Total	139	89	50

\* married women under the age of 20 not included as children

Table 6.7 Comparison of Ross Population by Year

## A. Males

<u>Group</u>	<u>1820</u>	<u>1821</u>	<u>1836</u>	<u>1838</u>
Russian	38	24	43	47
Yakuts	5	5	5	2
English	0	0	1	0
Finns	0	0	2	2
Creoles	8	6	10	12
Hawaiian	4	3	0	0
Alaskan	116	79	24	22
Indians	8	4	4	4
subtotal	179	121	89	89
Children	38	29	65	77
Total	217	150	154	166

## B. Females

<u>Group</u>	<u>1820</u>	<u>1821</u>	<u>1836</u>	<u>1838</u>
Russian	0	0	0	1
Yakuts	0	0	2	1
Creoles	9	6	18	17
Alaskan	23	14	5	6
Indians	48	34	36	25
Unknown	1	0	0	0
subtotal	81	54	61	50
Children	37	32	45	47
Total	118	86	106	97

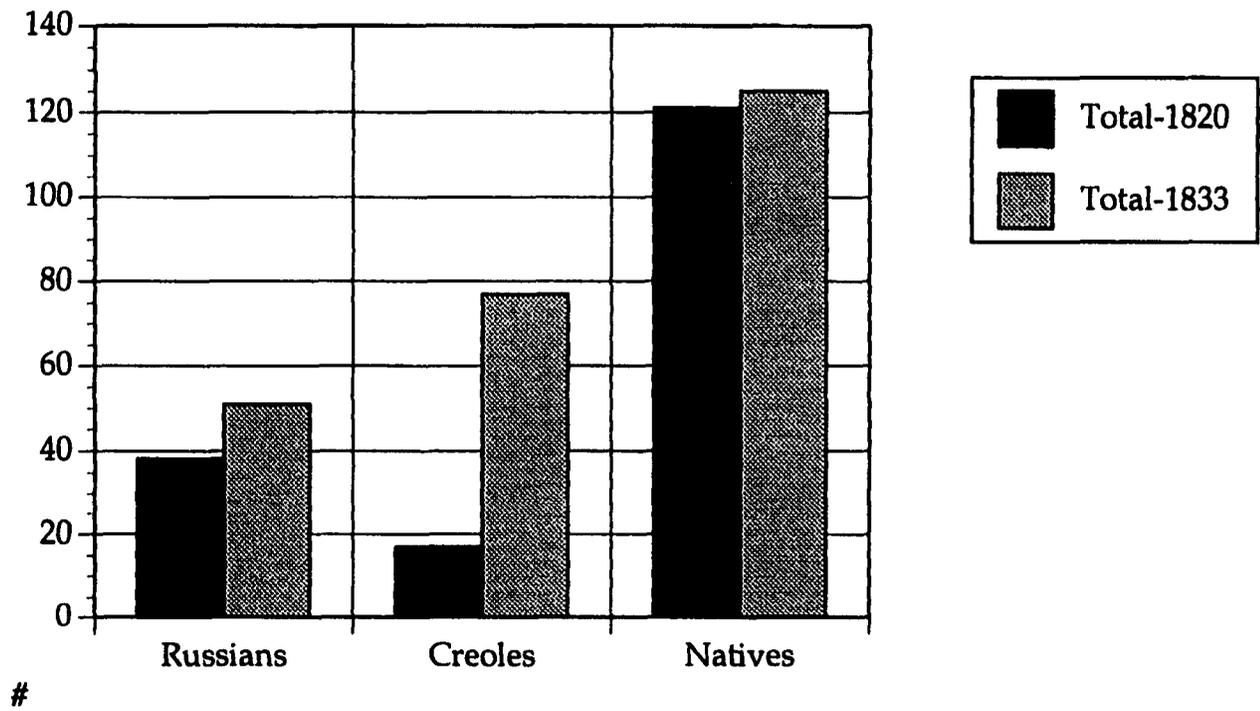


Figure 6.3 Bar Chart of Ross Population in 1820 and 1833 by Ethnic Derivation

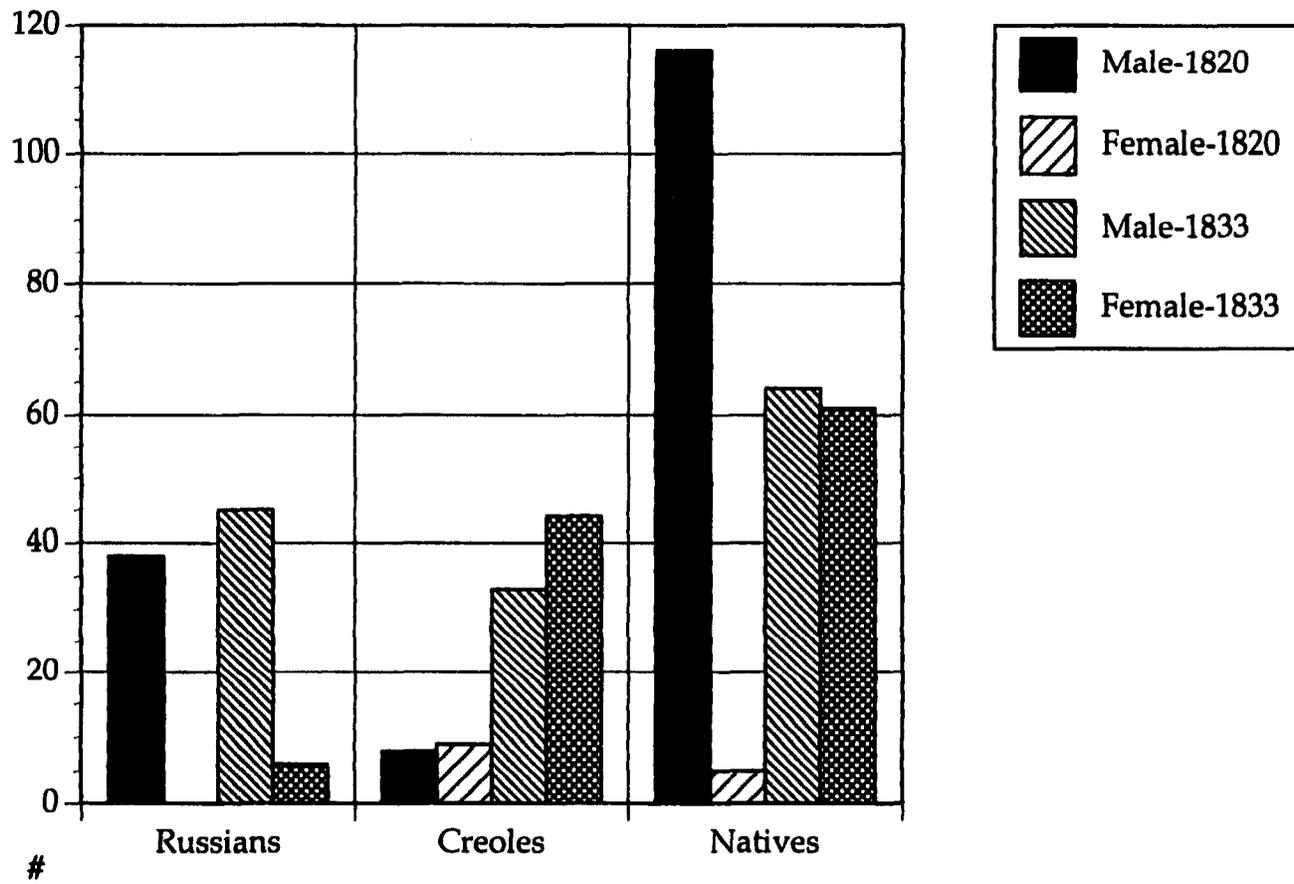


Figure 6.4 Bar Chart of Ross Population in 1820 and 1833 by Ethnic Derivation and Gender

Village names are provided for all but two of the Native Alaskans in each of the censuses, and it may be possible to refine the information at another time to make more accurate distinctions between the various groups. Of the 28 Native Alaskan village names listed in either the Kuskov or Veniaminov censuses, 12 are unique to the earlier 1820-1821 Kuskov lists, one is unique to the later Veniaminov confessional records, and 15 villages are found in both censuses (11 of these 15 have the same individuals counted by both Kuskov and Veniaminov). Eighteen percent of the Native Alaskans were from the village of Kiliudinskoe in 1820, 1821; in the 1836, 1838 confessional records 26% were from this same settlement. Five of the 22 males from this village were present during both censuses and lived there some 15-18 years (Table 6.8).

**Baptized California Indians:** This group was comprised almost exclusively of women and children in the records from both the 1820s and 1830s. Of the adults listed, only a fraction were men. Kuskov showed four areas of ethnic origin for the Native Californians - Bodegan (Coast Miwok), from the vicinity of Ross (Kashaya Pomo), from the Slavianka River area (Southern or Kashaya Pomo), and from the Cape Barro De Arena [Point Arena] (Central Pomo). Veniaminov made no distinctions, they were all categorized as baptized California Indians. It could be by this time the cultural differences between the various groups were less distinct or simply for whatever reason, Veniaminov, as a brief visitor to Ross, did not distinguish between the groups.

With regard to age, Kuskov noted only whether a person was an adult or a minor child. Father Veniaminov listed the age of every person

Table 6.8 Men at Ross: Places of Origin

SETTLEMENT	<u>Period of Occupation</u>		BOTH	TOTAL
	1820-821	1836-1838		
Arkhangel'sk	0	2	0	2
Gzhatsk	0	1	0	1
Iaroslavl'	0	1	0	1
Irkutsk	1	1	0	2
Kamchatka	0	1	0	1
Kronstadt	0	1	0	1
Moscow	0	1	0	1
Narym	0	1	0	1
Novotorskoi	0	1	0	1
Olonets	1	1	0	2
Pskov	0	0	1	1
Ryl'sk	0	0	1	1
St Petersburg	0	2	0	2
Shadrinsk	0	1	0	1
Tobol'sk	2	9	10	21
Tomsk	1	4	2	7
Tot'ma	1	0	0	1
Tver	0	1	0	1
Ustinov	0	0	1	1
Velikii-Ustiug	0	0	1	1
Vitebsk	0	1	0	1
Vologda	0	4	0	4
Yeniseisk	0	0	1	1
Yakuts	4	4	3	11
Unspecified	37	11	1	49
Total	47	48	21	116

Table 6.8 Men at Ross: Places of Origin (cont.)

<u>VILLAGE</u>	Native Alaskans			
	<u>Period of Occupation</u>		<u>BOTH</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>1820-1821</u>	<u>1836-1838</u>		
Aiaktalitskoe	10	0	0	10
Alitatskoe	2	0	0	2
An'iakhtalitskoe	0	0	1	1
Anikinskoe	1	1	1	3
Chinikatskoe	11	0	0	11
Ezabkinskoe	5	0	1	6
Fox Islands	1	0	0	1
Igatskoe	7	0	1	8
Kakitliutskoe	0	0	1	1
Kaknaiutskoe	1	0	0	1
Karlutskoe	0	2	0	2
Kashkatskoe	2	1	0	3
Katmaiskoe	4	1	0	5
Keiavitskoe	3	0	0	3
Kenai	1	0	0	1
Kiliudinskoe	16	1	5	22
Kiniatskoe	1	0	0	1
Kolpakovskoe	5	0	2	7
Mysovskoe	9	0	0	9
Paiskoe	4	1	0	5
Prokliatovskoe	2	0	1	3
Razbitovskoe	3	0	1	4
Rubtsovskoe	0	1	1	2
Shashkatskoe	3	1	1	5
Ugatatskoe	5	1	0	6
Uginatskii	1	0	0	1
Uhitskoe	1	0	0	1
Uyatskoe	2	0	0	2
Unspecified village	2	2	0	4
Total	102	12	16	130

contained in his records. The age ranges by gender and ethnic group are shown in detail in Figures 6.5 - 6.6 and Table 6.4 (p. 187-188). Men's ages were between twenty to seventy-one years with an average age of 39.5 years in 1836 and 38 years in 1838. Women's ages were from sixteen (married females not listed as children) to 45 years. No women older than 45 were reported while in both 1836 and 1838 19% of the male population was 45 years or older. The average woman's age was 29 years. In 1836, men comprised 59% of the total adult population, in 1838 that number was 64%. Forty percent of the adult male population was married while at Ross between 1836-1838; all of the adult women reported were married with the exception of four widows.

Looking at each ethnic group, there are some notable differences. With regard to age, Russian males had the greatest range in age (21-71) with the highest average age of 39.5 years (Figure 6.7); Yakuts and foreigners were all in their 30s or early 40s with average ages of 35.4 and 37.5 years respectively. Creole men ranged in age from 20-50 for an average of 30.5 years (Figure 6.8), while Aleuts from 20-63 and had an average of 25 years (Figure 6.9). Baptized California Indian males ranged from 21-33 for an average of 29 years (Figure 6.10). Since I have not found a contemporary census of non-baptized California Indians from this location, it is not possible to compare the two groups of California Indian populations.

Population ranges in age and average ages are certainly significant when it comes to the likelihood of death (i.e. large numbers of older individuals) but may also reflect those already absent from the group as the result of death. These can also be representative of purposeful selection made by the Russian American Company when sending individuals to the Ross

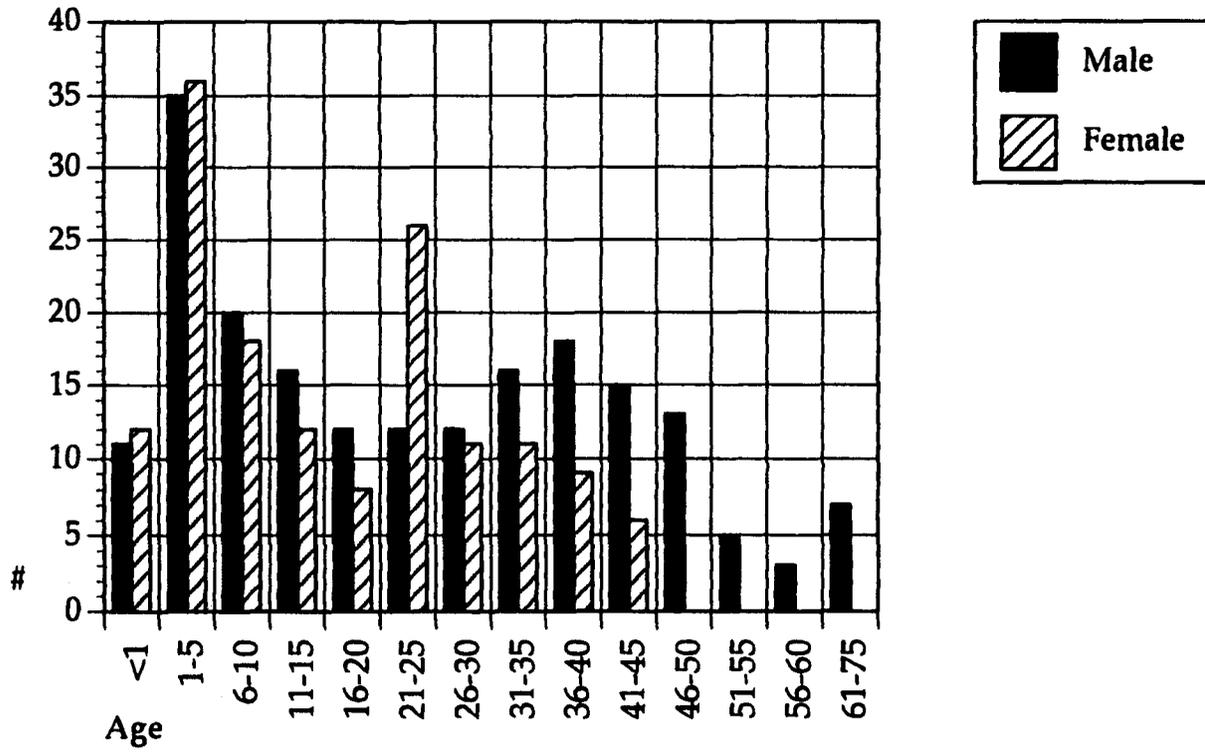


Figure 6.5 Bar Chart of Ross Population in 1836 by Age and Gender

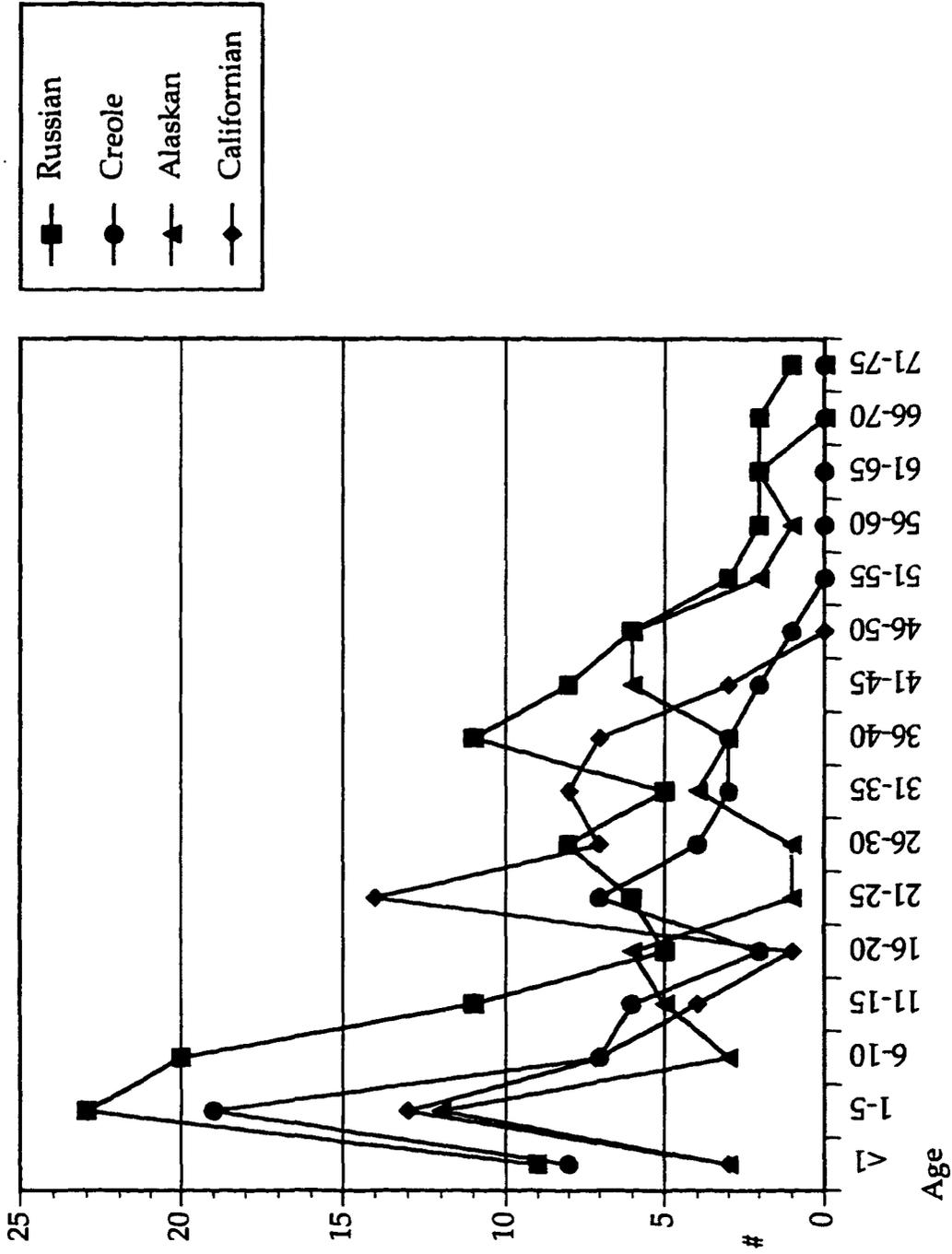


Figure 6.6 Diagram of Ross Population in 1836 by Ethnic Derivation and Age

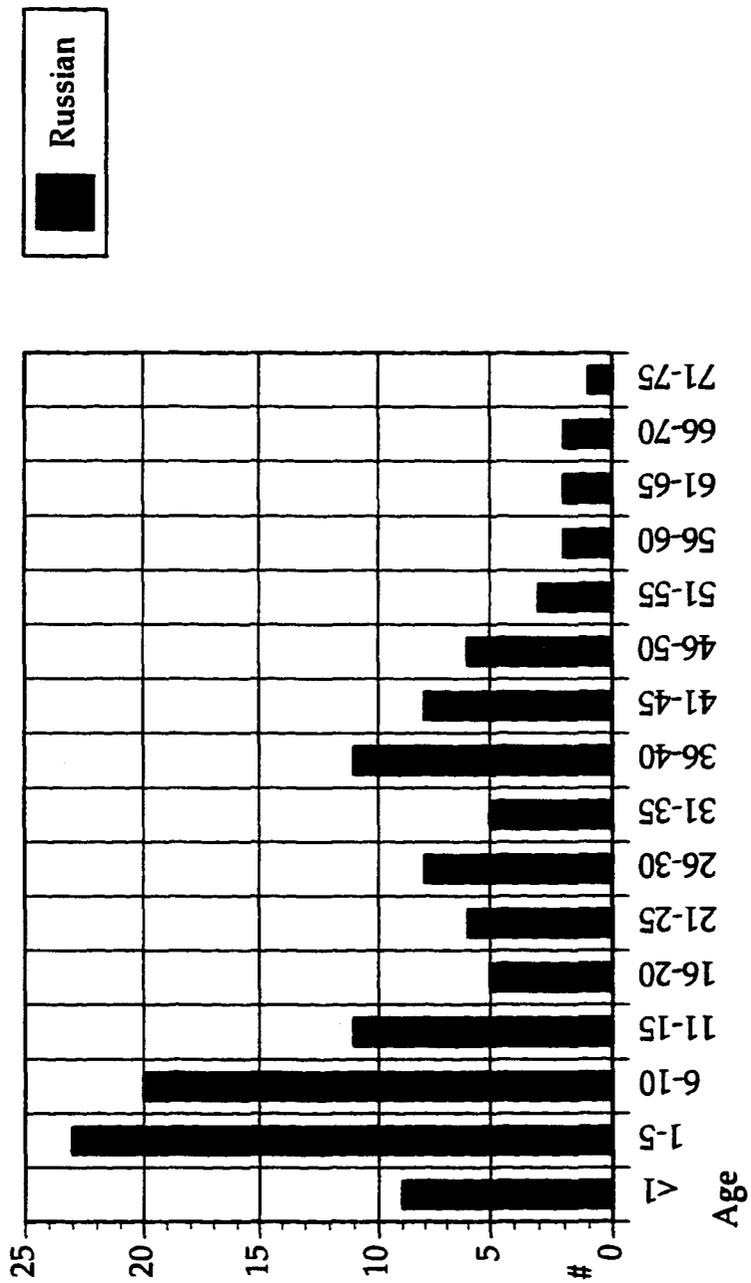


Figure 6.7 Bar Chart of Russian Population at Ross in 1836 by Age

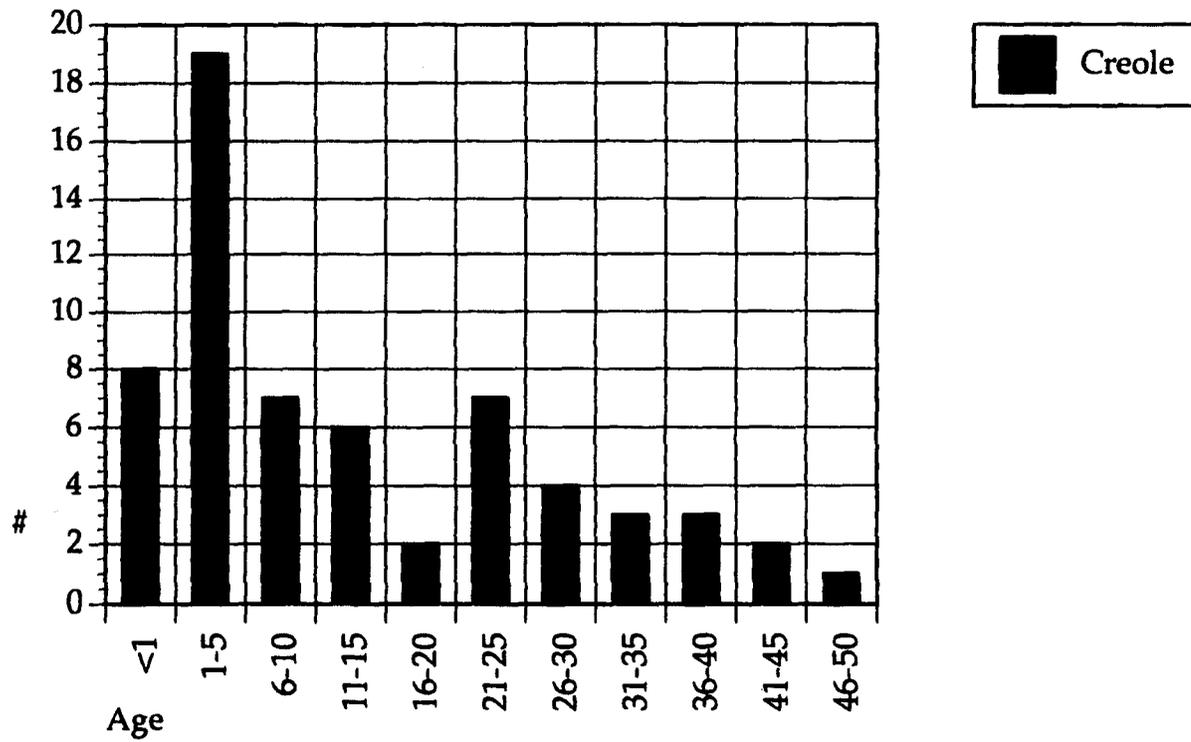


Figure 6.8 Bar Chart of Creole Population at Ross in 1836 by Age

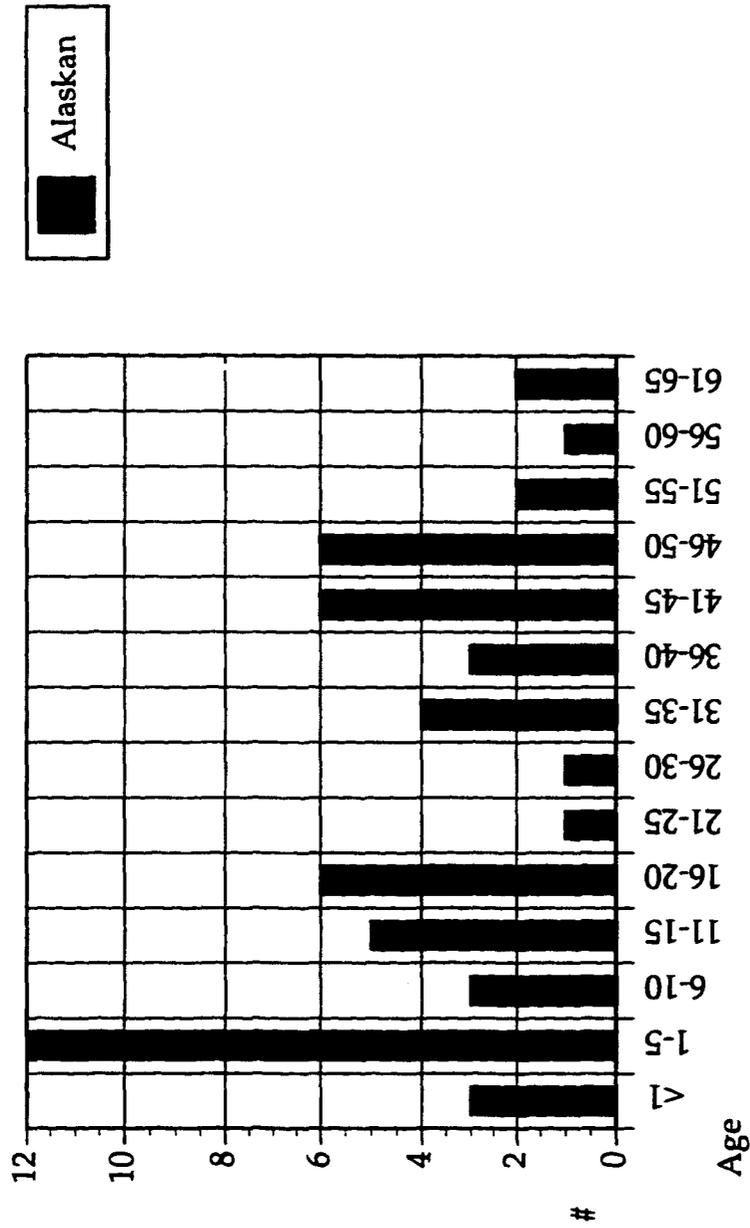


Figure 6.9 Bar Chart of Native Alaskan Population at Ross in 1836 by Age

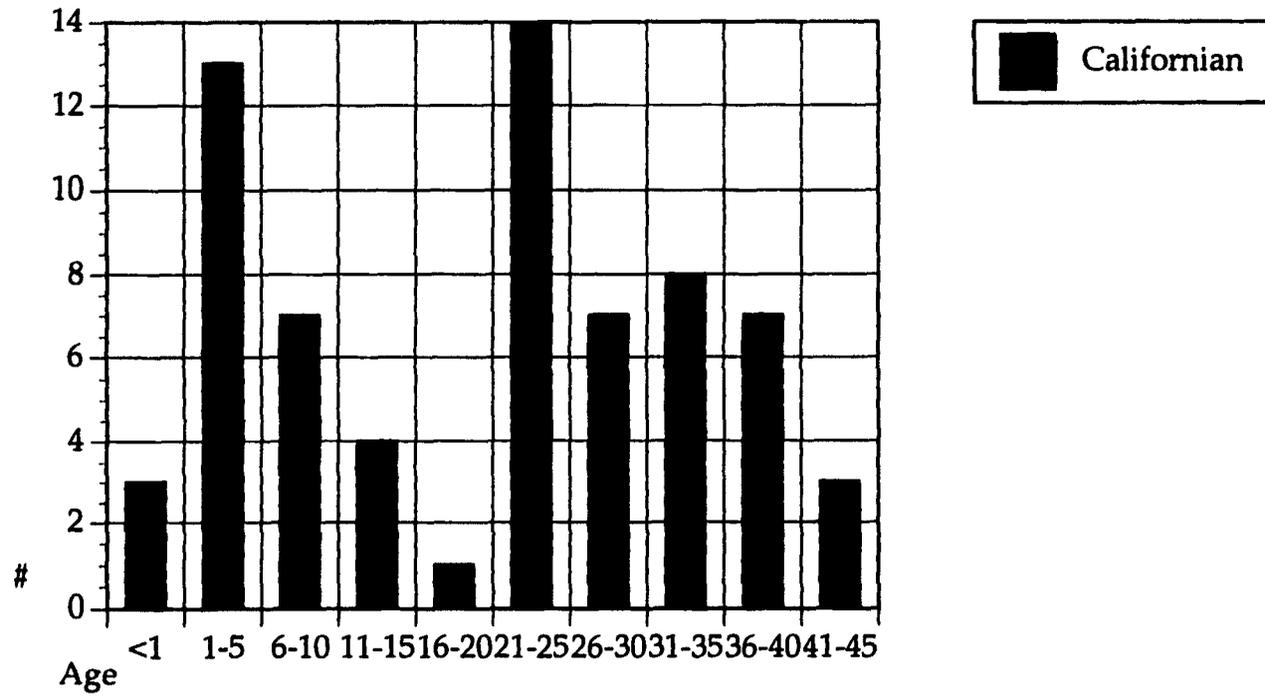


Figure 6.10 Bar Chart of California Indian Population at Ross in 1836 by Age

colony based on the person's assigned occupation and its physical requirements.

Marital status was also provided in the list: 44% of the adult males were married to Yakut, Creole, Native Alaskan or California Indian women. No Russian women are reported except for Elena Pavlova Gagarin Rotchev, wife of the Ross Manager. The average family size for all ethnic groups is 3.5 children under the age of 20. Marital status and family size also varies by ethnic group.

Thirty-seven per cent (16 of 43) of the Russian men were listed as married in 1836 and 1838. With the exception of the last Fort Ross Manager, Aleksandr Rotchev, none were married to Russian women. Eleven (69%) were married to Creole women, four (25%) to California Indian women and one (6%) to Aleut women. Nine additional Russian men are listed with children but no wife in 1836 and 1838 confession records of Veniaminov. Foma Arzhelovskii, age 43, had two Creole daughters, ages 3 and 4 months (1838). Petr Budilov, a 60 year old man from Tobol'sk had 5 children - 2 sons, ages 13 and 20; 3 daughters, ages 10, 16, and 17; plus custody of a 2 year old orphan (1836). Nikita Eremin, age 47, had one Creole son, age two months; and two Creole daughters, ages 3 and 6 (1836). Mikhail Kamenskoi, age 47, had one Creole son, age 3; and one Creole daughter, two years old (1838). Dementii Kavanskii, age 36, had a six month old son (1838). Ioann Kozokhin, age 38, had an 18 month old son (1836). Efim Munin, a 65 year old man from Yeniseisk, had a 12 year old son plus a bunch of other kids (1836). Luka Pakhomov, age 44, had a 17 year old daughter (1838). Vasilii Sosnin, age 42, had a three year old daughter (1836). A 44 year old man from Vitebsk, Miron

Timofeev, was reported as married in the 1830 correspondence but shows no wife or children in 1836. These incidents of single men with children could be the result of several factors including that the men were married but their wives were not present at the Ross colony. It was not an uncommon practice for married men to be stationed at settlements with the wife remaining in Russia or Alaska, however the presence of very small children makes one wonder whether the men were widowed or had prior relationships with local women. Since relationships with California Indian women that were not properly sanctioned by the church are reported as unsolemnized (common law) marriages for other individuals, it is probable but unlikely that Veniaminov failed to report this type of relationship for these men if it was ongoing.

Children with a Russian father as head of household was as follows: 24 (32%) in 1820, 24 (39%) in 1821, 64 (58%) in 1836, and 72 (58%) in 1838. The average family size for the married and unmarried Russian men with children ranged between 2.2 and 2.4 children for all years reported. The number of children for these families with children ranged from one to four children in 1820, one to five children in 1821, and one to six children in 1836 and 1838. Table 6.9 shows the distribution for each of the four years as a total and for each ethnic group. The age range in 1836 and 1838 between the married Russian men and their wives was from one year to 37 years (Table 6.10). With the exception of Elena Rotchev, who was one year older than her husband, all men were older than their wives. The average age difference was 15.3 years. Eighty per cent of the Yakut men and 100% of the foreign and California Indian men were married. Due to the small size of these populations, no further information will be presented in the text.

Table 6.9 Family Size at Ross for 1820, 1821, 1836, and 1838

## A. 1820 Census (Kuskov)

# Children	Russians	Creoles	Alaskans	Total
1	1	0	15	16
2	6	2	13	42
3	1	0	2	9
4	2	0	0	8
Total	24	4	47	75

## B. 1821 Census (Kuskov)

# Children	Russians	Creoles	Alaskans	Total
1	0	0	15	15
2	6	2	9	34
3	3	0	0	09
4	1	0	0	04
5	1	0	0	05
Total	24	4	33	61

## C. 1836 Census (Veniaminov)

# Children	Russian	Yakut	Creoles	Alaskans	Foreign	Calif.	Total
1	14	2	2	4	2	4	28
2	5	0	2	4	0	2	26
3	3	0	1	0	0	0	12
4	5	0	1	1	0	0	28
5	1	0	0	1	0	0	10
6	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total	64	2	13	21	2	8	110

## D. 1838 Census (Veniaminov)

# Children	Russian	Creoles	Alaskans	Foreign	Calif	Total
1	13	1	8	1	3	26
2	7	3	4	1	1	32
3	3	0	2	0	0	15
4	5	0	1	0	0	24
5	2	1	0	0	0	15
6	1	1	0	0	0	12
Total	72	18	26	3	5	124

Table 6.10 Russian Men as Head of Household  
from Veniaminov Confessional Records  
Fort Ross 1836-1838

Age Difference Male > Female	# Marriages	# of Children
1	1	0
4	1	0
6	1	1
7	1	1
9	1	2
10	1	1
12	1	2
13	1	4
14	3	1, 1, 4
15	3	2, 3, 4
17	1	6
19	1	2
22	1	4
30	1	3
32	1	5
37	1	4

The confessional records of 1836 show that six of the ten Creole men were married with an average family size of 1.5 children. Five of their wives are also Creole, one is a California Indian. Three female Creole children as shown as orphans. A third (30%) of the Aleut men were married with an average family size of 2.2 children. However, one-third of the unmarried Aleut men have children. A 47 year old man from the village of

An'iakhtalit'skoe had three sons ages 3, 5 and 13; and two daughters ages 2, and 16; a 53 year old man from An'ikin'skoe village had two sons, ages 2 and 4; a 49 year old man from Igatskoe had 2 sons ages 5 and 18; a 45 year old man listed as a Chugach from Ka'kit'liut'skoe village had 2 sons ages 4, 7; a 60 year old man from Kiliudinskoe village had a 3 year old son; and finally a 52 year old man from Shashkatskoe village had 2 sons ages 10 and 15.

While it is very likely that Aleut men and their older sons may have come to Ross to work while other family members remained in Alaska, the young age of many of the other children suggests that the absence of their mother is due either to her death in the colonies or that she is an unbaptized California Indian woman, possibly living at a nearby village, who was not listed in the confessional records.

F. Women of the Ross Colony. Little is known about most of the women at the Ross colony other than their names, ethnic affiliation, the names and numbers of their children; and now from the Veniaminov records, their ages. They were just less than one-third (31%) of the adult population in 1820 and 1821. In 1836, they showed a slight increase to 41%, then declined to 36% in 1838. California Indian women comprised the largest female group throughout much of the Ross occupation. They made up 59% of all women in 1820, 63% in 1821, 60% in 1836, and 50% in 1838. It is noteworthy that contrary to many of the Creole and Aleut men, none of the Indian women (or men) mentioned by Kuskov are found in the Veniaminov records. It is unfortunate that Veniaminov did not record the origins of the California women so I could compare whether they were coming from the same tribal groups and in the same ratios as appeared in the Kuskov registers.

The next largest group of women during the Kuskov era was Native Alaskan. They were 28% in 1820, 26% in 1821; but by the 1830s their ratio had dropped to less than 10%. Place of origin was not identified for the Alaskan women. It is possible that many of them were from the villages of their husbands, but the Russian mercantile expansion into Alaska and California significantly changed the demographics and customs of the native population.

G. Children of the Ross Colony. Children living at Ross have also been omitted from much of the literature. This is surprising given their large numbers in the 1830s. Kuskov reported 75 children in 1820 and 61 in 1821. Children were 22% and 26% of the total population during the Kuskov era and were divided almost evenly between gender with 51% males in 1820 and 48% males in 1821. Some fifteen years later there were 110 children shown for 1836 (42%) and 124 children for 1838. In 1838, children were 47% of the total population at Ross and the population under age twenty was almost equal to that over age twenty. Approximately sixty percent of those individuals listed as children were male as compared to about forty percent female.

For purposes of my analysis, I grouped male and females under age twenty into increments using standard age cohorts from life expectancy and crude death rate tables. This resulted in four groups: 0-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years, and 15-19 years. In all age groups, males outnumber females with the exception of the 10-14 year age group in 1838 where females slightly outnumber males (See Figure 6.11). In 1836 male children were 60% of the population under 20 years of age. When this is adjusted to add the six married women under age 20 back into last age group for women, the

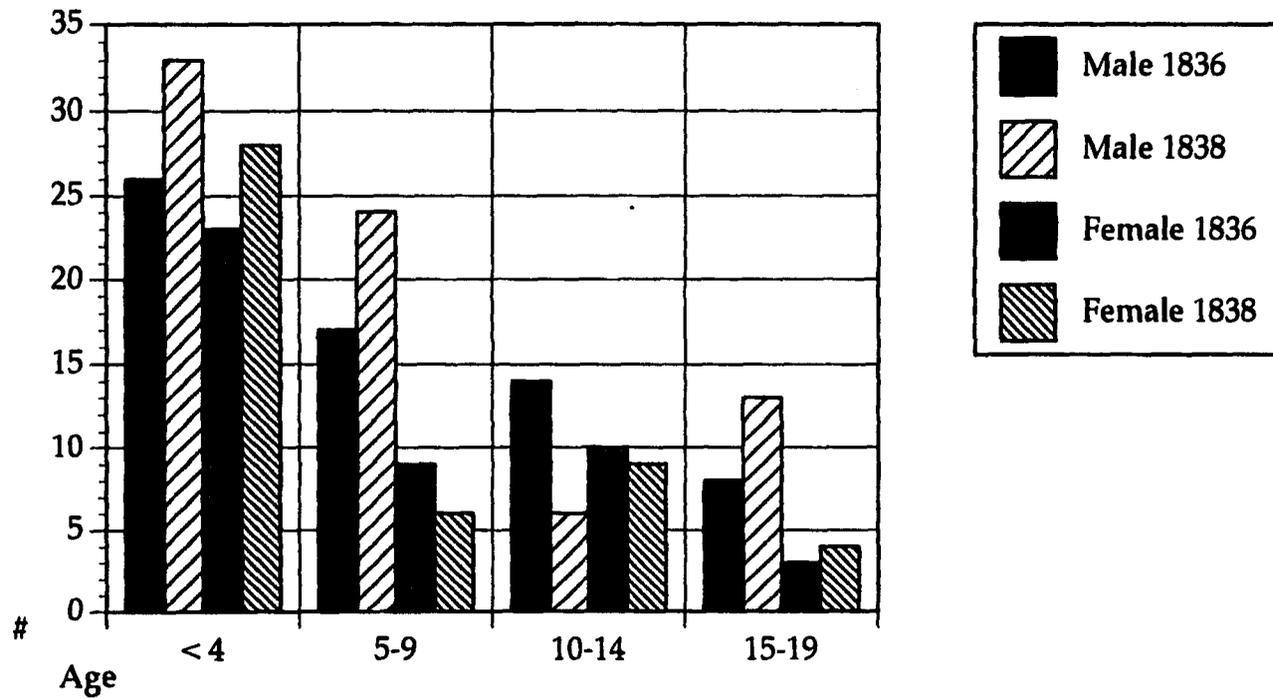


Figure 6.11 Bar Chart of Population at Ross in 1836 and 1838 by Age and Gender

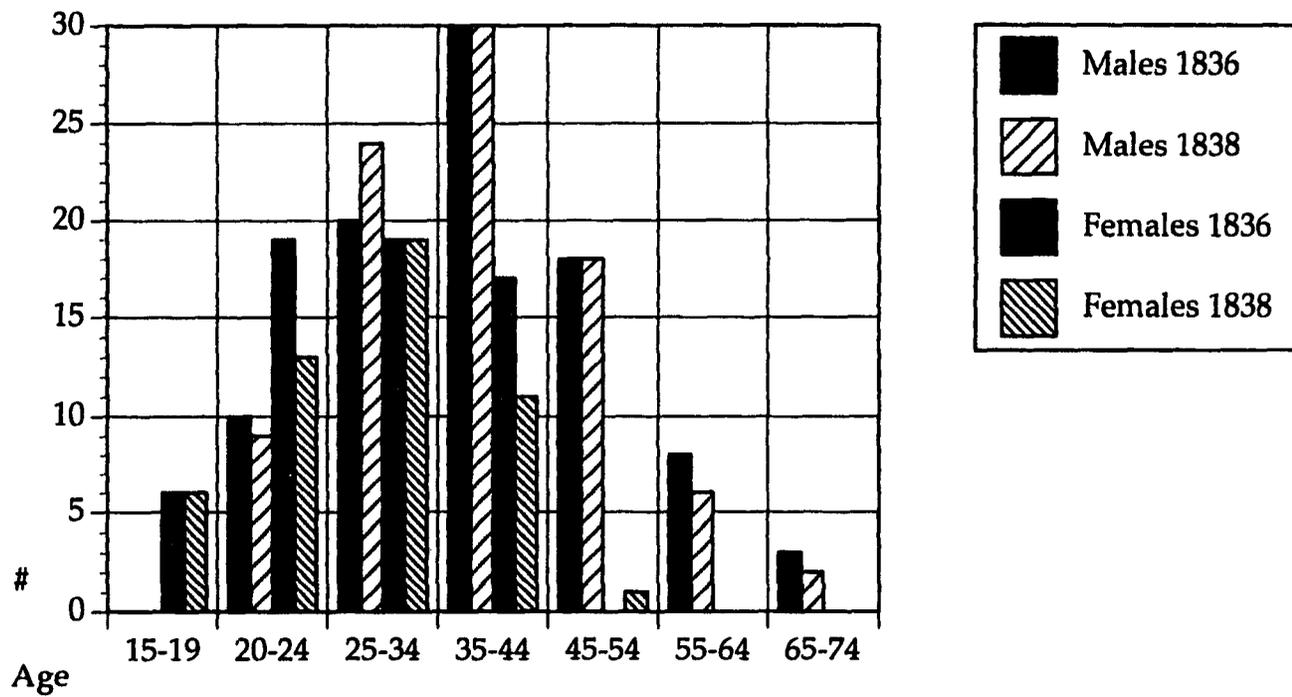


Figure 6.11 Bar Chart of Population at Ross in 1836 and 1838 by Age and Gender (cont.)

proportion of males drops slightly to 56%. In 1838, the figures for male children using the same type of analysis are 62% and 59%, respectively. In 1836 the Company recommended sending boys 8-10 years old from Ross to Sitka for enrollment in school (RACC 13/413:296). It is unknown whether that was actually done.

Once again, there are marked differences between ethnic groups as defined by the child's father in the census. The group, children of Russian fathers, comprises about 60% of the under-twenty population for 1836 and 1838. Sons and daughters of Russians are nearly equally divided between gender for the two census years. Although there are gender differences for the 0-4 and 5-9 age groups, when these two groups are combined, the numbers are fairly evenly distributed. The populations of Yakut and foreign children did not exceed a total of three children in either census and are too small to be relevant.

The children of Aleut fathers constitute the second largest group in both 1836 and 1838. Over 80% of these children under the age of 20 are male. In 1836, 75% of the population under the age of 4 is male and in 1838 it is 50%. 100% of the children between ages 5 and 9 are male. Distributions for older years are equally lopsided. The higher percentage of males in the 15-19 age group may reflect the practice of starting these young males in hunting or trades at this age. The overall cause of the gender differences is difficult to ascertain. It could be either an abnormally high short-term birth rate for males or higher death rate for females within this small population of 19-21 individuals. Other cultural practices may be a factor here, including reporting errors for female children. It is also possible female offspring were not

baptized into the Orthodox faith and therefore were not listed although this would be contrary to practices elsewhere in Russian America. The question remains - were female Aleut children at the Ross colony at greater risk of death than male children? Is the sample size simply too small to be relevant or are male and female children treated differentially? Although female infanticide was practiced in Alaska, this would not be condoned by the Company or the Orthodox religion.

Similar trends are apparent with regard to children of Creole fathers and baptized California Indians. For almost every age group in the census for both years, female children are dramatically under-represented. The questions raised above for Aleut children may be asked again here. While, again, early marriages may reduce the number of older girls, their absence at earlier ages must be due to other reasons.

#### IV. Occupations.

The work force at Ross was broadly divided into four classes, also called estates. These classes were ranked and were in descending order of importance as follows: Russians, Creoles, Aleuts, and Indians. A person's rank, salary, property, and living quarters in Russian America were directly correlated to his or her rank. Occupations may be important during the analysis of those who died at Ross.

A. Occupations in Russian America. Company Officials in Sitka were paid a salary every month by a cashier. In addition to this, an official received living quarters, wood, candles and fish. All other necessities he had to buy from his wages from Company supplies which were kept in a warehouse. The period of service or employment with the Company was from three to

five years. A return voyage home was guaranteed, with salary and allowances for travel home commensurate with the person's rank and length of service (Khlebnikov 1976:42).

Positions of prikashchik (administrative officials or clerks) or office manager were initially held by Russians. After 1822, Creoles who "demonstrate character and distinguish themselves may advance to become prikashchiks or office managers". Beginning at ages 16-20, Creoles were assigned to these and a variety of occupations according to ability. The Chief Manager's office recommends where all Creoles are assigned (Khlebnikov 1976: 45-46).

Promyshlenniks (fur trapper and/or trader) after the year 1820 served a seven year term of service with travel home to Russia paid at Company expense. Trade with foreigners or Native peoples was prohibited. Master craftsmen included blacksmiths and metalworkers, coppersmiths, carpenters, shipbuilders, and others who were paid 400-450 rubles per year. Blacksmiths work at forges, work on projects related to shipbuilding or repair of sailing vessels, make new axes or repair old ones, and make plowshares for California. Boatwrights make row boats, whaleboats, gigs and skiffs. Candlemakers make candles from California tallow. Coopers repair old barrels that have broken or been damaged during shipping and make new barrels, kegs, tanks, other ship equipment. Coppersmiths work in shops, make kitchen utensils from copper and tin, make small fittings for ships, cast pins and hinges for rudders, and make small and large bells. Metalworkers work in shops, repair and clean weapons, and repair instruments or locks on ships. Painters make paint and boiled oil, paint sailing vessels every year, oil

iron roofs, coat dwellings to prevent rotting. Ropemakers make line and ropes, loglines for sailing. Woodworkers make new or repair old ship equipment; and sometimes make new ship pumps. (Khlebnikov 1976:74-76). Other trade occupations not considered to be master craftsmen were carpenters and joiners; cutting and hauling logs for lumber, making charcoal, cutting firewood, gardening, and cutting hay. In Sitka they work as apprentices in blacksmith and metalwork shops (Khlebnikov 1976:75).

Native Alaskans including "all males between the ages of 18 and 50 are obligated to assist the Company in catching sea mammals." Half of these Native Alaskans had to be employed in service to the Company; the other half were allowed to hunt with their own equipment and sell their catch to the Company (Khlebnikov 1976:50). Native Alaskans, such as the Aleut Anaknak Mikhailo, who knew Russian but could not travel due to his severe frostbite, and woman Domna, who knew another language but had been ill, could become interpreters (Pierce 1984:36).

B. Occupations at Ross. What were the occupations of those who lived at Ross and how did they change or remain the same through time? In my review of the literary record, I tabulated numerous different occupations. These are presented in Appendix 2 in alphabetical order along with the name of the person employed in that occupation and the documented years he or she was at Ross. For those that the exact dates at Ross are unknown the symbol "< " signifies that it is unknown whether they were at Ross earlier than the date given, and conversely, the symbol ">" denotes they may have been at Ross longer. Some people were known by multiple occupations and individuals may appear more than once but the lists are cross-referenced to avoid confusions.

Lightfoot, et al. (1991:17) identify three primary economic activities that supported the Ross community. These were hunting of sea mammals, shipbuilding, and agriculture. Although sea mammal hunting was the primary reason for the existence of the Russian American Company throughout its geographic sphere of influence, this activity became less and less profitable due to depletion of the marine resources. Sea mammal hunting was almost exclusively the occupation of Native Alaskans and although only 31 of the 175 Native Alaskan males documented by name are identified as hunters, it is likely that most of these and countless others whose names do not appear in censuses or travel accounts were also engaged in hunting. Hunting of sea mammals in Russian America took place in baidarkas (two or three person kayaks) or baidaras (open boats that held up to 25 persons). The supervisors of the construction of these vessels and/or their crew were called baidarshchiks or foremen. At least seven baidarshchiks were at Ross. One, Efim Munin from Yeniseisk (1820-1838) was Russian; two were Creole, Klimsha (<1822-1824>) and Vasilii Tarankov (<1820s>); and four were Native Alaskan, Il'ia (<1822>), Klim (<1822>), Ponomar'kov Ivan (<1835>), and Shaia Iosif from Kiliudinskoe village (<1820-1838>). Hunting for sea mammals was dangerous and strenuous. It involved long distance travel down the coast into southern California in search of sea otters. The Ross colony also established an artel (organized party of men) on the Farallon Islands, a little over twenty miles west of the Presidio of San Francisco. Travel to the Farallons involved open ocean travel. Those assigned to the Farallons in the early 1820s included the Russian promyshlennik Stepan Bardahoev, the Creole employee Phillip Kotelnikov (sometimes listed as Russian), the toyon Kurnyk Mosei from An'iakhtalitskoe village, Tupulihkak

Sava from Ezabkinskoe village and his Kashaya wife Mishishiya, the Coast Miwok Kapisha and his Kashaya wife Vayamin (Kuskov 1820, 1821).

Kotelnikov was shown as the head of the artel in 1827 (RACC 5/111:286). In correspondence dated July 13, 1818 the Company instructed Ross manager Ivan Kuskov to assign fur hunters a definite salary and ration instead of paying them with shares from the hunt (Pierce 1984:120).

Shipbuilding was carried on briefly at Ross between 1818 to 1824. The decline of shipbuilding at Ross might be evidenced by the fact that eighteen (62%) of its twenty-nine carpenters were not listed in the literature after 1830. The only man specifically stated to be a shipbuilder, the Russian Vasili Grudinin from Irkutsk, arrived back in Sitka in 1825. Prior to his departure from the colonies, he received a certificate from the Company for his construction of four sailing ships at Ross (RACC 5/139:309). The five Native Alaskan men (Kalekts Kaliuzha, Malihkak Matvei - also an archer, Sergei Trukhmanov - shown as a Creole in some references, Timofei Atku, and Tunuliakhkak Iakov) employed using the "axe and saw" all arrived at Ross by 1814 or 1815. Their work was presumably cutting timber from the surrounding forests, first possibly for continuing construction of buildings inside and outside of the stockade, then additionally providing timber for the new shipbuilding activity.

The third major economic activity and one of the reasons for founding a settlement in California was agriculture. By the 1830s, agriculture had replaced fur hunting as the primary economic pursuit at this northern California outpost. Agricultural products were used both locally and as export items. Numerous men are identified by name as farmers. Some of these had

other occupations listed as well such as promyshlennik, sailor, and/or carpenter. Of these men who were at Ross by the 1820s, their actual agricultural expertise is questionable (Lightfoot, et al. 1991:19). They were probably assigned to supervisory positions and other duties that took precedence over the farming which appears to have been primarily accomplished by Native Alaskan and California Indian workers (Gibson 1976a; Khlebnikov 1976; Lightfoot, et al. 1991). Five men who "claim knowledge of farming" were sent to Ross in 1827 (RACC 5/254:363) when Ross was possibly becoming a more successful agricultural operation. These men are the peasant Nikita Eremin, Ioann Kozokhin, Feodor Mandarov - all from Tobol'sk, and Marko Marenin. Farm machinery was being shipped to Ross in 1836 along with the metalworker Mel's who was to get the machines into working order before returning to Sitka (RACC 13/385:270). Mel's was also said to know blacksmithing (14/355:406). That same year, Karl Flink received a salary increase for his skill in building a threshing machine (13/498:373v). In 1837, the correspondence mentions the need to send 15 healthy men who are capable of working in the fields to Ross. These are to replace 15 other men who have already left Ross over the past three years and 5 more who are leaving in the fall, none of whom have been replaced (RACC 14/215:248). Five of these men due to leave the colonies were the former Tomsk residents the burghers Filipp Gorbunov and Vasilii Permitin and the peasant Iuda Utkin; the burgher from Olonets, Vasilii Okhotin; and the Yakut Egor Zakharov, who had worked primarily as a farmers at the Ross settlement. They received certificates for their work in the colonies (14/228:259; 14/341:393; 14/342:393v; 14/343:394). The ploughman Fedor Kondakov received a bonus in 1824 (RACC 4/116:58). Zakharov had been at

Ross since 1818 according to the Company correspondence (14/344:394) but is shown to have arrived in 1820 by Kuskov. Efim Munin, discussed above with the hunters, shows up later as the foreman of the Kostromitinov ranch in 1837. Due to Munin's old age and illness he was reported as unable to perform and the Company planned to send the boatswain Grigorii Shchukin to replace him. The next reference to Munin, the same year, mentions that he was given a salary increase and permission to "sow a considerable quantity" of wheat (RACC 15/500:66; 15/501:66v).

Some occupations were possibly fulfilled by only one individual during the existence of the colony. The only charcoal-maker was Kaskak Tuchin Ioann (<1820-1838>) from the An'iakhtalitskoe settlement in Alaska. He was at Ross for at least eighteen years. Karl Limberkh (aka Limberg, Linberg) was the tailor at Ross (<1836-1837>). The Company correspondence recommends that he be given "one or two capable adolescents" to train in this trade prior to his departure from Ross (RACC 13/505:381). In 1837, the apprentice tailor Aleksei Viatkin (arriving at Ross on the sloop Sitkha), is mentioned as some who can replace Limberkh (RACC 14/346:394V, 394:396v). In 1838 I learned that Limberkh remained at Ross and Viatkin was returned to Sitka (RACC 16/406:130; 16/409:134).

The Official 14th class and last Ross manager, Rotchev, had his orderly Doil'nitsyn, accompany him to Ross in 1837 (15/487:41). This is the only reference I located for the occupation of orderly.

Only one horse doctor, the Russian Alexei Igushev (1820-1827), is mentioned by name although the correspondence states that another horse doctor was being sent to Ross in 1838 (RACC 16/536:283). The Company issued him a certificate prior to his departure from the colonies (RACC

5/147:310). Given the large numbers of livestock at the Ross colony, it would seem unlikely that others were not assigned to administer to the ailments of these animals, even in a lay capacity. For treatment of humans, no fel'dshers (medical assistants) are mentioned until the 1830s when two are present, the Russian Vasili Kalugin from Kronstadt, Russia (1831-1834) and the Creole Iakov Oskolkov (<1836-1838>). Kalugin was mentioned as having illicit dealings with the Spanish (RACC 9/370:275; 9/528:416v) and in 1833 it was recommended that he be removed from Ross and returned to Sitka (RACC 10/159:87v). The correspondence documents the decision to remove him in 1834 (RACC 11/328:329).

Given the large numbers of children at Ross, little is said about their education. In 1818, correspondence states that the clerk Kulikalov may be assigned as "teacher of boys" (Pierce 1984:13). It is unknown whether girls received any education in the early years of the colonies. Company correspondence in 1818 documents the refusal to pay Sitka school teacher Kashevarov for expenses related to educating female wards of the Company (Pierce 1984:174).

## V. Health and Disease in Russian America.

The early Russian and other European traders, trappers, explorers and sailors who entered Russian America were not particularly healthy. They often came from the lowest social strata and were of marginal health due to tuberculosis, gonorrhea or syphilis, alcoholism, typhus, hemoptysis, pulmonary disorders, and various nutritional diseases (Fortuine 1990:124; Gibson 1987:99). Health conditions ashore were often no better than those on

board ship due to poor diet, housing and work conditions (Fortuine 1990:124). Death, accident, sickness rates were high throughout Russian America; prior to 1821 there was no infirmary or doctor in the colonies and medical advice had to be sought from ships' doctors who stopped in Russian America on round-the-world expeditions (Gibson 1987:99; Tikhmenev 1978:161). In 1819, one out of six men in Sitka was reported as sick; in 1829 one of three was incapacitated by illness. An unattributed epidemic occurred in 1819, affecting mostly Native populations and killing seventy-three individuals (Tikhmenev 1978:161). In the late 1830s, a smallpox epidemic caused a number of deaths in the colonies, particularly among native populations (Gibson 1987:99). This was in spite of smallpox vaccine being shipped to the colonial government in 1808 (Tikhmenev 1978:161). As late as 1862, the Russian naval officer Pavel Golovin reported that the climate of Russian America was "quite deleterious to the health of the inhabitants" (1979:63). Also in 1862, while there were two infirmaries in the colonies (Sitka and Kodiak Island), there were no medical facilities for women. Women received medical attention in their living quarters (Golovin 1979:65).

Recent studies also dispel the notion that before introduction of Old World infectious diseases Native Alaskans lived in a "healthy, virtually disease-free environment" (Fortuine 1987:39). Fortuine reviewed archaeological studies of sites with human remains, traditional native healing practices, written narrative accounts of early visitors to Alaska, and modern medical research. His tentative conclusions suggest that prior to European contact, Native Alaskans appear to have suffered from trauma due to environmental hazards or warfare; diseases acquired through exposure and association with animals and their waste products; infections of the skin

including lice infestations, ulcers, boils and sores; infections of the eyes, ears, nose and throat; diseases of the lower respiratory and gastrointestinal tracts; and chronic or degenerative diseases such as arthritis or blindness (Fortuine 1987, 1990). New health problems developed for those living in close contact with European settlers including smallpox, respiratory diseases, and tuberculosis. Alcohol was introduced to the Aleuts as early as 1741. Both Russians and Native Alaskans suffered from excessive drinking (Fortuine 1990:124,125). The smallpox epidemic of 1836 nearly destroyed Tlingit native population in the Sitka area. The Tlingit were later convinced by Father Veniaminov to be vaccinated and the spread of the disease was halted (Afonsky 1977:53). The birth and death rates for the Sitka Parish between the years 1816 and 1841 appear in Figure 6.12.

A. Illness at Ross. The correspondence cites several instances of illness among employees. Foma Arzhilovskii, Filip Gorbunov, and Iakov Maliutin all applied to leave Company service in 1832 and settle near Ross due to disability and frequent illness. Their request was denied due to local land status but the company promised to let them settle in the colonies, presumably this means Alaska (RACC 9/349:267v). The poor health and old age of Efim Munin are mentioned several times including statements that he can no longer perform his duties (RACC 15/500:66, 18/15:20v) in 1837 and 1840. Also in 1840, employees Petr Rozhin and Karl German were left at Ross due to illness. Rozhin returned to Sitka but German was stated to still be ill (RACC 18/15:20v).

B. Epidemics. Kostromitinov mentions epidemics between 1815-1822 which reduced the native populations in the area of Bodega. There are

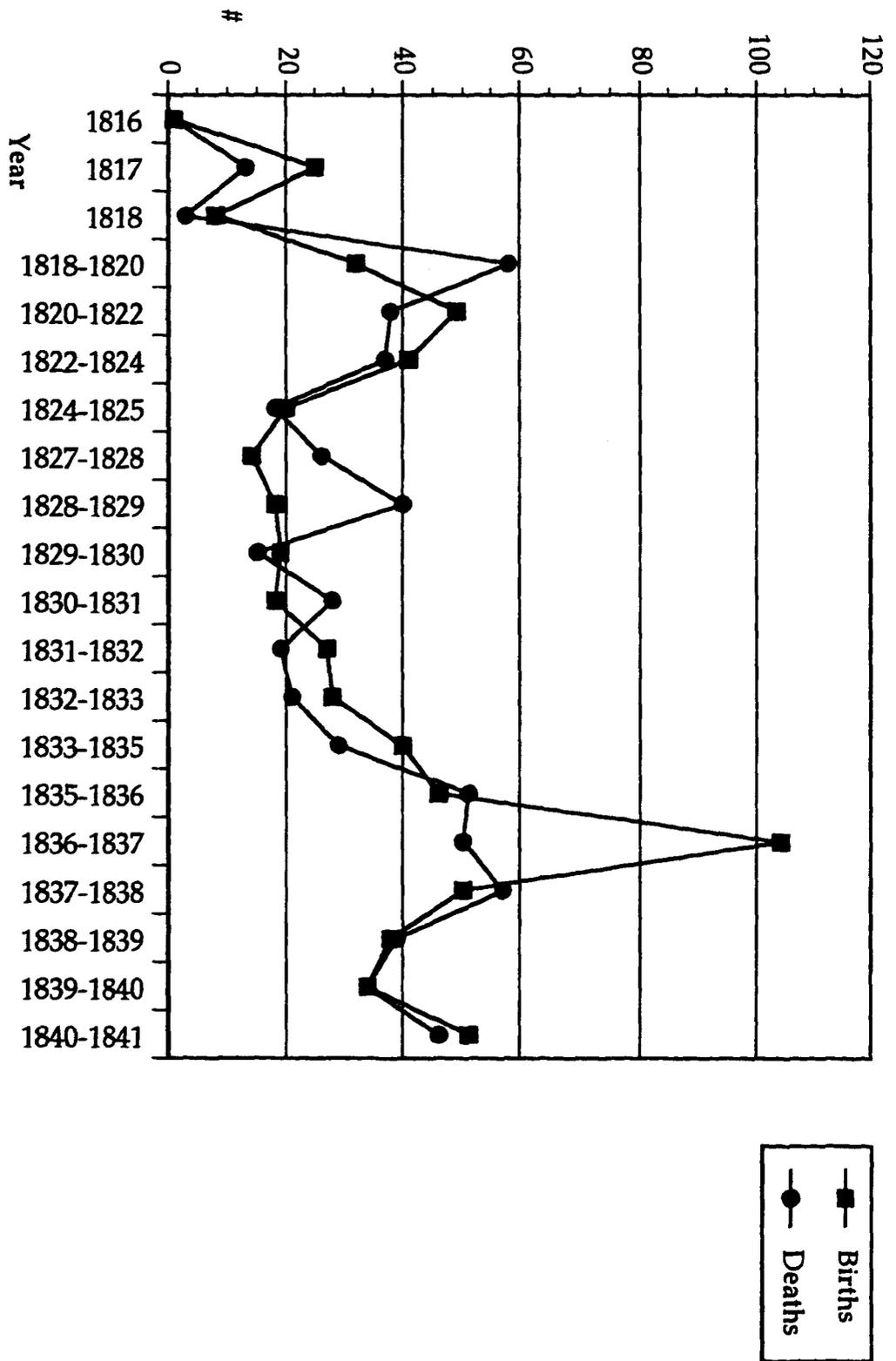


Figure 6.12 Chart of Total Births and Deaths in Sitka Parish 1816-1841

thought to have been introduced European diseases but not smallpox was not known to be a factor in this early period (Haase 1952:54). Smallpox was, however, periodically reported from California. The smallpox epidemic of 1828 in Spanish settlements in California did not appear to affect Ross. It was thought to have begun near San Francisco, and moved southward afflicting the San Jose and Santa Clara missions (Haase 1952:53). The Englishman, Frederick Beechey (1831:70) visited the Farallon Islands in November 1828 in His Majesty's Ship Blossom. He talks about smallpox vaccination being practiced in California since 1806 but does state that "the virus from Europe has been recently introduced through the Russian establishment at Rossi [sic]." Another smallpox epidemic may have struck California in 1835 (Pierce 1990b:62). Chief Manager Kupreianov visited Ross in the summer of 1838. He mentioned that the Ross office had received smallpox vaccine in December 1837 along with orders to vaccinate all inhabitants who were not yet inoculated. He said the mortality at Ross was not great although the "greater part of the Indians bore signs of it." Although the Russian settlement at Ross may have escaped the worst of the 1838 smallpox epidemic, Kupreianov commented that the disease had "spread to the tundra" [outlying areas] and was rumored to be killing off significant numbers of Indians as well as being severely felt at the Spanish missions and ranches (RACC 16/440:240).

#### VI. Died at Fort Ross.

Accurate annual information on the number of deaths at Ross does not appear to have survived. Ironically, the number of cattle, horses, pigs, and

sheep that were born or purchased, died, consumed as food, and remained on hand, is available for the year 1817, and annually for each of the years between 1821-1829 (Khlebnikov 1976:120). No comparable information exists for the human population.

It was expected that the mortality rates for Ross would resemble other multi-ethnic Company settlements with similar age and sex distributions, marriage patterns and occupational categories. By measuring mortality for certain years during the Russian American period by such means as the crude death rate, age and gender-specific rates, expectations of life at birth, and infant mortality rates (after Jones 1981:16-21), I had hoped to derive a crude estimate for the annual mortality rates at Ross. However, insufficient information was located in the archives to accomplish this task. Some general information on deaths in Russian America was located that may be useful in the analysis of the Ross Colony. The number of deaths in Sitka between 1816 and 1841 exceeded the births in seven different years (Gibson 1987:100; ARCA Sitka Parish). Accidental death rates were also high in Russian America. In 1799, 115 Aleuts died from mussel poisoning; in the same year ninety new promyshlenniks drowned when the Phoenix sank; in 1805 scurvy killed seventeen Russians and "many" natives (Gibson 1976a:13,14, 1987:99; Khlebnikov 1976:145). A nineteenth century account by Russian naval officer Ivan Kruzenshtern notes that the majority of promyshlenniks died in North America. "Very few were fortunate enough to return to Russia and their home provinces" (Afonsky 1977:8).

A. Early Deaths at Ross. The Kuskov census registers for the years 1820 and 1821 (Kuskov 1820, 1821) and the Khlebnikov diaries for the years 1820-1824 (Khlebnikov 1990) contain the earliest known documentation of deaths

at the Ross Colony. There are no surviving Company correspondence or Church records for Ross during the first six years of its occupancy from 1812-1817. Kostromitinov mentions epidemics in 1815 and 1822 significantly reduced the California Indian population in the Bodega area. The hunting party directed by Kuskov to establish the Farallons sealing station was reported to have suffered great hardships during the first season with some of its members dying. No year is given for these deaths (Kinnaird 1961:172, 178). There are no official reports of deaths at Ross for the period 1812-1817 and the number of persons who died, if any, is unknown.

B. Reported deaths at Ross. The information which follows includes all of the known deaths at Ross and its vicinity. This information is derived primarily from four sources - the Kuskov registers of 1820 and 1821, the Company correspondence (RACC), the Alaskan Russian Church Archives (ARCA) including the Veniaminov confessional records and Sokolov's report of vital statistics, and the Khlebnikov diaries (Khlebnikov 1990).

(1) An unnamed clerk of Ivan Kuskov, the first manager and founder of Ross, died in February 1820. No cause of death was noted (Khlebnikov 1990:46). Kinnaird (1961:183) mentions that in 1813-1814 Kuskov's chief clerk was Slobodchikov. Fedorova (1975:12) also mentions a Sysoi Slobodchikov at Ross in 1820 who was with a Kadiak woman named Catherine. Although it is likely that Fedorova and Kinnard are describing the same man, Slobodchikov departed Ross in September 1820 on the Buldakov (Kuskov 1820:1) and therefore was not buried at Ross. In January 1818, an error by the Ross clerk Kulikalov was reported to the Company (Pierce 1984:12). Also in January 1818 the correspondence mentions that the clerk Kulikalov may be

assigned as "teacher of boys" at Ross for 100 rubles per year (in addition to his clerk's salary) and that he can "spare a little time to occupy himself with teaching, gathering the children at stated hours" (Pierce 1984:13). A salary is designated for him in 1820 (RACC 2/135:30). The Kuskov registers list the Creole widow Paraskov'ia Kulikalova (Kuskov 1820:4, 1821:6). I believe that Kuskov's deceased clerk is likely the Creole Kulikalov. The death of his widow can be found below (#19).

(2) The Company employee Kotlakovskii is believed to have died at Ross in 1820 or earlier. His death is inferred by the listing of his widow the Kodiak Paraskov'ia in the 1820 Kuskov register (1820:4).

(3) The Russian promyshlennik Alexei Shukshin was killed by a tree "during works at the forest" on July 27, 1820 (Kuskov 1820:3). No other information about Shukshin has been located in the Company records.

(4) Olga, a Kodiak woman and wife of Naneshkun Avvakum (a Kodiak Eskimo from Chinikatskoe village) died August 1820. No cause of death was given. Naneshkun Avvakum departed Ross in September 1820 on the Buldakov (Kuskov 1820:14).

(5) The Russian promyshlennik Rodion Koroliov died on December 9, 1820 of "some disease" (Kuskov 1820:2). Koroliov and the Kashaya woman Ayumin Mar'ya had a daughter, Maria. Ayumin Mar'ya and her daughter returned to her native village near Ross after his death (Istomin 1991:21).

(6) Pininchin Varvara, a Kodiak woman from Razbitovskoe village, died June 14, 1821. No cause of death was noted (Kuskov 1820:4).

(7) The child Izhuaok Petr died June 1821. He was the son of Tlualik Trofim, a Koniag from Aiktalitskoe village, and an Indian woman named Kunuchami from the vicinity of Ross (Kashaya Pomo). No cause of death

was shown. Izhuaok Petr was survived by two half-sisters, Kiyashyomiy Alentia and Natalia, who were also listed as children on Tlualik Trofim and "born to a Kodiak woman" (Kuskov 1820:17). Izhuaok Petr is the only child from Ross whose death appears in the literary record . The death of his father Tlualik Trofim appears below (#79).

(8) Unitma, a Coast Miwok woman from Bodega Bay and wife of Chugach Eskimo Sipak Ishkhatskiy from the village of Chinikatskoe, died September 1821. No cause of death was noted (Kuskov 1820). The death of her husband Sipak Ishkhatskiy is reported below in 1832 (#56).

(9) The Russian promyshlennik, carpenter and ploughman (farmer) Vasili Antipin died in 1821. He had been listed in both of the Kuskov registers (1820:2, 1821:1). The Ross manager in 1822, Karl Shmidt is said to have "deeply regretted the sudden death last year of the best carpenter, Vasili Antipin as none of the other men had any shipbuilding skills except for Korenev [#54, Korenev later died at Ross in 1833], who wants to leave, and Permitin" (Khlebnikov 1990:97). Antipin was also described as "the only Russian who knew how to farm" (Khlebnikov 1990: 101). He had submitted a petition to leave Company service in 1820 which may have been denied because in 1821 his salary at Ross was redesignated (RACC 2/168:251v). He was married to the Bodegan (Coast Miwok) woman Katerina Ukkelya with whom he had two children, a son Alexandr and a daughter Matrena (Kuskov 1820:2, 1821:6).

(10) Agchyaesikok Roman, a Kodiak from Chinikatskoe village, drowned in March 1821. He was survived by his wife Kobbeya, a southern Pomo woman. Kobbeya returned to her village. Their son Kiochan Mitrofan

was left in the care of the Alexey Chaniguchi for upbringing (Kuskov 1820:14, Istomin 1992:32, 33).

(11) The Aleut toyon Matvei died [Chapuzhvik Matvei, a toyon from the Kodiak settlement of Aiaktalitskoe per Kuskov 1820:17, 1821:10] in the spring of 1824, from drowning. His death was reported by Khlebnikov (1990:143) who was visiting Ross at that time:

Earlier this month, the Aleuts returned here with the body of the Aleut toyon Matvei. They said that he had been at Bodega Bay and had separated from the others in a two-hatch baidarka; after waiting for him to return for a long time, they had found him dead on the shore with the baidarka. As his body did not show any suspicious signs, they concluded that the toyon had grown weak from rowing and with hunger and had died. The Aleuts then buried him. Matvei was the elder toyon here, ....

Discussions after his death occurred regarding payment owed the deceased and asked for by foster son. The Company stated that Matvei's son should only be paid if he looks after his mother and her young son (Khlebnikov 1976:161, 186).

(12) Tchitchinov mentioned in 1824 (cited in Haase 1952:108) that two Aleuts were "injured in falling timber." One of the Aleuts died from his injuries and was reportedly buried at Ross.

It is not until 1826 that the Russian American Company Correspondence includes any mention of deaths at the Ross colony. The deaths are very short entries within the body of longer letters and are usually concerned more with the replacement of the deceased with another employee or the disposition of property left by the dead. Even the deaths of 29 persons

in 1828 and 17 persons in 1834 warranted but a sentence or two in the correspondence. The deceased who are noted include:

(13) The Creole blacksmith Vasilii Titov drowned in 1825 (RACC 5/246:156v). This is the only mention of Vasilii Titov that I have found in the literature. Another Creole, Stepan Titov, also a blacksmith, is mentioned on several occasions at Ross. It is unknown whether the two men were related or are the same person.

(14, 15) Two Europeans, presumably male, died between 1824 and 1825. They are identified by Istomin (1996a:6) as being Germans, Finns, or Swedes by the names of Vilman (Wilman) and Linden. I have found no other reference to two individuals who may be the same persons. They are the sailor and farmer Zakhar Lindel who was at Ross in 1823 (RACC 3/348:403) and the farmer Gustav Walman who was at Ross in 1824 (Khlebnikov 1990:138, 145). I am uncertain of Istomin's original source for this information although it may have been from additional untranslated diaries from Khlebnikov's employment in Russian America.

(16) The promyshlennik Vasilii Vasil'ev died on May 13, 1826, leaving a wife and five children. His death was reported in the Company Correspondence of August 18, 1827 (RACC 5/223:346). Prior to joining the Company in Alaska, Vasil'ev was from Tobol'sk. He arrived at Ross on the Il'men in July 1820 (Kuskov 1820:4). His wife, Anna from the Fox Islands and three of his five children accompanied him to Ross. His occupation was listed as promyshlennik and carpenter. He was paid 100 rubles for his work building the Volga in 1822 (Khlebnikov 1990:100). Khlebnikov noted during his visit to Ross in 1822 that Vasil'ev lived in a dwelling upstream of the fort where it was pleasant and quiet, and also near the Russians Grudinin,

Permitin, and Zyrianov (Khlebnikov 1976:102). He left his estate to his wife which included a house and field valued at 925 rubles. Because his family was so poor the Company recommended writing off his debt of 869 rubles as a loss. The 1836 Veniaminov confessional list, shows as an orphan Creole girl named Mariia Vasil'eva, age 10, who may be his daughter (ARCA 264/229-262). A woman believed to have been his wife Anna died in 1828 (#49).

(17) Vasiliï Starkovskii, a prikashchik or Russian clerk of the townsman [meszchane] class, died March 11, 1827. He left no will even though the Company had instructed him to do so, stating he had no relatives in Russia. Therefore his cash estate of 843 rubles, 56 kopeks was placed in the Company's charitable fund in Sitka (RACC 6/241:172). He was sent to keep accounts at the stores and to help Shmidt with the "paperwork" of taking over as manager of Ross (RACC 2/172:262, 2/176:262v). On October 13, 1822 he signed documents concerning the settlement of Ross along with Mexican officials, the Ross Manager Shmidt, and other Russians Dorofeev, Svin'in, and Grudinin (Khlebnikov 1990:110). He asked to return to Russia in 1823 (RACC 3/345:402) but remained at Ross where was responsible for major sowing of crops including wheat on his private land in 1824 (Khlebnikov 1990:138).

(18) Ivan Antipin, employee and a Russian of Arkhangelsk peasants, died on December 31, 1827, leaving a Creole wife and a minor daughter (RACC 6/228:168). He was sent to Ross in 1826 (RACC 5/251:158v). Just prior to leaving Sitka for Ross, he married the Creole Evlampia on January 22, 1826 (ARCA 1826:109). It is unknown whether he was related to to previously

deceased Vasilii Antipin. The death below of a Creole woman Antipina is believed to be his wife, Evlampia (#50).

(19) The Creole widow, Paraskov'ia Kulika (Kulikalova), who was employed as cowherd, died in 1827 leaving no property. She owed the Company 51 rubles, 59 kopeks which was written off as a Company loss since it was "impossible to collect" (RACC 6/243:173). She was listed in the Kuskov registers as the widow of the scribe Kulikalov (Kuskov 1820:4, 1821:6) whose death is reported above (#1).

(20-48) Twenty-nine residents of Ross died during a three week period in April of 1828. Deaths included one Creole male, three Creole females, seventeen Aleut males, and eight Aleut females. The manager of Ross, Shelekhov, "used all medical means to stop this disease but his efforts were in vain." No Russians were affected. No names appear in the record and it is uncertain whether these were all adults or if some of them were children. The cause of death has been variously cited in translation as a dysentery epidemic and a measles epidemic. (RACC 6/47:291). Lydia Black explained to me that the Russian text reads "measles with the bloody flux" which is dysentery. It is unknown whether the next four deaths (45-48) were included in the twenty-nine described above or were separate occurrences.

(49) The Creole Anna Vasil'eva died leaving children (RACC 6/209:451v). She was likely the widow of Vasilii Vasil'ev (#16). As previously stated, they had five children. One of their children, Aleksei Vasil'ev, stayed at Ross until at least 1833. Her estate consisted of a house, a field, a vegetable garden, various livestock. Her dresses were to be given to her children. Her eldest daughter was married; the minors were adopted by other employees (RACC 10/264:198v).

(50) The Creole woman Antipina died prior to November 1828, leaving a minor daughter (RACC 6/213:453v). This was likely Evlampia, the widow of Ivan Antipin (#17), previously cited only as his "Creole wife," and who had a minor daughter at the time of Ivan Antipin's death. The daughter was left in the care of Korenev who was to receive payments from her estate of 550 rubles.

(51) Sergei Trukhmanov died in debt to the Company 744 rubles, 44 kopeks. He left a common-law Indian wife and two children along with his property consisting of a house worth 200 rubles and a field valued at 125 rubles (RACC 6/211:452v). He is listed in the literature as both a Kodiak Eskimo from Igatskoe village (Kuskov 1820, 1821) and a Creole. The names of his wife and children do not appear in the correspondence, however his property was given to the Indian woman to be used for the benefit of his children and it was recommended that the Company pay his debt. His occupation was listed as "axe and saw" work and by 1821 he had been at Ross nearly six years (RACC 2/167:251). He received a bonus for distinguishing himself as a woodcutter in 1822 (Khlebnikov 1990:100). In 1824 he was paid 50 rubles for his work on construction of the Kiakhta as a blacksmith (Khlebnikov 1976:145), and in 1827 he was listed along with other employees who were to receive bonuses or raises (RACC 5/219:344). The 1836 and 1838 Veniaminov confessional lists, record as inhabitants of Ross two Creole boys, Nikolai Trukhmanov age 15, Nikandr Trukhmanov age 10 (ARCA 264/229-235, 257-262), who are likely his orphan sons.

(52) The carpenter, turner, block [pulley] maker, and Company employee Mikhailo Rastorguev died in 1829. At the time of his death he

owed the Company 766 rubles, 42 kopeks. He left behind a lawful wife and three children (RACC 6/215:454v). He is listed in various documents as Creole, Aleut or Kodiak Islander. He arrived at Ross aboard the *I'Imen* in July 1820 (Kuskov 1820:5; RACC 2/121:28; RACC 2/134/29v) His wife, the Kodiak Aprosinya, and two children, Mariia and Nikolai, appear in the 1820 and 1821 Kuskov registers. The third child was probably born between 1821 and his death. His property was left to his wife upon his death. This included a wooden house valued at 500 rubles and a farm [agricultural plot?] worth 200 rubles. He was paid 100 rubles each for his work building the Volga in 1822 and the *Kiakhta* in 1824 (Khlebnikov 1990: 101, 145), and received a bonus or raise in 1827 (RACC 5/219:344). The 1836 Veniaminov confessional lists records a Creole Nikolai Rastorguev, age 16, who is probably his orphan son (ARCA 264/229-262).

The deaths of employees Svin'in and Korenev were reported in the correspondence along with the fact they left property to their widows and the Company had a responsibility for its dispensation.

(53) Feodor Svin'in died on 30 December 1832 and has had much written about his employment in the colonies (Pierce 1990:495). He was a Company employee, a prikashchik, and a starosta. He departed from Okhotsk in 1801 on the *Aleksandr*, arriving at Kodiak in 1802. He was assigned to the Ross settlement "some years after" its founding in 1812. Several investigations of his financial transactions at Ross were undertaken including one in 1819 where things were missing from the public store (RACC 1/331:159v), one in January 1820 for which he was exonerated, and one in 1831 for which he was removed from his position as prikashchik of the Ross trade store due to shortfalls (RACC 8/440:288v). The punishment was

reportedly softened in 1832 (RACC 9/8:4). Svin'in had received a salary increase in 1825 (RACC 4/56:199) but in April 1832 he owed the company 6,000 rubles and died at Ross still in debt. His wife was given the house, agricultural field, and animals including one bull, two cows, and one horse. The bull was to be returned to the Company upon her death and the other property was to go to her nearest relative (RACC 10/256:192). Svin'in had two minor sons who appeared with him in the 1820, 1821 Kuskov registers, Alexander and Mikhail. Neither of them appear in later records of Ross, having returned to Sitka. [Alexander and his wife Maria had a son in July 1831; Mikhail died on 23 December 1830. He was preceded in death by his wife Ekaterina on 17 December of the same year (ARCA)]. Svin'in's Creole wife, Anis'ia and son Grigorii, remained at Ross after his death and appear in the 1836 and 1838 confessional records (ARCA 264/229-235, 257-262).

(54) Alexei Matveev Korenev, a Russian promyshlennik, carpenter, and burgher from Yeniseisk, died in debt in 1832 (RACC 10/256:192; ARCA 281/270). He had been married twice according to Kuskov's registers of 1820 and 1821, first to the Kashaya woman Ichemen Anis'ya who returned to her village, and then to the Kodiak woman Paraskeve (the widow Kotlakovskaia; Khlebnikov 1990:101). Korenev and Paraskeve were married January 7, 1824 (ARCA 1970:6/11). His house, garden, one bull, and two cows were to go to his wife until her death, at which time they would return to Company ownership. In 1834 there is additional discussion about the disposal of his property to his widow (RACC 11/331:329v). No children appear in the records, although the orphan daughter of the late Ivan Antipin and his deceased wife Antipina was listed as his ward in 1828 (RACC 6/213:453v). He was described in 1822 as wanting to leave Ross but being one of three men

(the deceased Antipin, and Permitin) who had any shipbuilding skills (Khlebnikov 1990:97). He was paid 200 rubles for building of the Volga in 1822 (Khlebnikov 1976:100) and 220 rubles by Shmidt in 1824 for a plot of land (Khlebnikov 1976:134); his salary in 1821 was due to distinguishing himself in carpentry (RACC 2/168:251v); and in 1827 he was listed among employees at Ross settlement who were to receive bonuses or raises (RACC 5/219:344).

(55) The Creole Ivan Kulikalov's death is reported in October 1832. No other details are provided (ARCA 281/270). He may be related to the clerk who died in 1820 (#1) but there is insufficient information to make this determination.

(56) The Chugach Sipak Ivan (Sipak Ishkhatskiy?) from Chinikatskoe village died October 11, 1832 (ARCA 281/270). He was recorded in both registers by Kuskov (1820, 1821) and was married to the Coast Miwok woman Unitma who had herself died in 1821 (#8). At that time he had two daughters, Anusha Maria and Aglal'ya (Kuskov 1821).

(57, 58) An Indian standing guard in the field was murdered by an axe blow to the head in 1832. The sentry was the brother of the wife of one of the promyshlenniks. An investigation was undertaken but none of the Indians in the area reported hearing screams or had knowledge of this event. The man's wife was missing and presumed to have participated with the murderers, however, she was found much later decomposing near the creek and had also been killed with an axe (RACC 9/538:430).

(59) Dmitrii Samoilov, a Kodiak Eskimo and son of a toyon, is reported by Istomin (1996a:6) to have died sometime prior to February 1832 "because of the consequences of catarrh." I have been unable to locate Istomin's source

for his death. Samoilov and his daughter Arina were listed in the 1820, 1821 Kuskov registers. Samoilov is mentioned by Khlebnikov (1990:64, 100, 145) with respect to a wage increase in 1820, payment of 100 rubles for his work on the Volga in 1822, and payment of 75 rubles for his work on the Kiakhta in 1824. His salary is discussed in Company correspondence in 1823 (RACC 3/351:403v). The 1836 confessional records listed the orphan of Samoilov, Tatiana.

(60-76) There was a report of seventeen deaths at Ross in 1834 and twenty births. No ethnic affiliation, gender, or names accompany this information other than "everything appeared in order" at the settlement (RACC 192/192:186v).

(77) An unnamed Aleut drowned en route from Ross to San Francisco in the summer of 1834 when whales sank one baidarka and attacked the other baidarkas. The whales were dispersed by firing rifles at them. This was considered to be very strange and had never happened before (RACC 12/192:186v). This death is reported in the same correspondence as the 17 deaths mentioned above. It may be included in that count.

(78) The Novgorod citizen Vasilii Kononov/Ivanov died between 1833 and July 1836 when his "unlawful" son Gavriilo, age 2, was baptized at Ross. Kononov/Ivanov was shown as Gavriilo's deceased father.

(79) Tlualik Trofim, a Koniag from Aiktalitskoe village died sometime prior to August 1836. He is mentioned as the deceased father of an illegitimate son Stepan (age 17) in baptismal records from Veniaminov's visit to Ross. There is no other mention of his death which could have occurred any time between his listing in the 1821 Kuskov register and 1836. He is the father of the deceased child Izhuaok Petr whose death in June 1821 (#7).

(80) The axe and saw worker Malihkak Matvei of Ugatatskoe village was sent to Ross in 1815 (RACC 2/167:251). He appeared in the 1820 Kuskov register with his Coast Miwok wife Kytypaliv and daughter Ashana Alimpiada. He was listed by himself in the 1821 Kuskov register. Kuskov stated his occupation as an archer or marksman (Kuskov 1820, 1821). His name was listed in 1833 as receiving a salary at Ross (RACC 10/264:198v). His illegitimate son Nikolaii, age 8 and born to an Indian mother, was baptized in August 1836 and is noted as the son of the deceased Malihkak Matvei (ARCA 1836:385). This places Malihkak's death somewhere between the years 1833 and 1836.

(81) The carpenter Aksentii Samsonov was sent to Ross in 1823 (RACC 3/350:403). In 1827 he received a bonus or raise (RACC 5/219:344). The records do not show him as married but in 1836 his daughter Melaniia, age 2, is listed in the confessional records as an orphan and again in 1838. He is presumed to have died sometime between 1833 and 1836.

(82, 83) Ivan Vasil'ev, his wife Tat'iana, and daughter Avdo'ia were sent to Ross in 1830 (RACC 7/64:336). Avdo'ia (Evdof'ia) appears as an orphan in the 1836 and 1838 confessional records. Her age in 1836 was stated to be 11 years. Her parents are presumed to have died between 1830 and 1836.

(84) Talizhuk Kosma from the Alaskan village of Shashkatskoe was at Ross from between 1820 to 1836, possibly arriving earlier. His first wife was the Kashaya woman Yayumen who was reported only in the 1821 register (Kuskov 1821:16). He had two sons with his second wife Pelagiia, Nikifor and Vasilii. His wife and children appear in both the 1836 and 1838 confessional records. In 1838, Pelagiia is noted as the "widow" Talizhuka. This places the

death of Talizhuk Kozma sometime between 1836 and 1838. His son Talizhuk Vasilii returned to Sitka in 1841 (RACC 21/11:14).

(85) Taneikak Apalnak Ivan, a Kodiak from the Uhitskoe village was at Ross in 1820, 1821 with his Kashaya wife Pizhichimiy, daughter Olga, and son Chunyuun. His first family disappears from the literary record after 1821 and is replaced by his second wife Pelagiia Mukaia, and sons Il'ia, Marko, and Simeon during the later occupation of Ross. Pelagiia is described as Apalnak's widow in 1838. The youngest child, Simeon, was 3 years old in 1838, making it likely that his father died between 1834 and 1838.

(86, 87) An Aleut woman died from smallpox in 1838 as did an unbaptized Indian woman (RACC 16/440:249). The Indian should not be buried at the cemetery since she is clearly identified as being unbaptized.

(88) The Aleut Osip Shaia from the Kiliudinskoe village drowned in 1839 (RACC 17/406:387). He was a long resident of Ross, serving at least two tours of employment there. He worked as a foreman or baidarshchik (1828 correspondence sets salary for Aleut Shaia Osip who has been chosen as foreman; RACC 6/242:172v). He had been married twice, the first time in the 1820s to the Indian woman Myssalaya (Kuskov 1820, 1821). Some time after 1821 he departed Ross, possibly leaving in 1824 (Khlebnikov 1990:143). He returned to Ross in 1829 (RACC 6/217:455) and received a bonus or salary increase in 1832 (RACC 10/264:198v). He appeared in the 1836 and 1838 confessional records with an Indian wife named Alexandra and a son, Sazon (ARCA 264/229-262). [It is also possible that Myssalaya may have accompanied him to Alaska and adopted a more Russified name such as Alexandra]. Shaia was authorized to leave Ross in 1836 (RACC 13/498:373)

but for some reason did not go. His age in 1836 was reported as 35 years making him approximately 38 years old at the time of his death. No further mention is made of his wife. His Sazon son returned to Sitka in 1841 (ARCA 264/349-350). An American trader, Dean Faxon Atherton, visited Fort Ross in 1838, and mentioned the death on an Aleut employee of the Russian American Company whose baidarka capsized (Atherton 1964:108). This could be the same person or perhaps another unnamed death from drowning.

(89) The Lutheran Karl Flink died at Ross. The same correspondence that mentions the drowning of Osip Shaia states that the Ross office had requested a joiner to replace "the late Karl Flink" (RACC 17/406:387). Flink, a native of Finland, along with his wife Anna and son Stefan, were sent to Ross in 1833 (RACC 10/293:173v, 10/295:177). In 1835 his debts were forgiven as a bonus for his work (RACC 12/167:162v) and in 1836 he was given a salary increase for his skill in building the threshing machine at Ross (RACC 13/498:373v). The family appears in the Veniaminov confessional records for 1836 and 1838 although Veniaminov noted that Flink did not participate because he was a Lutheran. Flink's age was given as 39.

Two instances of murders associated with the Ross Colony are mentioned in the records. The 1820 Kuskov registers list two Miwok Indians, Vaimpo and Chichamik, who were accused of killing "Kodiaks and others" and sent to Sitka (Kuskov 1820:7). The Company Correspondence of November 1832 mentions the murder of an Indian and his wife which are described above (RACC 9/538:430).

Other recorded deaths occurred during the twenty-nine year Russian American occupation of the Ross Colony. None of those who died and who are listed below are likely to have been buried at Ross. The promyshlennik

Prokhor Egorov was sent to the Ross Colony in December 1820 but deserted a few months later. He is said to have died around 1822 in southern California (Pierce 1990a:133). Company correspondence (RACC 4/74:206) reports Prokhor Egorov was killed by Indians near Santa Barbara, California.

The Russian midshipman Aleksandr V. Tulub'ev died February 4, 1823 in California. He is said to be "buried on what became known as Russian Hill" in San Francisco (Pierce 1990a:512, 513). A. V. Tulub'ev was related to the Russian naval officer I. S. Tulub'ev who commanded the sloop Apollon off the coast of Russian America in 1821 and who ironically also died within months of his relative. Upon the death of I.S. Tulub'ev, the Apollon spent the winter in San Francisco because of the poor health of the crew. Company correspondence dated April 28, 1823 (RACC 3/135) states that Midshipman A. V. Tulub'ev was on the Apollon and died of a cold at San Francisco.

According to Bernard du Hautcilly, an American Captain named Henry Gyzelaar drowned in 1825 in Russian territory at Bodega. No further information is provided as to whether the body was recovered, and if so, what was its eventual disposition (Pierce 1990a:56).

The history of the Sausalito Township in Marin County, California (south of Ross and across the bay from the Presidio of San Francisco) has a reference to the quarantine of several Russian vessels due to some form of contagious disease. It is said that a number of the men on board died, and that they were "buried in shallow graves extending from the beach back some distance in a little gulch." The report also states that "since then the tide has

washed many of these bodies up, and excavations for lots, and the filling in of others have unearthed many of them, and buried others far deeper, and very soon all traces of them will be lost and forgotten" (Alley Bowen and Co. 1880:390). Unfortunately, there is no date given for these activities.

## Chapter Seven: Archaeological and Archival Synthesis

This chapter looks at the data presented in previous chapters in order to provide a cultural synthesis of the population at the Ross settlement, both living and dead. What are the archival, ethnographic, and archaeological lines of evidence for burial practices in the colonial cemetery? Who was there versus who was expected to be there? What was the frontier mortuary behavior? What has been discovered from the different lines of evidence, singularly and together?

### I. Archival and Ethnographic Evidence.

Written sources about historical 18th-19th century church practices were extensively used in this study, in particular those of the Orthodox Church and the visitors to Russia or Russian America. During the periods preceding, including, and following the Ross settlement, the Church was an official arm of the Russian State and was chartered in the mercantile colonies by the Russian American Company. Although not all of the colonial settlements in Russian America included an Orthodox church or chapel, we would expect that all designated a cemetery where, according to Church canon, those of Orthodox faith would be buried in the sanctified ground. Traditionally, no non-Orthodox persons were allowed to be buried inside these cemetery boundaries. As I have documented in earlier chapters, although no priest was ever assigned to the Ross Colony it did have (and still has) both an Orthodox chapel and a designated cemetery both dating from the Russian period of occupation.

Confessional records, metrical books, and other documents in the Alaskan Russian Church Archives (ARCA:a-c) give demographic data for Company settlements and native villages in Russian America. Appendix 3 presents the annual records of the Sitka Parish which were located and translated as part of this study. The preparers of these records (Table 7.1) were required to list all residents in a particular area, note whether they were Christian, and say if a person had attended communion during a given year. There were only three priests assigned to Sitka during this time and they all visited Ross. Confessional Records listed new converts and give a total number of Christians, 'heathens', Creoles and Natives in each location, and then a total figure for that particular mission (Smith 1980a:45). For Ross, Confessional Records are known to exist for only two years, 1836 and 1838. In 1832 the Sitka Priest Aleksei Sokolov visited Ross, accompanied by the Creole sub-deacon Nikolai Chechenev (Garrett 1979:113, 114). Sokolov was the first Orthodox priest assigned to Sitka in 1816 (Afonsky 1977:93). No confessional list has been located for his visit (Arndt 1992). In July 1836 Ioann Veniaminov, who had replaced Sokolov at Sitka, traveled to Ross where he heard confessions - as many as 46 in one day, administered sacraments of marriage and performed baptisms (Garrett 1979: 113,114). The third and last Orthodox priest to visit Ross during the Russian period of occupation was Father Andrei Sizykh sent in 1841 aboard the ship Elena for the purpose of performing church rites (RACC 20/310:318v). No special reports or confessional records for his visit were located although he did appear to perform a few baptisms and marriages while at Ross (Arndt 1992). No annual list of deaths at Ross were found in the metrical books. Church records did occasionally provide information about births, deaths, marriages, baptisms for

Table 7.1 Metrical Books for Sitka Parish 1816-1841: List of Preparers

<u>Year</u>	<u>Priest</u>	<u>Deacon</u>
1816	Aleksei Sokolov	
1817	Aleksei Sokolov	
1818	Aleksei Sokolov	
April 1818-May 1820	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1820-April 1822	Aleksei Sokolov	
April 1822-May 1824	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1824-May 1825	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1825-May 1827	no records located	
May 1827-May 1828	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1828-May 1829	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1829-May 1830	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1830-May 1831	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1831-May 1832	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1832-May 1833	Aleksei Sokolov	
May 1833-May 1834	no records located	
May 1834-May 1835	Ioann Veniaminov	
May 1835-May 1836	Ioann Veniaminov	
May 1836-May 1837	Ioann Veniaminov	Nikolai Chechenev
May 1837-May 1838	Ioann Veniaminov	Nikolai Chechenev
May 1838-May 1839	Andrei Sizykh	
May 1839-1840	none listed	Nikolai Chechenev
May 1840-1841	none listed	Nikolai Chechenev

some Ross Colony colonists prior to or after their service with the Company at Fort Ross.

Due to the lack of a permanent priest assigned to Ross, the institutional treatment of death and burial was most likely left to a designated layman, the manager of Ross, and/or the family and friends of the deceased. The official conduct of religious services was delegated to Fedor Svin'in, who held this post from the early days of the establishment of the colony until his death in 1832. Svin'in was responsible for all those religious services that are permitted for a layman to perform in the absence of a priest, including births, baptisms and burials. Khlebnikov noted during his visit in 1830-1831 that "because he is too old, Svin'in is left in the chapel as the church elder" (Istomin 1991a). Svin'in's training and qualifications to perform these tasks are not discussed and it is unknown who assumed this position after his death in 1832. The assistant manager of Ross from 1836-1841, Georgii Chernykh of northern Kamchatka, was the son of an Orthodox priest (Pierce 1990a:86). Whether due to this relationship Chernykh knew any more about church practices than the other Orthodox colonists is unknown.

A. Who died and should be buried at Ross? The first set of data are from the archives of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Russian American Company, the various travel accounts of visitors to Ross and Russian America, and other literary sources. Of the 131 graves located by archaeological excavation at the Ross cemetery, fragmentary records exist thus far for only 89 persons. Of the 89 persons reported in Chapter 6, only 37 (42%) are listed by name. Ten are Russian men: Ivan Antipin (1827), Vasilii Antipin (1821), Vasilii Kononov/Ivanov (1833-1836), Aleksei Korenev (1832),

Rodion Koroliiov (1820), Kotlakovskii (1820), Alexei Shukshin (1820), Vasiliï Starkovskii (1827), Fedor Svin'in (1832), and Vasiliï Vasil'ev (1826). Three of the apparent dead were non-Russian Europeans: Vilman (1824/25); Linden (1824/25); and the Finn, Karl Flink (1839) a Lutheran. Twelve Creoles are among the known dead. They include 5 named men: Kulikalov (1820), Ivan Kulikalov (1832), Mikhailo Rastorguev (1829), Vasiliï Titov (1825), and Sergei Trukhmanov (1827); and three named women: Evlampia Antipina (1828), Paraskov'ia Kulikalova (1827), Anna Vasil'eva (1828). One Creole male and three females were among the unnamed dead from the April 1828 epidemic. Two of the men and one women were named but were not identified by ethnic group. The men were likely to have been Russian or Creole based on their names: Ivan Vasil'ev (1830-1836) and Aksentii Samsonov (1833-1836). The wife of Ivan Vasil'ev, Tat'iana, also died (1830-1836) and was probably Creole or Native Alaskan. The deaths of forty Native Alaskans were recorded, twenty-nine male and eleven female. Ten of the deceased Alaskan men are named: Agchyaesikok Roman (1821), the child Izhuaok Petr (1821), Chapushvik Matvei (1824), Dimitrii Samoilov (1832), Sipak Ivan (1832), Malihkak Matvei (1833-1836), Taneikak Apalnak Ivan (1834-1838), Tlualkik Trofim (1836), Talizhuk Kosma (1836-1838), and Osip Shaia (1839); two of the Alaskan women are named: Olga (1820) and Pininchin Varvara (1821). One unnamed Alaskan male was killed while falling timber (1824), another drowned in 1834; seventeen unnamed Alaskan males and eight unnamed Alaskan females died in the 1828 epidemic; and one female died of smallpox in 1838. Four California Indian deaths are reported, only one of whom is named, the female Unitma (1821); two, a husband and wife, were murdered (1832), and one female died of smallpox (1838). Another seventeen persons

died in 1834. No information on age, gender, or ethnic group is provided. In summary, 51 adult males, 1 male child, 20 females, and 17 persons of unknown derivation are reported dead at Ross. These are summarized in Table 7.2.

B. Who is missing from the reported deaths? As can be seen by Table 7.2, only 64% of those buried at Ross were officially reported or more precisely, have official reports that have survived in the archives. Of those reported, only one is a child and 20 (23%) are women. Given what is known about the population composition at Ross, both children and women appear to have been greatly under reported. The likelihood of only one child dying at Ross in 29 years based on common knowledge of infant mortality rates, the occurrence of several epidemics during the period of Ross's occupation, and the proportion of children to adults in the population makes this highly improbable. The archaeological evidence shown below will also demonstrate the burial of numerous children.

The literary record has also left some clues about who might have died at Ross but not been reported. This information is derived from my database of the Ross settlement (Appendix 1) which shows all of the known colonists as compiled from the entire body of literature that I reviewed. The last column of this table "Died at Ross" indicates a number of persons about whom there are questions. For instance, Kashin, the "illegitimate" (common-law) Kashaya wife of Stepan Bardahoev appears with him in the Kuskov register of 1820, but not in 1821. Did she return to her village or is her absence due to death? Anna, the minor daughter of Lavrentii Godlevskii was "transported to her parents at Ross in 1831" (RACC 8/444:291). She does

Table 7.2 Died at Ross and Reported in the Archives

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>% of 89 reported</u>	<u>% of 131 total</u>
Russian	(10)	11%	08%
Foreign	(03)	03%	02%
Creole male	(06)	07%	05%
Creole female	(06)	07%	05%
Alaskan male*	(29)	33%	22%
Alaskan female	(11)	12%	08%
California male	(01)	01%	01%
California female	(03)	04%	02%
Unknown male	(02)	02%	01%
Unknown female	(01)	01%	01%
Unknown	(17)	19%	13%
TOTAL	89	100%	68%
Male*	52	58%	40%
Female	20	23%	15%
unknown	17	19%	13%
TOTAL	89	100%	68%

\* includes one male child

not appear in the 1836 confessional records with the rest of her family. This may be due to marriage, return to Sitka, or possibly death. Melania, the illegitimate daughter of Ekaterina (daughter of Petr Budilov), appears with the Budilov family in the 1836 confessional records but not in 1838.

Two of Nikifor Zyrianov's daughters, Palagia and Mariia, were sent to Ross with their family in 1820 (Kuskov 1820:6). They do not appear with the other Zyrianovs in the confessional records of 1836 and 1838 (ARCA 264:a,b) however they would also have been of a marriageable age by this time. Interestingly, another daughter named Mariia, age 3, appears with the Zyrianov family in 1836 (ARCA 264:a) and cannot be the same person who was at Ross in 1820 and 1821. This could either mean that they named two daughters, both living, "Mariia" or that the 3 year old Mariia was named after an absent or deceased sister. Veniaminov reported that Dimitrii Nozikov had two living daughters in 1838 (ARCA 264:b), both named Agripina so two Mariia Zyrianovs would not be without precedence.

Three of Vasilii Permitin's 4 children who arrived at Ross in 1820 (Kuskov 1820:5) no longer appear with the family in the 1836 confessional records. Many things other than death could account for their absence during the 15 year gap when they were last reported, including marriage of the two daughters and return of the son to Alaska or Russia for education. Permitin returned to Russia in 1837 (RACC 14/228:259). His son Mikhail remained at Ross alone until at least 1838 (ARCA 264:b). No record of Permitin's Creole wife and the other four children who were born at Ross has been found after 1836. It is unknown whether they returned to Russia with him or remained in the colonies.

Miron Timofei and his wife Katerina were sent to Ross in 1830 (RACC 7/64:336). He appears in the 1836 and 1838 confessional records (ARCA 264:a,b) along with a woman named Nadezhda whom he requests permission to marry in Sitka in 1841 (RACC 21/423:326v). I believe there is a strong likelihood that his first wife Katerina died at Ross sometime between 1830 and 1836. No children were reported.

The horse doctor, Aleksei Igushev, his wife Marfa, and their infant daughter Tat'iana were sent to Ross in 1820 (RACC 2/97:87v, Kuskov 1820:5). Igushev left Ross in 1827 (RACC 5/147:310). His daughter Alexandra who was born at Ross in 1825 was later reported in Sitka (ARCA:c). The disposition of Marfa and Tat'iana after 1827 is unknown.

Efim Munin was born in 1765. He arrived in the colonies in 1804 and married a woman named Vera in 1816 (Pierce 1990:368). He arrived at Ross on the brig Golovin in December 1820 with his Kodiak wife Elisaveta and Ekaterina, a ward. A daughter named Elisaveta was born in April 1821 (Kuskov 1820:5, 6). By 1836, Munin, age 71, had an Aleut wife named Agripina and five new children (ARCA 264:a). No further record of his second wife and daughter (both named Elisaveta) or the ward Ekaterina has been found. Stepan Borodin, who appears to have been sent to Ross alone in 1834 (RACC 11/404:378v) is in the confessional records of 1836 and 1838 with a wife named Ekaterina (ARCA 264:a,b). Likewise, Stepan Kotelnikov who was a child at Ross in the 1820, 1821 registers (Kuskov 1820:4, 1821:7), is married to an Elisaveta in 1836 and 1838 (ARCA 264:a,b). It is unknown whether these are the same women. I believe there is a high likelihood that Munin's second wife, Elisaveta, died at Ross.

The Yakut Georgii Zakharov was sent to Ross in 1820 and returned to Russia in 1837 (RACC 2/97:87v,14/344:394). In the 1836 confessional records, he is listed with an Indian wife Natalia and son Simeon (ARCA 264:a). There is no evidence of them after his departure. It is possible they returned to her village.

The Creole Filip Kotelnikov had two wives at Ross, both California Indian women. The first was Amachamin who along with their sons Chichilli and Stepan is shown in both the 1820, 1821 Kuskov registers (Kuskov 1820:4, 1821:7). In the Veniaminov confessional records, Kotelnikov's wife is now Varvara and they have two additional children (ARCA 264:a,b). No record of Amachamin and Chichilli appears after 1821 and it is possible they returned to her village. Stepan remained at Ross and in 1836, 1838 is married to a woman named Elisaveta (see above).

The Native Alaskan Kaskak Tuchin Ioann from An'iakhtalitskoe village appeared in the 1820 Kuskov register with a Southern Pomo wife (Tsullua) and a daughter Elena (Kuskov 1820:18). He remained at Ross until at least 1838. Elena appears in the 1836 confessional records but Tsullua is not mentioned again. Four additional children are shown as part of this family in 1836, 1838 (ARCA 264:a,b). It is unknown whether Tsullua is their mother or if it was someone else. I believe it is likely that Tsullua returned to her village. Elena may have married Pavlov Ioann. He is shown alone in 1836, she was still with her family. In 1838 Pavlov Ioann is listed with a wife Elena (ARCA 264:a,b).

Kaiakhtak Ivan from Anikinskoe settlement is at Ross during all four censuses. His Kodiak wife Avlashkok Ulita and son Naklynok Vasili were

with him in 1820, 1821 (Kuskov 1820:11, 1821:12) but are missing in the later time period. Two other sons, Tarasii and Artemii appear only in the 1836 confessional records (ARCA 264:a). It is possible that one or more of these individuals died at Ross.

Nine California Indian women disappear from the records and may have returned to their villages. Kelyaymin was with the toyon of Ezabkinskoe village, Nanehkun Vasiliu in 1820 (Kuskov 1820:10). In 1821 Nanehkun Vasiliu and the daughters are shown but not Kelyaymin (Kuskov 1821:11). Kakishmaya was with Chanakhkak Il'ia of Igatskoe village in 1820, 1821 along with two sons (Kuskov 1820:16; 1821:13). Kakishmaya and one son, Pinehnun Kiril are gone in 1836 and 1838 while the other son, Timofei Iakshak remains with his father and a new sibling Ignatii (ARCA 264:a,b). The Katmaiskoe village Eskimo Kuignak had two wives. The first, Unutiklin, was listed only in 1820 (Kuskov 1820:19). In 1821, he was with Tulikapucha (Kuskov 1821:15). Since Unutiklin was shown as an illegitimate wife, it is possible she returned to her village. She does not appear anywhere else at a later date in the listing of Ross colonists. Tulumachua and her son Aniehta were with Pizhakhtkak Vasiliu of Kiliudinskoe village in 1821 (Kuskov 1821:12). Her son remained at Ross. In 1836 and 1838 he had a wife named Mariia (age 24) and son Feodor (age 12). He was shown as 47 years old in 1836 (ARCA 264:a,b). Tulumachua and her son may have returned to her village. Myssalaya was the first wife of Osip Shaia (Kuskov 1820:11, 1821:13). There were no children. His wife in 1836, 1838 is Aleksandra and there are two children (ARCA 264:a,b). Miyacha is listed as the wife of Nanchin Nikita in 1821 (Kuskov 1821:12), one of the four census years his name appears. No other wife is shown for him in the other three census years (ARCA 264:a,b).

Shaia Stefan was also at Ross for all four census counts. His wife Nuchichiya appears only in the first two (Kuskov 1820:10, 1821:12). Ungaiak Kornill was at Ross in 1820, 1821, 1836, and 1838 (ARCA 264:a,b). His wife Kibuchunmiy Maria and 2 children are only present in 1820 (Kuskov 1820:15).

Chupivat'miy and two sons were listed in Kuskov's 1820 register with Tunuliakhhak Iakov of Shashkatskoe village (Kuskov 1820:7). Only her husband and children are shown in the 1821 register (Kuskov 1821:7).

Yayumen, the wife of Talizhuk Kosma, is listed in 1821 (Kuskov 1821:16). Her husband appears in 1820 (Kuskov 1820:13), 1821 (Kuskov 1821:9), and 1836 (ARCA 264:a). Two sons are in the 1836 and 1838 records. Talizhuk Kosma died sometime prior to the 1838 confessional list and was married at the time to a woman named Pelagiia Talizhuka (ARCA:a,b).

Sofia, the daughter of Kamliuk Aleksei of Kiliudinskoe village, may have died at Ross. She was baptized in July 1836 by Veniaminov at the age of 1 year (ARCA:c). While the rest of the family also appears in the 1838 confessional records (ARCA 264:b), she is missing. I think her death at Ross is highly probable.

The fate of the second wife (Vera, a Kodiak) and son (Vasilii Chanaak) of Kashpak Ioann, also of Kiliudinskoe village is in question. Vera is not listed with this husband after 1821 (Kuskov 1821:11). In 1836 and 1838 (ARCA 264:a,b) there is now a "Vera" with Kichuk Efim who was previously single in 1820, 1821. It is possible that Vera left Kashpak Ioann for Kichuk Efim or these could be two different women. The son, Vasilii Chanaak, age 3, was baptized in 1836 but does not appear with his father in 1838. Given his young

age, he likely died or went with his mother if she left the settlement and returned to Alaska.

Tatiana, an Aleut orphan, was recorded in the 1836 census (ARCA 264:b). I have not been able to determine her family. Her age, 11 years, makes her too young to be Igushev's daughter Tat'iana mentioned above. Tatiana is the only orphan for whom I have been unable to locate a family tie at the Ross Colony.

I have also been unable to cross-reference three of the women listed by Veniaminov as widows (ARCA 264:a,b) to men known to have lived at Ross and who could potentially be their deceased husbands. These are Afrosiniia (1836), Ekaterina (1836), and Melaniia (1836, 1838). Ekaterina appears to have become the wife of Nikolaev Ermolai (1838). There is no other reference to an Afrosiniia other than the one in 1836. The name Ekaterina appears in 7 different places in the records of Ross, and Melaniia appears 3 times. These occurrences do not appear to be duplications.

C. Cemetery Descriptions. The other perspective gained from the archival documents is related to the descriptions of the actual cemetery. Several of these narrative accounts appear in Chapter 5. The description by Payeras in 1822 does not mention the number of graves but comments about "notable distinctions" in the types of grave markers. It is the only known written description of the cemetery that is contemporary with the Russian occupation. After the departure of the Russians, Ernest Rufus estimated the cemetery population at 50 persons and described five types of grave markers. He also mentioned that the graves were oriented east-west, and that some contained children given their small size (Munro-Fraser 1973:369-370). From accounts written between 1893-1922, only a dozen or so graves could be

distinguished (Greene 1893, Nikolai 1897, Hatch 1922) at that time. Thirty years later, only three were visible (Hatch 1952). In 1989, when this project got underway, no graves were recognizable on the surface. None of the heavy wooden planks, the large round pillar, and the crosses described in the historical accounts remained in situ. This is unfortunate because the earliest descriptions suggested considerable variability in the style and size of the surface markers. There were also suggestions that some of these differences were based on ethnic origin of the deceased: a box over the European graves and crosses over the graves of Native Alaskans (Payeras 1822). Distinctions were also apparently made in the construction of the crosses, some were "rude," others displayed "mechanical skill" (Munro-Fraser 1973:369-370). These differences may have been based on status, where more effort was taken in the construction of grave furniture for someone higher up in the Russian American hierarchical social system. Likewise, the less skillfully made crosses may have been those placed during one or more of the epidemics that swept Ross.

D. Family and friends at Ross. Who would be expected to perform the mortuary treatment of those who known to have died at Ross (see Table 7.3)? Fifty-three (60%) of the 89 persons known to have died at Ross died prior to 1832. That is the year that Fedor Svin'in, the colony's starosta or lay religious person also died. The 53 include 7 Russian men, 2 foreign men, 5 Creole men, 5 Creole women, 21 Native Alaskan men, 12 Native Alaskan women, and one California Indian woman. Those who died after Svin'in included 17 unknown persons in 1834, 3 Russian men, 1 Finn, 1 Creole man, two men and one woman of indeterminate ethnicity, 8 Native Alaskan men,

Table 7.3 Died at Ross: Surviving Family Members

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Family Member</u>	<u>Burial*</u>
<u>Russian Men (10)</u>			
V. Antipin	1821	Wife, Calif. Indian	High
I. Antipin	1827	Wife, Creole	High
V. Kononov	1833/36	young children	High
A. Korenev	1832	Wife, Calif. Indian	High
R. Koroliov	1820	Wife, Calif. Indian	High
-. Kotlakovskii	1820	Wife	High
A. Shukshin	1820	none given	High
V. Starkovskii	1827	none	High
F. Svin'in	1832	Wife, Creole	High
V. Vasil'ev	1827	Wife, Native Alaskan	High
<u>European Men (3)</u>			
K. Flink, Finn	1839	Wife, Indian; Lutheran	Moderate
Z. Lindel	1824/25	none	Moderate
G. Walman	1824/25	none	Moderate
<u>Creole Men (6)</u>			
-. Kulikalov	1820<	Wife, Creole	High
I. Kulikalov	1832	none	High
M. Rastogurev	1829	Wife, Alaskan	High
V. Titov	1825	none	High
S. Trukhmanov	1827	Wife, Calif. Indian	High
1 unnamed	1828		High-Moderate
<u>Creole Women (5)</u>			
E. Antipina	1828	husband deceased	High
P. Kulikalova	1827	husband deceased	High
3 unnamed	1828		High-Moderate
<u>Russian/Creole Men (2)</u>			
A. Samsonov	1833/36	minor child	High
I. Vasil'ev	1830/36	wife also deceased	High

Table 7.3 Died at Ross: Surviving Family Members (cont.)

Creole/Alaskan Women (1)

T. Vasil'eva	1830/36	husband deceased	High
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Native Alaskan Men (29)

S. Ivan	1832	widow, minor children	High-Moderate
T. Ivan	1834/38	Wife, minor children	High-Moderate
T. Kosma	1836/38	Wife, minor children	High-Moderate
C. Matvei	1824	Wife, Alaskan; toyon	High-Moderate
M. Matvei	1833/36	Wife, Calif. Indian	High-Moderate
I. Petr (child)	1821	Father, NA, Mother CA	High
A. Roman	1821	Wife, Calif. Indian	High-Moderate
D. Samoilov	1832	minor daughter	High-Moderate
O. Shaia	1839	Wife, Calif. Indian	High-Moderate
T. Trofim	1836	Wife, Calif. Indian	High-Moderate
1 unnamed	1824		Unknown
17 unnamed	1828		Unknown
1 unnamed	1834		Unknown

Native Alaskan Women (12)

Olga	1820	Husband, NA	High-Moderate
P. Varvara	1821	none listed	High-Moderate
A. Vasil'eva	1828	widow w/five children	High
9 unnamed	1828		High-Moderate

California Indians (4)

1 unnamed male	1832	Wife, murdered	Low-Unlikely
Unitma	1821	Husband, Chugach	Low-Unlikely
1 female	1832	murdered	Low-Unlikely
1 female	1838	died of smallpox	Low-Unlikely

Unknown

17 unnamed	1834		Unknown
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\* = likelihood of an Orthodox burial

"unlikely" = probably not buried in Orthodox cemetery

two California Indian women, and one California Indian man. As stated previously, Svin'in's exact responsibilities in the area of religion and burial is not well known but he is the only person I have found during my research who was specified to have any such responsibility in the colony. The manager of Ross from 1821-1825 was Karl Shmidt, a native of Finland (Pierce 1990a:447). Five deaths are known to have occurred during his term as Kuskov's successor. Two of these were other non-Russian Europeans, Vilman and Linden (1824-1825). The others were the Creole blacksmith V. Titov (1825), the Alaskan Chapushvik Matvei (1824), and an unnamed Alaskan (1824).

I would expect that all deceased Russian men were treated in strict accordance with Orthodox burial practices. They were at the top of the socio-economic hierarchy at Ross, regardless of their occupation, simply by being Russian. It is also assumed that by being Russian, they were part of a social network with other Russians in the colony who would help ensure their proper burial. Two of the Russians, Shukshin and Starkovskii, had no family at Ross. Little is known of Shukshin, however Starkovskii played a very prominent role in the early political history of Ross. Vasil'ev lived in a "neighborhood" with the Russians Grudinin, Permitin, and Zyrianov and had been at Ross 7 years. His wife was Native Alaskan. Vasilii Antipin, Korenev, and Koroliiov were married to California Indian women who were unlikely to have much knowledge or interest in Orthodox burial practices. The Ross manager Shmidt spoke highly of both V. Antipin and Korenev for their shipbuilding and carpentry skills.

The burial practices for the three non-Russian European men is questionable. Although many foreign employees in Company service were required or volunteered to convert to Orthodoxy, this does not appear to have been the case for at least the Finn Karl Flink. He is clearly designated as a Lutheran in the Orthodox confessional records and did not participate in the confession and communion during Veniaminov's visit to Ross (ARCA 264:a,b). His wife "the Izhiganka" Anna appears to have been a Native Alaskan from the village of Izigan in the Aleutians. She was Orthodox according to Veniaminov's list. It is unknown whether she would have overseen Flink's burial or he left instructions with anyone prior to his death for his burial that were carried out differently than Orthodox customs. No other Finns or non-Russian Europeans are documented at Ross during this time period who might have conducted a service or the burial. Whether Flink was allowed to be buried in the Orthodox cemetery is unknown. The other two Europeans, Vilman (Gustav Walman?) and Linden (Zakhar Lindel?) were apparently at Ross unaccompanied. Their deaths in the early 1820s was during the time that the native Finn, Shmidt was manager at Ross and another Finn, Isai Adamson, was employed there. Again, it is unknown whether they were of the Orthodox faith and whether they were buried in the main cemetery regardless of their religious affiliation while at Ross.

The adult Creoles who lived at Ross were, in all probability, baptized as Russian Orthodox in Alaska prior to moving to Ross. Their unique social class originated in Russian America largely due to the concern of the Church over the numbers of illegitimate marriages and children of these unions during the early years of Russian colonial expansion. Children born to them at Ross would be expected to be baptized by Svin'in or another lay person. All

Creoles would be expected to receive an Orthodox burial in accordance with any Russian American adaptations to Orthodox customs.

Native Alaskan men and women at Ross were also likely to have been baptized in the Orthodox religion given Church policy at the time. The likelihood of their following Orthodox mortuary practices was probably dependent on how many generations they were removed from their Native Alaskan religious practices, how strongly these practices remained in their culture, and how much control they had over treatment of the deceased at Ross.

California Indian men were never documented in large numbers within the Ross settlement. Although there were greater numbers of California Indian women than other groups of women at Ross, most of the literature suggests that these women returned to their local villages when a relationship with a male at the settlement was dissolved, often taking their children with them. It appears that they retained strong ties to their native community and may have been buried there when they died. The burial of their offspring with Russian, Creole, or Native Alaskan men in many cases was likely to have been at the main cemetery, especially if the child had been baptized. The Veniaminov confessional list records a number of baptized California Indians in 1836 and 1838 (ARCA 264:a,b). It is unknown whether, if baptized, they would have been interred in the cemetery. The death of one California Indian woman, Unitma was reported by Kuskov (1820:19). She was the illegitimate wife of the Chugach man Sipak Ishkhatskiy.

## II. Archaeological Evidence.

The archaeological evidence was generated by three field seasons of excavation at the cemetery by students from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and local volunteers. There are no data from other cemeteries in Russian America from which comparisons can be made. The only other investigation at a Russian American cemetery was by Donald Clark at the Three Saints Harbor cemetery on Kodiak Island, Alaska. The human remains were badly decayed and considered unsatisfactory for analysis (Crowell 1994:126).

A. Osteology. The first set of data are from the osteological analysis of those individuals buried at Ross and excavated as part of this project. Preliminary interpretations of the skeletal remains were obtained from Douglas Owsley of the Smithsonian Institution who continues to analyze these data. The analysis of these remains is important even though it is known that "a series or collection of skeletal remains ... may not truly be representative of the age and sex structure of the population." The age of adults may be harder to tell in later years and the sex of small children is difficult to determine ( Hassan 1981:96). Eighty-eight (67%) of the 131 were identifiable by age range, and 49 (37%) were identifiable by gender (Osborn 1992:1). These are shown on Table 7.4. Of the 88 individuals for whom age could be determined 37% were considered minors (less than 20 years of age) and of these, 23% were less than 10 years of age. This is much different than the information obtained from the archives, especially for children and women. If these data were extrapolated over the entire set of graves, one might expect thirty individuals below the age of ten, eighteen between ages of ten and nineteen, and eighty-three persons over the age of twenty years.

Table 7.4 Died at Ross, Reported in the Osteological Record

<u>Sex</u>		<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Male		18	14%
Female		31	24%
Not identified by sex		82	62%
Total		131	100%

<u>Age</u>		<u>% of 88</u>	<u>% of 131</u>
Less than 10 years	20	23%	15%
10 years-19 years	12	14%	09%
20 years or greater	56	63%	43%
Age not determined	43	—	33%
Total	131	100%	100%

There is a huge potential for error in this correlation given that Owsley's ability to determine age or sex was hindered by extremely poor preservation, i.e. the high percentage of adults over the age of twenty may be the result of better preservation of adult bones, whereas the remaining forty-three deceased could all be subadults. Unfortunately, at this time, Owsley's analysis is not yet complete; these age and sex data cannot be attributed to individual graves. In the future, it is hoped that his data can be correlated with specific graves in such a manner that would also assist in the determination of age or sex for all graves.

B. Coffin Size. The second set of data are derived from an analysis of coffin size. Maximum coffin length was measured (Table 7.5) and plotted onto a histogram (Figure 7.1). Coffin length was considered a probable indicator of maximum height in the absence of physical measurements of the deceased. This has been argued by Morris (1987:58) in his study of the rise of the Greek city-state (1100 to 500 BC). He states "in inhumations the length of the grave is directly related to the length of the skeleton (and usually therefore to the age at death, at least up to the stage of physical maturity." His analysis shows that despite some variation, it is generally "easy to distinguish adult and sub-adult inhumations" where the inhumations are supine and extended (Morris 1987:58,59). His graph of grave lengths shows that all individuals from 1-50 cm., 51-100 cm. are considered to be subadults. He has a little overlap in the 151-200 and 201-250 cm groups. All others above 250 cms are adults (Morris 1987:60). While it is understood that smaller persons may have been placed in larger coffins, the reverse is not likely given that all interments for which indicators were present, appear to have been in a fully extended position. At Ross, no other means of measuring height of the deceased was available due to the extremely poor preservation of human remains, so coffin length was used as an analytical tool. The histogram shows the relative distribution and central tendency of the data. Coffins 100 cm. or less in length were considered to be those of children under the age of 10 years. Modern growth charts (Abbott 1993) show the upper range of height for children to be 95 cm. for boys and 97 cm for girls. Thirty-two coffins (24%) were less than 100 cm. total length. The next grouping of coffins on the histogram are those from 100 cm. to 140 cm. (4'7") total length. These may represent those older subadults between the ages of 10-19 although some

Table 7.5 Coffin Size and Contents

Coffin Types

Type R = Rectangular Coffin

Type S = Shroud Burial (No Coffin)

Type T = Tapered Rectangular Coffin

Dimensions = length at midsection, width at head, width at foot

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Dimensions (cms)</u>	<u>Contents</u>
2	T	174 x 50 x 40	religious pendant
3	R	152 x 58 x 58	religious pendant
6	R	170 x 52 x 54	buttons, textile
8	R	173 x 29 x 29	
9	T	177 x 42 x 35	buttons. textile
10	T	115 x 54 x 28	
11	T	60 x 26 x 18	religious pendant, textile
12	R	52 x 22 x 23	religious pendant
13	R	94 x 26 x 27	
15	S		
16	S		
17	S		
18	S		
19	T	145 x 32 x 20	religious pendant
20	S		
24	T	193 x 60 x 42	buttons, textile
25	T	190 x 57 x 48	
26	R	50 x 33 x 33	bead cluster, religious pendant
27	R	110 x 38 x 38	
28	T	173 x 45 x 38	bead cluster, textile
29	R	68 x 43 x 42	
30	T	152 x 52 x 44	religious pendant, textile
31	T	108 x 28 x 20	religious pendant, textile
32	T	170 x 38 x 33	religious pendant, textile
33	R	107 x 33 x 33	religious pendant
34	T	141 x 38 x 27	religious pendant

Table 7.5 Coffin Size and Contents (cont.)

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Dimensions (cms)</u>	<u>Contents</u>
35	S		
37	T	110 x 33 x 18	religious pendant, textile
40	S		
41	S		
42	S		
43	T	180 x 45 x 40	
44	T	182 x 58 x 42	
45	T	168 x 50 x 40	
49	R	64 x 26 x 26	
50	R	145 x 55 x 55	
51	T	171 x 40 x 25	religious pendant
52	R	76 x 25 x 26	religious pendant, textile
53	T	85 x 28 x 24	
54	T	180 x 42 x 35	
55	R	75 x 21 x 22	
56	T	173 x 50 x 42	
58	T	157 x 35 x 26	religious pendant
59	T	175 x 45 x 32	religious pendant
60	R	210 x 53 x 48	
61	T	120 x 29 x 22	bead cluster, hair ornament, religious pendant, textile
64	R	176 x 34 x 34	religious pendant, textile
65	T	195 x 56 x 44	religious pendant
68	R	178 x 45 x 45	religious pendant
71	R	156 x 26 x 27	hair/ fur
73	T	190 x 54 x 42	buttons, textiles
76	T	163 x 50 x 28	religious pendant
77	R	158 x 32 x 34	
78	T	93 x 30 x 20	
79	T	65 x 24 x 14	religious pendant
81	T	160 x 40 x 32	
82	T	175 x 44 x 38	buttons, religious pendant, textile

Table 7.5 Coffin Size and Contents (cont.)

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Dimensions (cms)</u>	<u>Contents</u>
84	T	167 x 28 x 21	religious pendant
85	T	163 x 40 x 28	religious pendant, textile
86	T	80 x 25 x 17	religious pendant
87	R	55 x 28 x 28	
88	R	200 x 40 x 40	
89	T	123 x 48 x 35	religious pendant
90	T	186 x 48 x 58	button
91	R	65 x 27 x 27	religious pendant, textile
92	T	140 x 52 x 40	religious pendant
94	T	185 x 53 x 42	button, religious pendant, grave marker
95	T	166 x 44 x 28	religious pendant
96	R	78 x 20 x 20	
97	R	173 x 38 x 38	hinge fragments, sabre fragments, religious pendant
98	T	102 x 32 x 25	religious pendant
99	R	166 x 34 x 32	
101	R	172 x 42 x 42	religious pendant
102	R	90 x 23 x 23	religious pendant
103	R	73 x 25 x 25	religious pendant, textile
104	R	113 x 30 x 30	ceramic
105	R	136 x 30 x 32	bead cluster
106	T	106 x 30 x 22	religious pendant, textile
107	T	96 x 34 x 26	religious pendant
108	R	140 x 34 x 35	
109	T	178 x 50 x 40	religious pendant
110	T	90 x 31 x 20	
111	R	200 x 52 x 52	religious pendant
113	R	109 x 20 x 20	bead cluster, religious pendant
114	T	155 x 38 x 32	
115	T	158 x 32 x 28	bead cluster, religious pendant, textile

Table 7.5 Coffin Size and Contents (cont.)

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Dimensions (cms)</u>	<u>Contents</u>
116	R	185 x 42 x 39	beads, buttons, textile
118	T	104 x 58 x 48	
119	T	166 x 44 x 30	bead cluster, religious pendant, textile
120	R	78 x 30 x 31	
121	T	162 x 38 x 34	bead cluster, ceramics, religious pendant, textile
122	R	98 x 36 x 36	religious pendant, textile
123	T	168 x 46 x 38	religious pendant
125	R	170 x 47 x 47	religious pendant, textile
127	T	162 x 40 x 32	religious pendant
128	R	116 x 34 x 34	bead cluster, bells?, buttons, religious pendant, textile
130	T	74 x 27 x 18	religious pendant, textile
131	T	68 x 27 x 18	religious pendant
133	T	140 x 42 x 28	coin, religious pendant, shell
134	T	168 x 46 x 40	
135	S		bead cluster
136	T	79 x 34 x 18	religious pendant
137	T	180 x 32 x 24	religious pendant, textile
138	T	82 x 32 x 22	bead cluster, religious pendant
139	R	103 x 25 x 25	religious pendant, textile
141	T	183 x 60 x 50	religious pendant
142	R	173 x 34 x 34	religious pendant
143	R	173 x 48 x 48	religious pendant, textile
144	T	172 x 51 x 44	bead cluster, bottle, figurine base, glass, grommet, mirror, needles, needle case, pigment, spoon, textile, thimbles, window glass
147	R	84 x 27 x 28	religious pendant
148	T	171 x 55 x 28	religious pendant, textile
150	R	174 x 42 x 41	buttons

Table 7.5 Coffin Size and Contents (cont.)

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Dimensions (cms)</u>	<u>Contents</u>
151	R	168 x 41 x 40	bead, religious pendant, textile
152	R	107 x 24 x 24	button, religious pendant
153	S		buckle/clasp, button, textile
154	T	149 x 31 x 38	religious pendant
155	T	123 x 40 x 26	religious pendant
156	R	197 x 44 x 44	bead cluster, ring, religious pendant
157	T	197 x 58 x 40	buttons
158	T	184 x 38 x 31	religious pendant
159	R	45 x 18 x 18	religious pendant
160	T	170 x 38 x 28	religious pendant, textile
161	R	68 x 28 x 28	
162	T	49 x 20 x 15	religious pendant, textile
164	T	127 x 26 x 18	
165	T	174 x 42 x 34	
166	T	168 x 54 x 38	buttons, textile
167	R	56 x 22 x 22	
168	T	178 x 48 x 42	buttons
169	T	176 x 54 x 44	
170	T	74 x 31 x 25	religious pendant

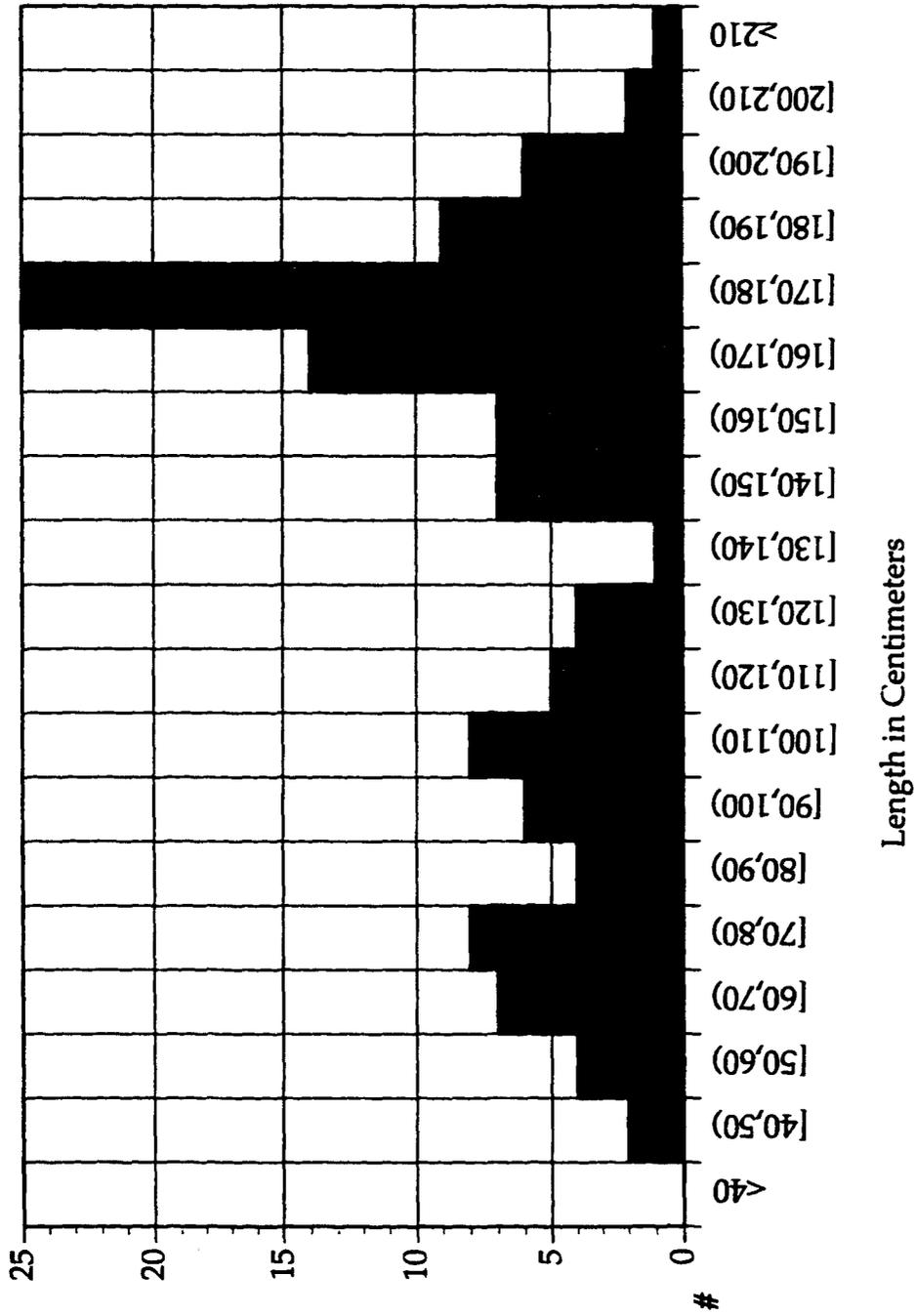
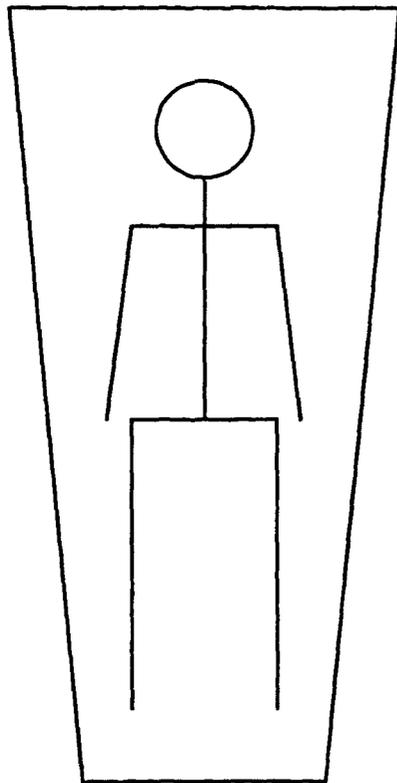


Figure 7.1 Coffin Histogram

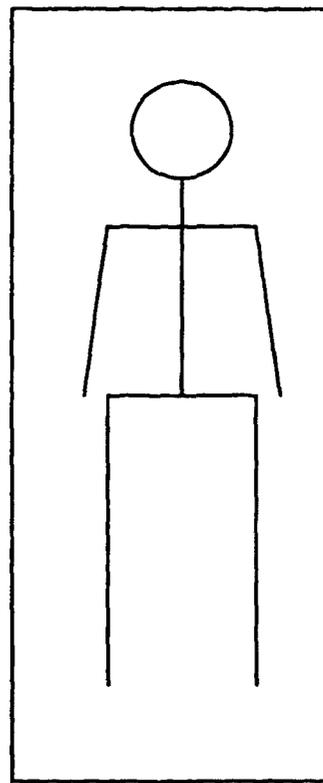
taller individuals may overlap into the 150-160 cm. ranges. Those individuals with coffins ranges 100-140 cm. numbered 18 individuals (14%) of the total. The next group from 140-170 cm. (circa 4'7" - 5'6") may be considered adult women. [Stature of Spanish females at St. Augustine ranged from 5'0" to 5'3" (Koch 1983:207)]. These totalled 36 coffins or 28%. The largest coffins were considered to be those of males. Those over 170 cm. (5'7") numbered 45 individuals (34%). Obviously this is not as precise as if all individuals remained intact and a complete osteological analysis had been practicable.

C. Coffin Style. The 131 deceased were buried in one of two types of coffins - a tapered rectangle or an elongated rectangle, or in no coffin. Seventy-two (55%) persons were interred in tapered rectangular coffins, forty-eight (37%) persons in elongated rectangular coffins, and eleven (8%) persons in no coffin. I have defined a tapered coffin as one in which the width at the head end is  $\geq 10\%$  greater than the width at the foot. An elongated rectangular coffin has equal width at the head and foot. Maximum length for both styles is the centerline measurement between the head and the foot (Figure 7.2). Both of these coffin styles were common in Orthodox Russia and Europe during this period of time. Maps 7.1-7.3 show the distribution of these three types. Coffin preservation at the cemetery ranged widely from those that were still fairly intact to others that were known only from the wood stain and rust marks left by nails. Several contained small brass tacks that may have been associated with a coffin liner, however poor preservation again prevented a clear determination of this.

Figure 7.2 Coffin Styles



Tapered



Rectangular

Fort Ross Cemetery



Key  
Rectangular  
Tapered  
Shroud

Map 7.1 Distribution of Coffin Styles in Ross Cemetery

D. Burial orientation: 122 (93%) of the 131 graves were oriented with the head at the west end of the grave in typical Orthodox fashion although the exact alignment of the graves varied to some extent. This variation was as follows: 30 graves (23%) had the head exactly to west with no variation, including seven of the shroud burials; 23 graves (18%) had the head to the west with a variation of 1-5 degrees; 15 graves (12%) had the head to west with variation of 6-10 degrees; 24 graves (18%) had the head to the west with a variation of 11-15 degrees; 12 graves (9%) had the head to the west with a variation of 16-20 degrees (an 11% error based on 180 degrees needed to keep head to the west); 7 graves (5%) had the head to the west with a variation 21-25 degrees (a 14% error as defined above), and 11 graves had the head to the west with a variation between 25-60 degrees. Overall, 111 graves (85%) in the cemetery were aligned with the head to the west and a 14% or less error factor in the alignment (Table 7.6). Nine (7%) of the burials were "reversed," that is the head was oriented at the east end of the grave rather than the west end. Of these nine nonconforming burials, five were in rectangular shaped coffins, three were in tapered rectangular coffins, and one was a shroud burial (Table 7.7). In the case of the rectangular coffins, there may have been no means of distinguishing the end of the coffin containing the head from that of the foot, i.e. perhaps someone just made a mistake. Or, someone may have deliberately oriented these four coffins in the opposite direction from all other interments in the cemetery. Four of the rectangular coffins contained singular artifacts: the coffin of an infant (Feature 12) and one "male" adult (Feature 68) had religious pendants; one subadult (Feature 105) had a bead cluster; one "male" adult (Feature 150) had six buttons; and the coffin of the

Table 7.6 Coffin Alignment in the Ross Cemetery

<u>Degrees in Error</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>% of Error</u>
0	30	23%	00%
01-05	23	18%	01-02%
06-10	15	12%	03-05%
11-15	24	18%	06-08%
16-20	12	09%	09-11%
21-25	07	05%	12-14%
26-60	11	08%	15-33%
159-180	<u>09</u>	<u>07%</u>	89-100%
Total	131	100%	

Degrees in error = plus or minus from an east-west alignment

Quantity = number of graves in the cemetery

% = number of graves as a percentage of total

% of error = error in alignment from east-west orientation

Table 7.7 Reversed Burials

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Coffin Type</u>	<u>Adult/Subadult</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Degrees*</u>
12	Rectangular	Infant	Religious pendant	0
53	Tapered	Small child	Nothing	+5
60	Rectangular	Adult	Nothing	0
68	Rectangular	Adult	Religious pendant	-21
105	Rectangular	Subadult	Bead cluster	+15
109	Tapered	Adult	Religious pendant	0
150	Rectangular	Adult	Buttons	+12
153	Shroud	Adult	Buttons/Textiles	0
157	Tapered	Adult	Buttons	-17

\*Degrees is relative to head placement: 0 = east, (-) = northeast, + = southeast

fifth individual (the largest in the cemetery, Feature 60) contained no (extant) artifacts or textiles. The adult shroud burial (Feature 153) was oriented precisely 180 degrees opposite the predicted cemetery norm with the head pointed due east. The grave contained a dozen buttons and two textile fragments. Three burials were placed in tapered rectangular coffins, of which two were noticeably tapered and an error based on coffin shape alone unlikely to occur. These were both adult "male" burials, one of which had a religious pendant, and one had seven buttons. The third tapered rectangle (Feature 53) was a small coffin (85 cm) of a young child with only slight tapering and which could have been turned around in the grave. No cultural materials other than the coffin survived with this interment.

Eleven of the burials were shroud burials (Table 7.8), those classified as having no coffin. Eight of these were aligned in perfect west-east orientation, seven having the head of the deceased to the west, one with the head to the east. The other three alignments range are  $-35^{\circ}$ ,  $+3^{\circ}$ , and  $+5^{\circ}$ . Features 15-18 and 40-42 were aligned in a north-south row with 2 rectangular coffins in between the two groups.

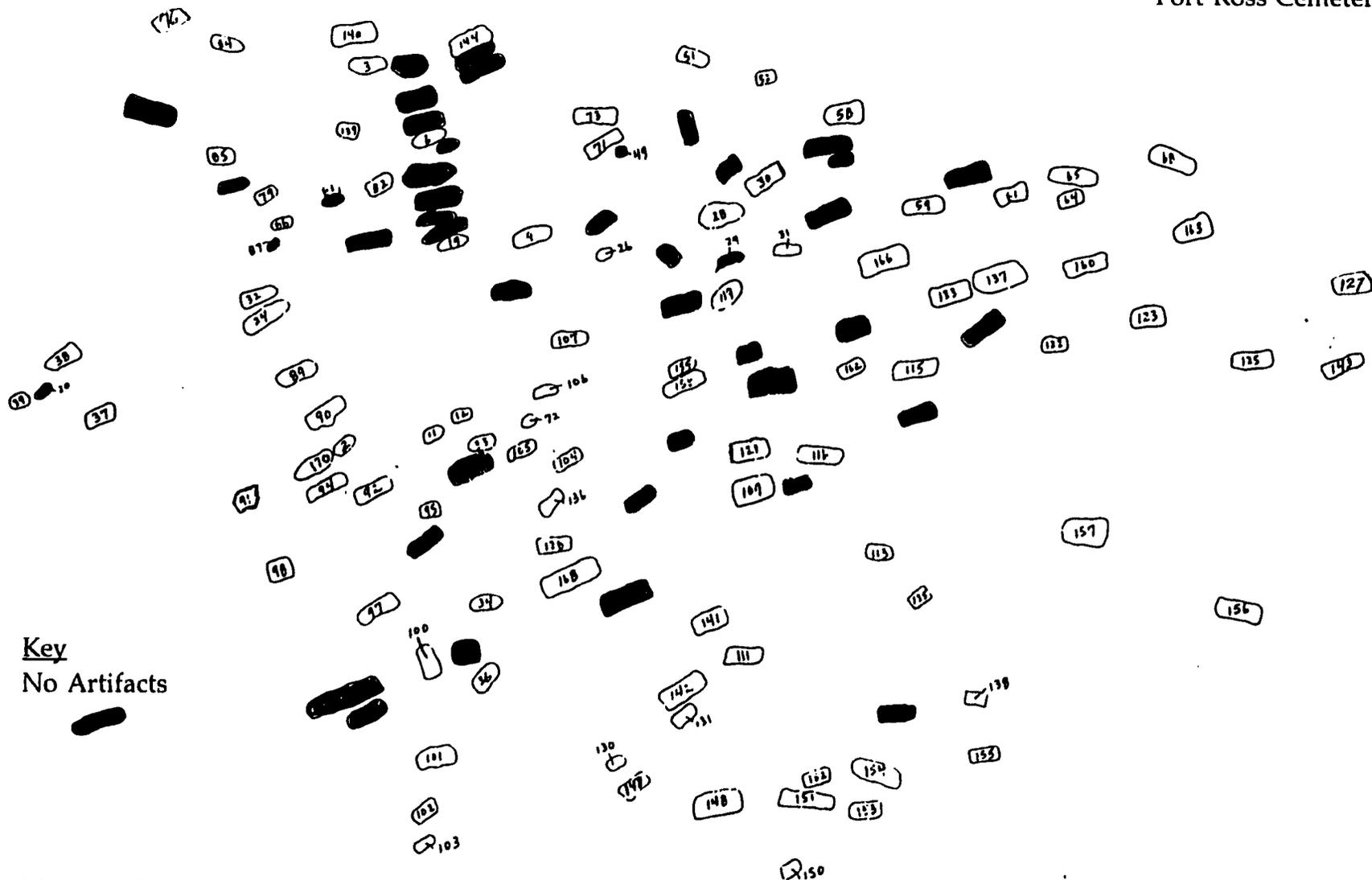
E. Artifacts. Forty-four (34%) of the 131 graves contained nothing inside of the coffin or grave pit other than the deceased (Map 7.2). One of these (Feature 71) did have something resembling hair or fur at the top of the head of the deceased. Whether the absence of cultural materials in these graves represents the actual placement of grave goods at the time of death or is the result of differential preservation could not be determined.

Religious pendants: 71 (54%) of the 131 graves contained evidence of a religious pendant (Map 7.3). All persons with whom religious pendants were

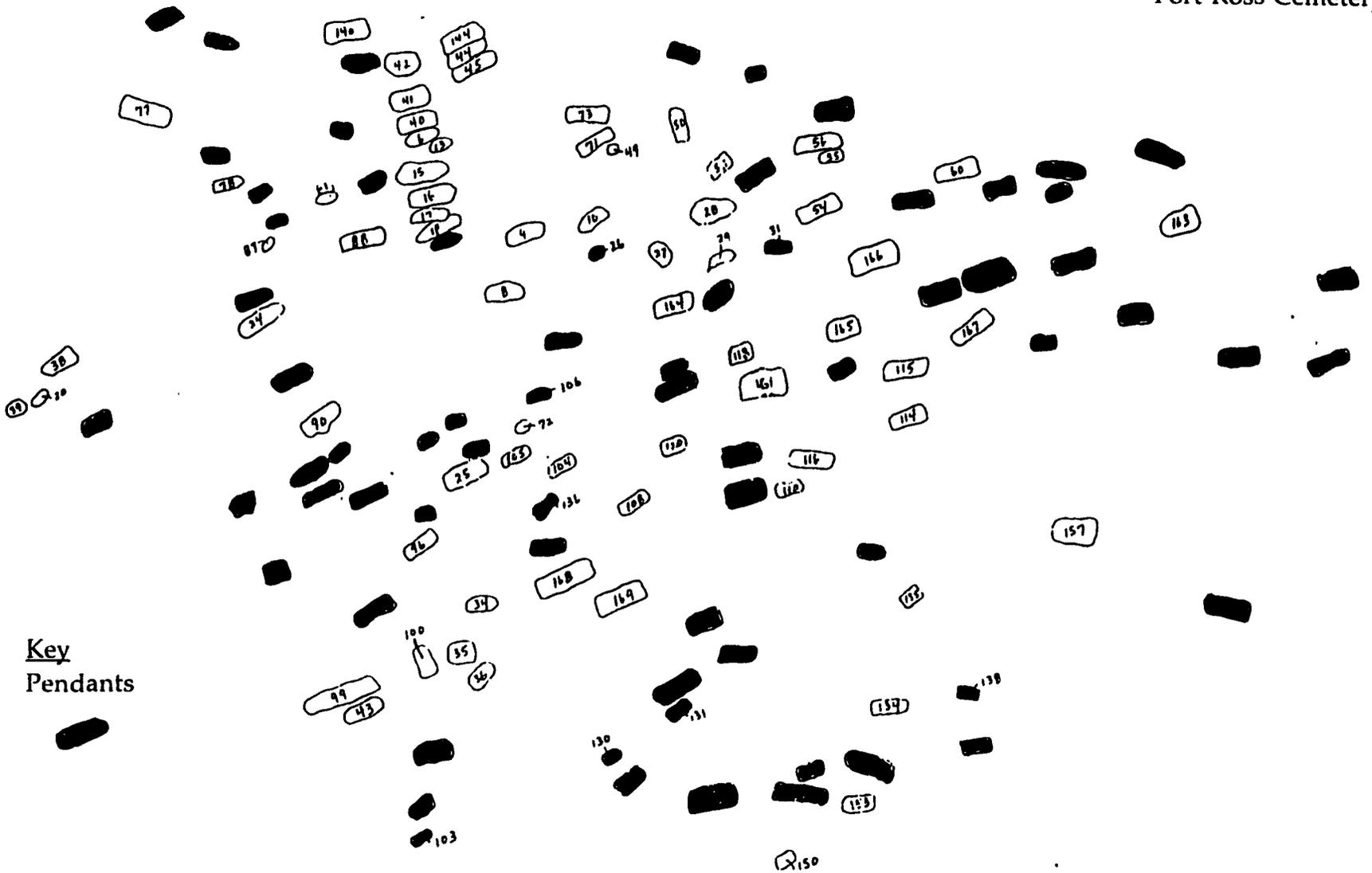
Table 7.8 Shroud Burials

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Coffin Type</u>	<u>Adult/Subadult</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Degrees*</u>
15-18	Shroud	Adult	Nothing	0
20	Shroud	Infant	Nothing	-35
35	Shroud	Adult	Nothing	0
40	Shroud	Adult	Nothing	0
41	Shroud	Adult	Nothing	+3
42	Shroud	Adult	Nothing	0
135	Shroud	Adult	Bead cluster	+5
153	Shroud	Adult	Button, textile	180

Fort Ross Cemetery



Fort Ross Cemetery



Key  
Pendants

Map 7.3 Distribution of Graves with Religious Pendants

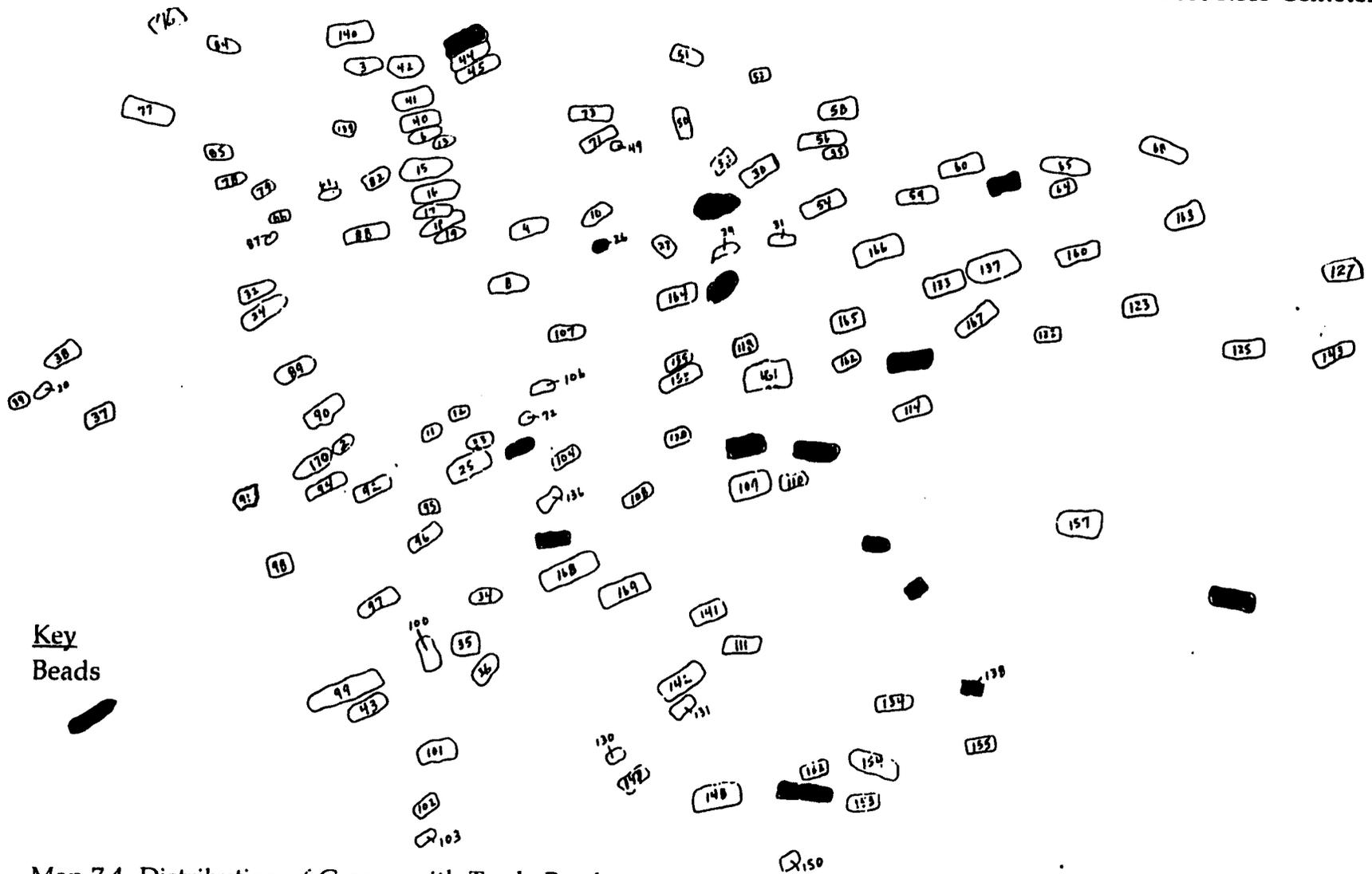
interred were buried in coffins. No religious pendants were found in association with shroud burials (graves where no coffin was present). Religious pendants were found with 19 (59%) of the 32 burials with coffins under 100 cm in length which are likely to be children.

**Beads:** Fifteen (12%) of 131 graves contain a total of 13,961 glass trade beads (Map 7.4). Their location within the grave was "generally in patterns suggesting they were associated with beaded ornaments and clothing ... and associated with both Russian American personnel and Aleut hunters" (Ross 1997). Due to the tremendous number of beads, a new project has been initiated that will attempt to reconstruct the apparel and ornaments worn by those stationed at Ross. At the moment there is not enough information to date the individual graves or the cemetery site. Of the 15 graves with beads, 10 (67%) were also graves in which religious pendants were found with the deceased; 4 (27%) were graves without religious pendants but where the deceased was buried inside a coffin; and 1 (6%) was in association with a shroud burial that lacked evidence of both a coffin and a religious pendant.

**Buttons:** Buttons were found in 15 (11%) of the graves (Map 7.5). In four instances, the buttons were the only artifacts present. Five of the graves contained buttons in association with textile, and nothing else. Four of the graves with buttons also contained religious pendants. Two had trade beads in association, including one that also had a religious pendant.

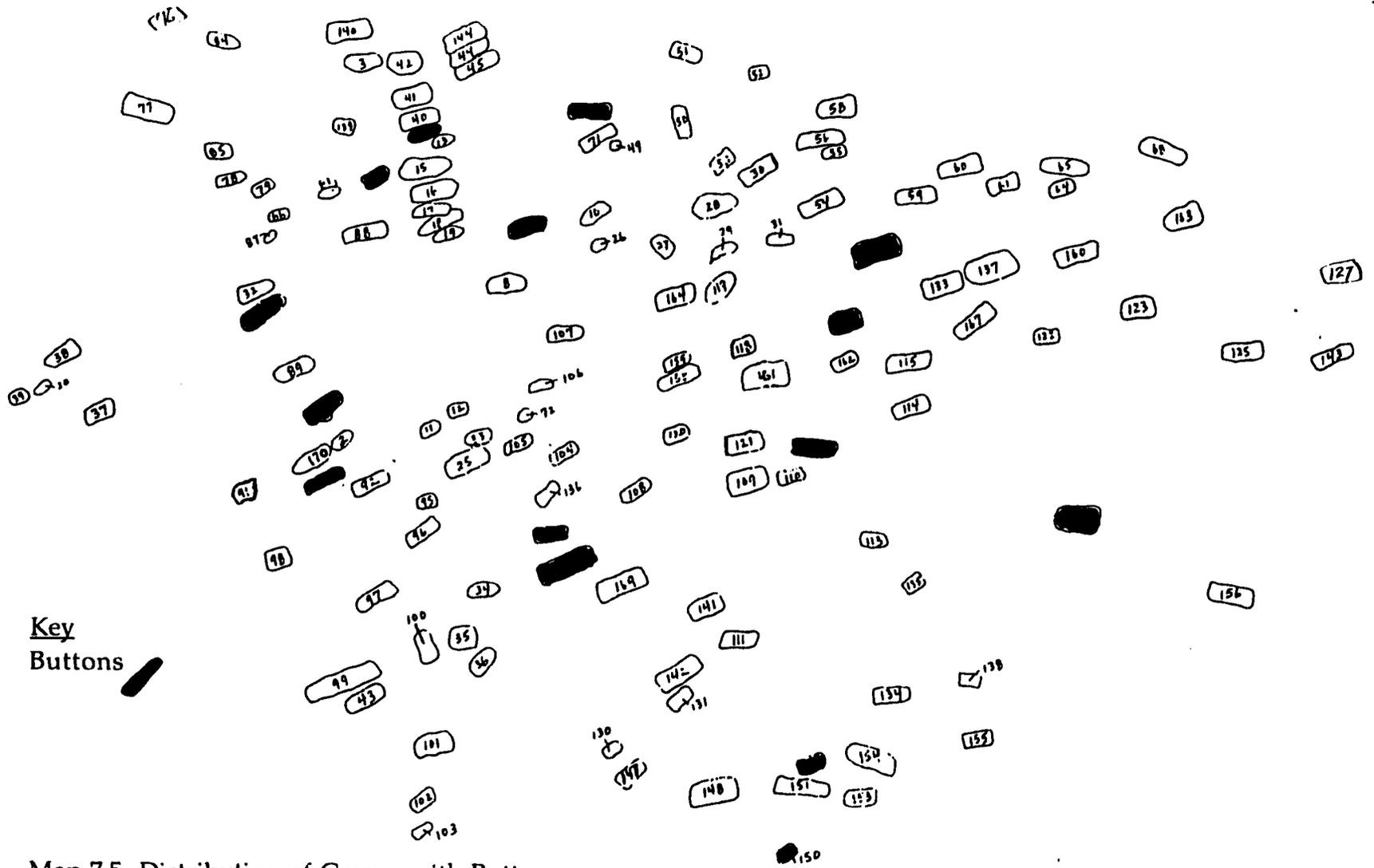
**Textile:** Many of the religious pendants were found in association with textile. In most cases the piece of fabric was adhered to the back of the medallion. This may be indicative of a special burial garment such as a shroud being worn by the deceased. Textile was also present in some graves

Fort Ross Cemetery



Map 7.4 Distribution of Graves with Trade Beads

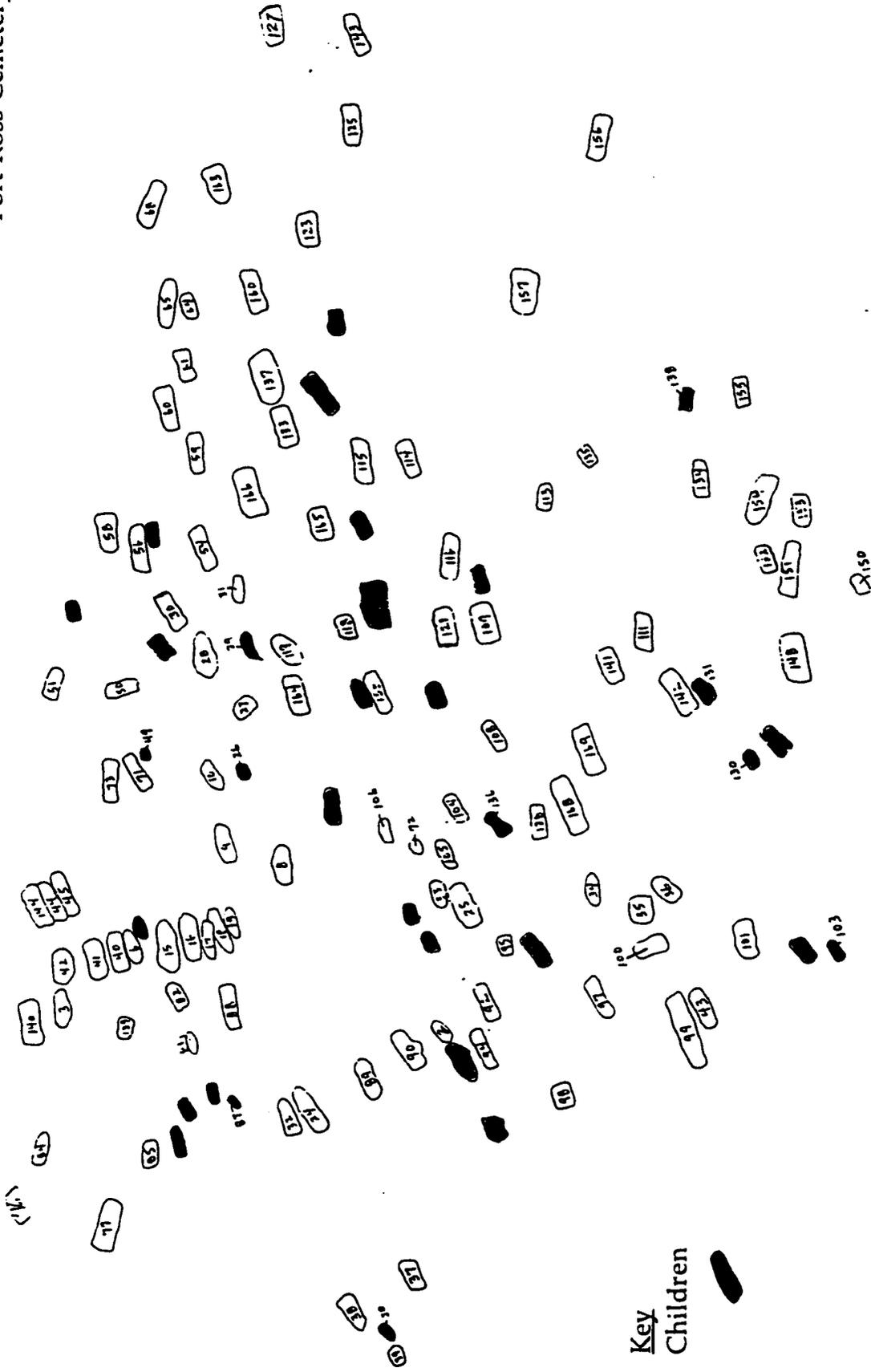
Fort Ross Cemetery



Map 7.5 Distribution of Graves with Buttons

with beads or beads where it also may have become attached to these metal or glass objects.

F. Graves with children (See Map 7.6). As mentioned above, those coffins whose total length is 100 cm or less are classified as children under the age of 10. There are 32 of these graves. The smallest is only 18 cm wide x 45 cm long. Eighteen of the graves have rectangular coffins, 13 have tapered coffins, and one is a shroud burial. Nineteen of these graves contain religious pendants, in 10 of which the medallion is the only artifact, while 7 have medallions associated with textiles, and two have pendants in association with bead clusters. No graves without crosses contain textiles or beads. The remaining 12 coffins and the shroud burial have no artifacts in association with the deceased child. This may be purposeful, i.e. the child has not been baptized, the parents do not follow Orthodox canon, or it could simply be the result of differential preservation. It could also be the case that crosses were not available at Ross to place with the deceased child due to lack of supplies. Religious medallions may also have been made locally of wood which decomposed more quickly than the metal crosses. The burials of children appear to be mixed among those of adults and there is no obvious section of the cemetery set aside for children or burials with crosses. Features 66, 79, 78, and 87 are contiguous to one another, the first two have coffins with crosses, the latter have no crosses. The single shroud burial is a bit unusual in that it is the burial farthest to the west of the cemetery and is in association with rock piles (Features 38, 39). These may be intended as markers or have some other cultural association with the grave. The only adult grave in proximity



Map 7.6 Distribution of Graves with Children

to the child's shroud burial is Feature 37, a subadult burial in a rectangular coffin containing a religious pendant attached to textile.

G. Graves with subadults. Eighteen burials found in coffins ranging in length from 100-140 cm have been classified as subadults, minors between the ages of 10-19 years. All of these burials are in coffins, 10 are tapered coffins and 8 are rectangular. All but six of the graves contain religious pendants, of these six, five have no artifacts and one has a bead cluster (Feature 105). The 12 graves with religious pendants are as follows: 4 with religious pendants only, four with religious pendants attached to textile, one with a religious pendant and button (Feature 152), and three with religious pendants and bead clusters. Of the latter three, Feature 61 also contained textile and a hair ornament, and Feature 128 has buttons, textile and possible bells.

H. Graves of adult females. Graves of 140-170 cm in length. are generally suggested to include adult females, although as stated previously, taller subadults of both sexes and shorter men may also be included in this group. There are 36 individuals in this category. Twenty-one were interred in tapered coffins, seven are in rectangular coffins, and eight are shroud burials. Seven of the eight shroud burials are very similar, with all individuals approximately 150 cm in height and with no artifacts present in the grave pit. These seven burials are located in the northwestern quadrant of the cemetery and are lined up in a north-south row. All these are oriented with the head exactly due west. It appears they may be contemporary by the location and style of burial, perhaps they are women who died in one of the epidemics at Ross. The eighth shroud burial is located on the southern edge of the cemetery and may be a smaller male (165 cm length). This grave

contains twelve buttons, a buckle with clasps and textile attached. The remaining twenty-eight coffin burials appear to be scattered throughout the cemetery. Ten of the 28 have no religious pendants: eight burials contain no artifacts, a ninth one has something that appears to be hair or fur at the top of the head, and another has two buttons with textile just below the elbow of the right arm. Ten contain a religious pendant only placed with the deceased. Three additional burials contain both a religious pendant and textile. Four have religious pendants with textile and trade bead clusters. One has a religious pendant with a coin and piece of shell.

I. Graves of adult males. There are 45 in this category of graves over 170 cm. in length that is broadly suggested to be the range for adult male. The longest coffin is 210 cm., nearly 7'. Fifteen coffins are rectangular, 28 are tapered, and two are shroud burials. Eleven burials (24%), including one of the shrouds, contain nothing other than the deceased. Eleven other burials (24%) have only a religious pendant. Seven (16%) have a religious pendant and textile. One burial (Feature 156) has both trade beads and a religious pendant. One burial has a religious pendant and a single button, another has a religious pendant and multiple buttons in the chest and shoulder area along with textile, and the last burial with a religious pendant also has the remnants of a sabre (Feature 97). The remaining twelve burials have artifacts but no religious pendants. They include two with a single button each and six with multiple buttons including four that also have textile in association. The four remaining burials all have bead clusters. One of these containing only beads is a shroud burial. One has a bead cluster over the left abdominal area and textile (possibly cap) at the head. Another burial has beads at the neck and buttons with textile resembling a man's jacket or coat (Feature 116).

One of the most interesting burials is Feature 144 which contains a bead cluster over the face and neck area, textile and numerous artifacts including a spoon, mirror, bottle, pigment, grommet, thimbles, needles and needle case, glass including window glass, and the base of a figurine. This burial is also one that may call into question the decision to categorize coffins longer than 170 cm as male. Although Native women were traditionally the ones who manufactured clothing in the frontier settlements, Ross also had two tailors, both of whom were male.

### III. Analysis.

During the 29 years that Ross was occupied, numerous deaths occurred as seen by the 131 graves located in the cemetery. Given the total population of the colony between 1812-1841, a large number of individuals died there. It is evident that deaths of women, children and infants are under-reported in the extant archival record. This appears to be confirmed by initial analysis of the graves in the cemetery, although some of the small coffins may have held incomplete adult remains. The cemetery appears to have included men, women, and children of Russian, European (men only), Creole, and Native Alaskan ethnic background. Children of California Indian mothers may also be buried in the cemetery if they were baptized.

It is unlikely that any Californian Indians are buried in the cemetery. Kuskov's entries in his registers (Kuskov 1820, 1821) show that women from the vicinity of Ross returned to their villages upon termination of their relationships with Russian, Creole or Native Alaskan men. This dissolution of a "marriage" occurred when a man died, took a new wife or transferred

from Fort Ross. Pomo and Miwok men also appear to have returned to their native villages. Vaimpo, a California Indian man from the Great Bodega Bay, had worked at Ross after being convicted of murdering some Kodiaks and "others." In May 1821 he was released to return to his native village because of his old age and illness (Istomin 1991c).

A review of the 1990, 1991 and 1992 archaeological field investigations and archival research appears to demonstrate that the majority of the occupants of the Ross Colony cemetery were buried in strict accordance with Orthodox religious practices despite the absence of a priest. The graves were aligned in an east-west orientation, all but 11 individuals were placed in European style coffins. Seven of those not placed in coffins, called "shroud" burials were in precise alignment with Orthodox customs. At least seventy-one of the individuals buried wore religious pendants or medallions. I believe this may have been substantially higher at the time of burial, and that the poor rate of recovery of these and other artifacts can be attributed to the extremely bad state of decomposition within the cemetery.

There may have been two or more distinct periods of occupation at the Ross Colony. I was able to find out very little about the initial colonists at Ross covering the period 1812-1819. Other than archival information about the first Ross Manger, Ivan Kuskov, few of these earliest arrivals are mentioned in the literature. Company correspondence and Church records no longer exist for the years prior to 1818. After 1818, more information becomes available, in particular the Kuskov registers and Veniaminov confessional records discussed in Chapter 6. From my analysis of the known Ross population I have divided the Ross occupation into two distinct periods of occupation.

1812-1829: The first inhabitants of Ross can be considered a more traditional frontier fur trading community. Twenty-five Russian promyshlenniks and eighty Aleut hunters are said to have accompanied Kuskov to Ross where construction of the fort began in March 1812. The commandant's house and barracks for soldiers and officers were inside the enclosure of the fort. The Aleut hunters [referred to also as fishermen in Essig, et al. 1991:6] and their families lived in twenty-four houses outside of the stockade walls. This multi-ethnic village is described in greater detail by Lightfoot et al. (1991).

Many of the first individuals employed by the Company at Ross were engaged in either hunting of sea mammals, construction of the settlement, or shipbuilding. Hunting of sea mammals had declined significantly by 1819 due to depletion of the sea otter population. The second Ross Manager, Shmidt initiated ship-building at Ross. Four ships were constructed at Ross in the 1820s: the Rumiantsov (1819), the Buldakov (1820), the Volga (1822), and the Kiakhta (1824). The Kiakhta was the last ship to be built at Ross. This proved to be an unprofitable venture, and the Russian shipbuilder Vasilii Grudinin departed Ross soon after, arriving in Sitka in 1825.. Early attempts at agriculture also suffered numerous failures due to the scarcity of trained farmers, the unfavorable coastal climate, and poor soil conditions.

1830-1841. This period of occupation at Ross appears to be more sedentary with a greater focus on agriculture and less on hunting for sea mammals. By 1833, the colonists were farming at three nearby ranches: Chernykh, Khlebnikov, and Kostromitinov. They used plows from Russia, Finland, Siberia, and California. This was in addition to crops and orchards

immediately adjacent to the Fort. The colonists were now exporting agricultural products and metal goods instead of furs. There is also a marked shift in the composition of the population. Gone are the large numbers of Native Alaskan hunters. In the first period of occupation the Aleuts, Kodiak Islanders, Chugach, and other Native Alaskan males comprised 50% of the adult male population at Ross. During the second period of occupation, this was reduced to 33%. The number of Native Alaskan women dropped dramatically from 25 individuals to only two persons.

A summary of the changes in the Ross population between the 1820s and 1830s shows that the adult population size appears to be smaller in later years while the number of children has risen dramatically. Whether the increase in the number of children is an actual numerical increase or the result of differential recordation could not be determined. The number of Russians remains fairly constant between the two periods.

Children at Ross. In life and in death, children were an integral part of the Ross community. Of the 781 individuals for whom I was able to locate some type of a written record, 243 (approximately one-third) were children. The documentary record mentions the death of only one child between 1818 and 1841. It is equally noteworthy that the deceased child of a Native Alaskan father and California Indian mother, Izhuaok Petr, was mentioned when others apparently were omitted. Was this the result of meticulous record keeping by Kuskov and the failure of others to record deaths of children? Or was Izhuaok Petr somehow different or special so that he warranted an entry in the record?

One of the indicators of acculturation among California Indian women can be found in their names. The names of fifty-eight adult female California

Indian were recorded by Kuskov in his census registers for the years 1820 and 1821. All of the California women who were listed were reported with the status of their association with Russian, Creole, or Native Alaskan men. California Indian women who were married to California Indian men or who were single do not appear on the list. Their names were published in Istomin's booklet on the Indians at the Ross settlement (Istomin 1992). Sixteen years later, Veniaminov recorded very different names for baptised Indian females at the Ross Colony 1836 and 1838. Not one name is the same as those recorded by Kuskov for adult women. Many of these names appear much more russified, with some exceptions (ARCA 264:a,b). Although some of these women are of the right age to be daughters of the women in the Kuskov census, it is not possible to reach that conclusion. Furthermore, daughters of Russian or Creole fathers and California Indian women would be classified as Creole.

What was the population of Ross? How many people lived there and how many would be expected to have died during the Russian occupancy? As was shown in Chapter 6, it is difficult to determine what the total population was at Ross on an annual basis for most of the 29 years it was occupied. The Kuskov and Veniaminov censuses provide us with the most accurate counts for four of these years. The other potentially reliable counts are those of subdeacon Chechenev in 1832 and Vallejo in 1833. By averaging the total population (1,878) for these seven years, I derived an estimated annual population of 268 persons. To this I applied the crude European death rate established for the period 1820-1870 of 20 persons per 1000 total population (Riley 1989:102).

268 average annual population  
 x 0.02 crude death rate =  
 5.36 deaths per year  
 x 29 years =  
 155 estimated deaths

When I removed the 309 California Indians counted in the censuses (based on previously stated assumptions and documentation that they would be returned to their local villages for interment or cremation), the average annual population estimate is reduced to 224 persons. Using the same formula applied above, the number of estimated deaths is as follows:

224 average annual population  
 x 0.02 crude death rate =  
 4.48 deaths per year  
 x 29 years =  
 130 estimated deaths

The total number of known burials at Ross is 132 including the isolated grave found on the west side of Ross creek in 1972.

Is this an accurate means of estimating the number of dead at Ross? I would say, in the absence of other information, it is possibly the best assessment that can be made. Certainly there are population estimates in the literature that are much higher such as Corney's count of 500 in 1817 and Du Mofras' of 700 in 1841; and much lower as given by Kotzebue in 1824 of 130 and Wrangell in 1834 of 163. Some of the earliest population estimates for Ross suggest a much lower population of only Russian and Native Alaskan males (see Lightfoot 1991 et al.:22). The problem with these and other similar

estimates is that they state total population with no distribution by ethnic group. Therefore it is not possible to assess who is being counted and who is not, i.e. were Kotzebue and Wrangell including all four groups - Russians, Creoles, Native Alaskans, and Native Californians? Were women and children included or only men? Were Corney and Du Mofras adding outlying Native Californians who were not part of the Russian settlement? These questions remain unanswered. The other factor to consider is the use of the crude death rate of 0.02 or 20 per 1,000 persons. Should this number be higher for a frontier community and should adjustments be made for sample size? For example even if there were as many as 700 persons at Ross in a given year, there were insufficient numbers in each age cohort to be assured of the statistical validity of this death rate. This can be contrasted with the knowledge that, at least in 1836 and 1838, approximately 70% of the adult males were in the age range (20-54) likely to have the lowest average crude death rate (Jones 1981:35).

Mortuary practices at Ross appear to have been very conservative and within proscribed Orthodox practices. All individuals for whom the position of the body could be determined appear to have been placed in Orthodox fashion in an extended position on their backs. A number of the deceased appear to have been dressed in a special burial garment such as a shroud prior to being placed in the coffin or grave pit. Some of these burial garments may have had a single button at the throat. In Orthodox fashion, little was placed in the grave other than the person, a religious pendant, and the clothing worn by the deceased. The two obvious exceptions to this were Feature 144 which contained dozens of utilitarian items such as a spoon, mirror, bottle, thimble, needles, glass; and Feature 97 which contained the remnants of a

sabre. Clothing in Russian America (see Chapter 5) was remarkably similar between Russians, Europeans, and Creoles. Even Native Alaskans might have dressed in a like fashion in the more temperate California climate. Everyone at Ross was dependent upon supplies from the local warehouse, and although they may have had different access to these due to factors of status and economics, it is unlikely that Ross was much different than the rest of Russian America in the commonality of goods available.

Overall, the cemetery appears remarkably homogenous and cohesive as would be expected for the brief period of its occupation. There is no evidence of prehistoric interments or for burials that date after the departure of the Russians such as ones that might have appeared from the American period occupation.

## Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusions

### I. Mortuary Behavior in Russian America and the Colony of Ross.

The primary challenge of this investigation has been: a) to identify 19th century Eastern Orthodox religious tenets as recoverable manifestations of cultural ideology, and b) to document that these beliefs and values were carried over into the mortuary behavior of a multi-ethnic frontier outpost on the edge of an expansive and geographically discontinuous capitalist mercantile venture known as the Russian American Company. The expansion of the European Russian sphere of influence through its monopolistic commercial operations, hierarchical social structure, and religious conversion of indigenous populations in North America has been previously established by researchers such as Lydia Black, James Gibson, Richard Pierce and Barbara Smith who have conducted exhaustive research into the historic record. What had not been previously known is whether the cultural values and religious beliefs of the dominant ethnic Russian community, always in the numerical minority, would be carried forward into the traditionally conservative mortuary practices of the entire population of a given frontier outpost. The situation at the Ross Colony is exacerbated given its great distance from the colonial center of government and religion in Sitka, Alaska. Consistent enforcement of religious practices such as the strict requirements for baptism, marriage and burial would be difficult given the chronic shortage of church officials throughout both Russia and Russian America, the failure of the church to ever station a priest in California, and

the numerical inferiority of those persons with the greatest exposure to the Orthodox religious heritage.

In addition, the composition of the frontier family at Ross is one where ethnic male Russians, Creoles and Yakuts often married Creole, Native Alaskan and California Indian women. These women, upon whom much of the traditional responsibility for Orthodox burial customs could fall but who might be considered less likely to have either an awareness of these customs or the knowledge to carry them out in a traditional manner. This appears to be an ideal climate for a frontier adaptation. In his study of the first Russian settlement in Alaska at Three Saints Harbor, Kodiak Island, Crowell (1994:244) suggests that men of the lower social ranks "may have had relatively little concern for maintaining a distinctively Russian lifestyle even if they could have afforded it." He cites exploitation by the fur trading companies, poor prospects for ever returning home to Russia, lack of an education and an absence of any connection with the home country as reasons for acculturation to the material lifeways of native Alaska.

It is known through numerous studies of mortuary practices in both prehistoric and ancient literate cultures that the people within a community are most conservative at the time when death affects one of their own members. Important insights into the social organization of that population can be attained as demonstrated over two decades by a number of cultural anthropologists and archaeologists studying this topic. It would be expected that the differential treatment of the living such as occurred in the hierarchical social structure of Russian America would also be reflected in the treatment of the dead. A review of the ethnographic and historical literature has indicated such practices as the exterior and interior cloth coverings for the

coffin and the clothes in which the person was laid to rest varied by the social position of the deceased. This may have been the case at Ross based on archival research but the extremely poor preservation of the material cultural prevented an in-depth analysis.

Recently, extensive archeological studies of Spanish colonialism in the New World have been conducted at St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan 1983; Koch 1983) and Puerto Real, Haiti (Ewen 1991). Comparisons can be made between 18th century Spanish colonialism in St. Augustine and the 19th century Russian expansion into Alaska and California. Both Hispanic and Russian men were very mobile - the former due to the function of the military presence, the latter by nature of the mercantile economy. Neither appears to have had significant day-to-day interactions with the indigenous male populations; however interpersonal relationships with native women were considerable.

Mortuary patterns at St. Augustine were investigated by both archeological excavation and a study of historical religious burial proscriptions. A strict adherence to conservative Catholic ideals was observed. A "distinctly 'medieval' pattern persisted in mortuary practices through the dominant influence of Catholicism" (Deagan 1983:270). This was contrasted with later British protestant burials in the same cemetery which did not conform to the same conservative pattern but instead emphasized the importance of the individual (Koch 1983:266).

Other non-mortuary archaeological evidence from St. Augustine suggests that those conservative traits which are identifiable as Hispanic are retained in areas of "socially visible" activities associated with males. Items of

Hispanic association appear to have functioned as status indices. In contrast, assemblages related to kitchen activities were locally available and associated with the Native population (Deagan 1983:265). This was as expected in a situation where an intrusive “predominantly male group imposes itself on [an indigenous] group with a normal sex distribution.” This hypothesis was later tested using archeological data from Puerto Real (Ewen 1991:3).

Attempts to reconstruct the social structure and examine processes of acculturation in a given community will benefit from an understanding of mortuary behavior. It is only through the analysis of the mortuary practices at Ross that it will be possible to more fully recognize the effects of Russian colonialism and understand what traditional lifeways persisted as opposed to those which were altered.

The study of the mortuary behavior and role of the Orthodox church in this same frontier community takes this latter approach in order to more fully understand the overall social structure at Ross through the cemetery and archival records. It also goes beyond looking at the processes of acculturation for native populations, and also examines processes of change and continuity for each of the ethnic groups represented in the colony.

As stated in previous chapters, as the official state church, the Orthodox religion played a major role in the daily lives of the colonists. Native Alaskans, California Indians, and even many European foreigners were required to convert to Orthodoxy upon establishment of employment, or marriages and collateral relationships with Orthodox Russians and Creoles.

The names of Russians, Creoles, Native Alaskans and California Indians who died while in the service of the Russian American Company at the Ross colony cannot be fully determined from existing archival sources.

An extensive review of church records and Russian American Company correspondence has failed to locate the names, ages, sex, causes of death and other information for all of the individuals who are known to have been interred at the Ross cemetery. Of the 131 deceased, documentary evidence appears to exist for only 89 persons. The human remains were poorly preserved and precluded exhaustive or definitive osteological analysis.

Except for the original site of Sitka, Alaska which was excavated in the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps, "with unsatisfactory results, no major Russian site has yet been excavated in Alaska" (Pierce 1987) and there are no known archeological studies of Russian-American period cemeteries in Alaska. The two exceptions to this statement are the excavation of Kolmakovskiy Redoubt, which was occupied much later than Ross, and the attempt to excavate the cemetery at the Three Saints Harbor site in 1962. Crowell's recent work at the settlement of Three Saints Harbor has made a significant contribution to Russian American studies but it occurred after Pierce's remarks were made. A variety of archeological projects have also been conducted at Fort Ross, however the majority of these early ones are inadequately reported. These and other factors enhance the use of interdisciplinary approach in order to document the full range of human behavior as it is expressed in a cosmopolitan military-like frontier setting.

**The Ross Cemetery.** During the 29 years that Ross was occupied, numerous deaths occurred as can be seen by the 131 graves located during archeological studies of the cemetery. Given the total population of the colony at any point in time, a large number of individuals died. The cemetery is known to have been established by at least 1817 when it is shown on a map provided to quell Spanish government inquiries in Madrid about

the legality of the Russian settlement in California (Fedorova 1973:358-360). The cemetery is shown as a small dot on the map (see Chapter 5) and nothing can be seen of its configuration. No record for the establishment of the cemetery has yet been found. Conceivably this could have occurred as early as 1812 when the colony first became settled. Very little comparative studies exist for the Russian-American period and sphere of influence. Excavations at the Russian-American Company Kurile Islands settlement of Kurilorossiiia in Aleutka Bay, Urup Island located a single human burial which was interred "in accordance with Orthodox ritual." The body was extended prone on its back in an east-west orientation and contained a copper Orthodox cross near the neck. There is no discussion as to whether the individual was buried in a coffin. Other copper Orthodox crosses were found in non-mortuary contexts elsewhere in the site (Shubin 1990:435). The previously cited exploratory work at the Three Saints Harbor cemetery was discontinued due to the determination that the human remains were in "unsatisfactory condition" (badly decayed) for further analysis. Like Ross, the Three Saints Harbor cemetery apparently had significantly more deaths than were found in the archives. There were 11 recorded deaths and 52 surface features, all apparently graves (Crowell 1994:126).

One of the key suppositions in archaeology is the ability to analyze the relationships between the material evidence and human behavior or ideology. To this is added, in historical archaeology, the value of the documentary record. The focus of this study has been on the dominance of the Eastern Orthodox religion in Russian America and certain cultural characteristics of ethnic Russians and how these characteristics, along with

the mortuary practices of the ethnic Russians, allow us to understand the ideology of the historic Ross community in northern California.

Archaeological and historical investigations were undertaken to analyze Eastern Orthodox religious influences and Russian culture on the mortuary behavior at this remote frontier settlement and its multi-ethnic inhabitants.

## II. The Ross Colony: History and Archaeology.

The Ross Colony, established by the Russian American Company in 1812 primarily for the economic purpose of supplying agricultural provisions to existing company settlements in Alaska, marked the southernmost permanent outpost of Russia's aggressive 18th and 19th century mercantile venture into Pacific waters. Politically, the occupation of the Ross colony sent a firm message to Spain, and later Mexico, that Russian presence in California was something to be reckoned with. The Ross colony was also one of the most distant stations of the Eastern Orthodox sphere of religious influence. During its 29 years as a Russian colonial outpost, Ross served as a small but vital link between the Russian political, economic and religious empire in the Pacific as well as with nearby Spanish or Mexican officials, local California Indian populations, and frequent visits by European traders, scientists and other curious travelers to the area.

What does the future hold in store? It is my hope that others will continue this research, looking for an opportunity to apply the methods and theories of mortuary behavior from this study to another Russian American frontier cemetery. Russian attempts at annexation of Hawaii lasted very briefly between the years 1815-1817 (Pierce 1976b) and it is as yet unknown whether any cemeteries from that time period exist at the Russian forts

constructed on Oahu and Kauai. None appear in the 1885 plan of the old Russian fort along the Waimea River on the island of Kauai prepared for the Hawaiian government survey. At least one death by violence, that of an Aleut, was recorded at Hanalei in 1817 but no mention is made of any burial (Pierce 1976b:84).

In Alaska no statewide inventory of cemeteries from the Russian period has been compiled and the condition of many of these in more remote areas is unknown (Joan Antonson, personal communication 1989). Volunteer groups from the Cook Inlet region and on the Kenai Peninsula have recorded and catalogued death records and cemetery inscriptions, and made sketch maps showing grave locations (Brelsford 1975; Kenai 1983). Work is currently underway to map and restore the original Russian cemetery in Sitka, which dates to 1804 (Bruce Gazaway, personal communication 1989). Excavation of the area thought to contain a Russian cemetery from the battle of 1802 near Sitka turned up no evidence of burials and it is now thought the Russians were disposed of at sea (Gary Candelaria, personal communication 1989). Some documentation of the cemetery at Eklutna has also been completed. Little of this work, however, has been done for the purposes of scholarly inquiry and is difficult to use for comparisons. It would be invaluable to have a sample that includes Russian Alaska, the Russian Far East, and Hawaii. This type of program could also bring together the local communities, the ethnic groups involved, along with students and professionals from different academic institutions. A regional approach to mortuary analysis has recently been proposed by Larsen (1995) and others. In the past, most regional approaches in archaeology were focused primarily on settlements and the distribution of population. Larsen,

however, makes a compelling argument that "mortuary analysis is conducive to a regional framework of study, especially given the range of variation in style, size, content, and other important attributes of death assemblages" (Larsen 1995:248). Using a landscape type of analysis for mortuary information places emphasis on the spatial arrangement of burial sites as they are related to other factors of regional dynamics. "Models of subsistence settlement systems, craft specialization, exchange, economics, labor, and patterns of broader material culture are analyzed in conjunction with the communal dialogue of symbols incorporated in the mortuary sites themselves (Beck 1995:27)." Russian America appears to be an excellent model for testing the applicability of these and other regional approaches to mortuary behavior.

### III. Conclusions.

In conclusion, the primary purpose of this project has been the pursuit of greater knowledge about the material culture, patterns, and cultural processes of Russian American mortuary behavior in a nineteenth century multi-ethnic frontier outpost. It was the study of one community within the context of a much larger mercantile and religious empire that spanned both shores of the Pacific. It was an opportunity to use an interdisciplinary approach - including historical archaeology, anthropology, geography and history - to document the physical evidences of death in the daily life of Russian America and her California colony of Ross. It was a rewarding experience to come to know, as individuals and as a society, those who lived and died at Ross more than a century ago and those who even today carry on the memory. It was the culmination of the stewardship responsibilities for

which all archaeologists should accept responsibility - archaeology as a public trust. I hope this study will also be a contribution to the scientific theory and methodology of the history and archaeology of Russian America, and to the analysis of mortuary patterns.

Although I hope, like most doctoral students, that this study has made at least a small contribution to anthropology and archaeology, I have also learned much more over the life of this project than the traditional academic achievements - that there are other equally worthy goals and rewards in the less professionally recognized areas of public archaeology. For me, the day when the Orthodox church erected new crosses at the cemetery was just as important as the submittal date shown on the title page of this report. The greatest reward of bringing archaeology and history to the public is the sense of giving something back to the local community - to the people who have no knowledge of or probably any interest in anthropological theories. And now, for the first time the names of hundreds of Ross colonists have been located and will be made available to not only other scholars, but to families and friends of those who once lived at Ross.

## PLATES

All plates appear courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, California; and the California Department of Parks and Recreation, Interpretive Services Division, Sacramento, California.



Plate 5.1 Sketch of Ross in 1826. Photo Courtesy, California Department of Parks & Recreation

Ross  
The Russian Colonial  
headquarters and Fort  
in California 1826

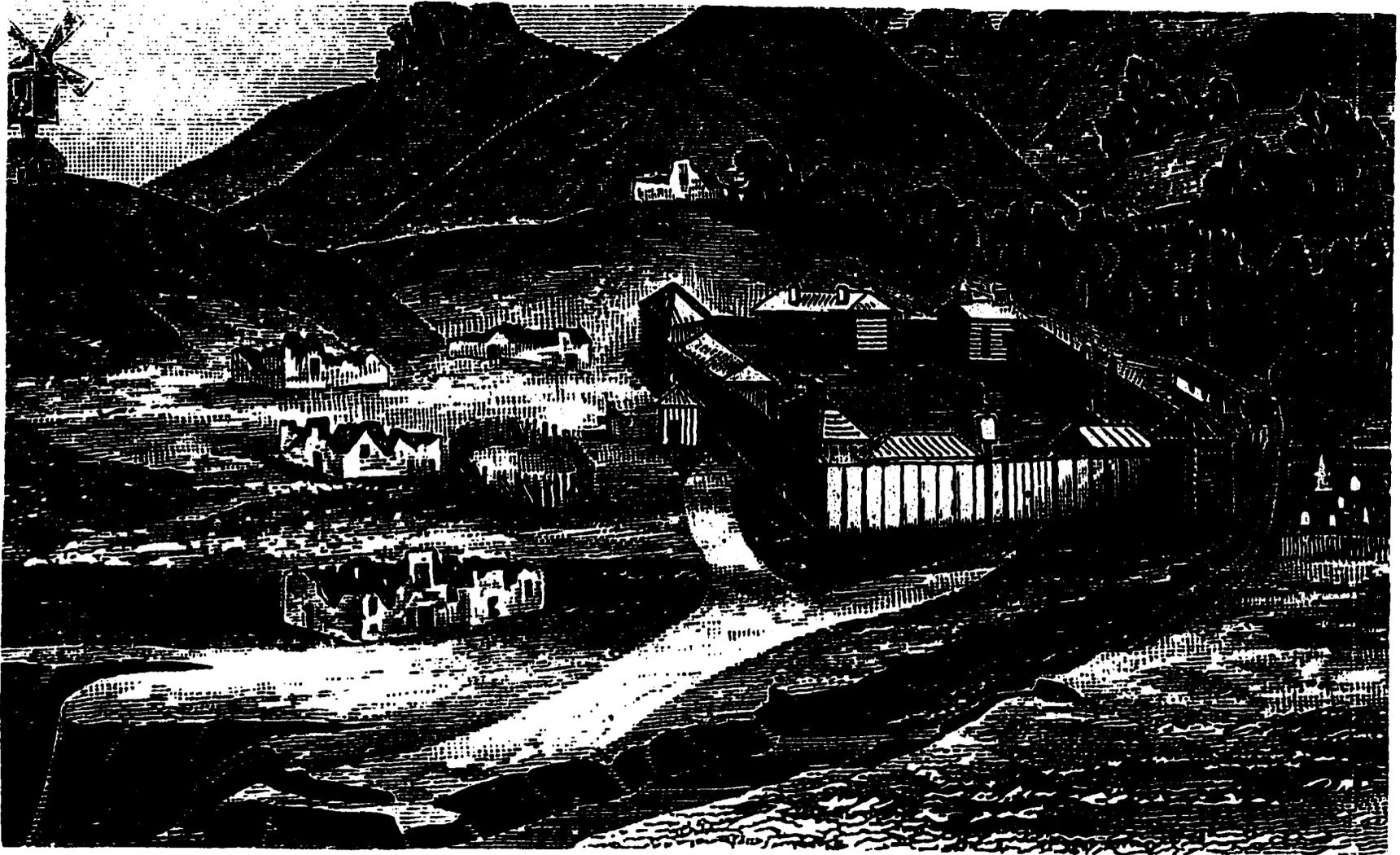


Plate 5.2 Sketch of Ross in 1843. Photo Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

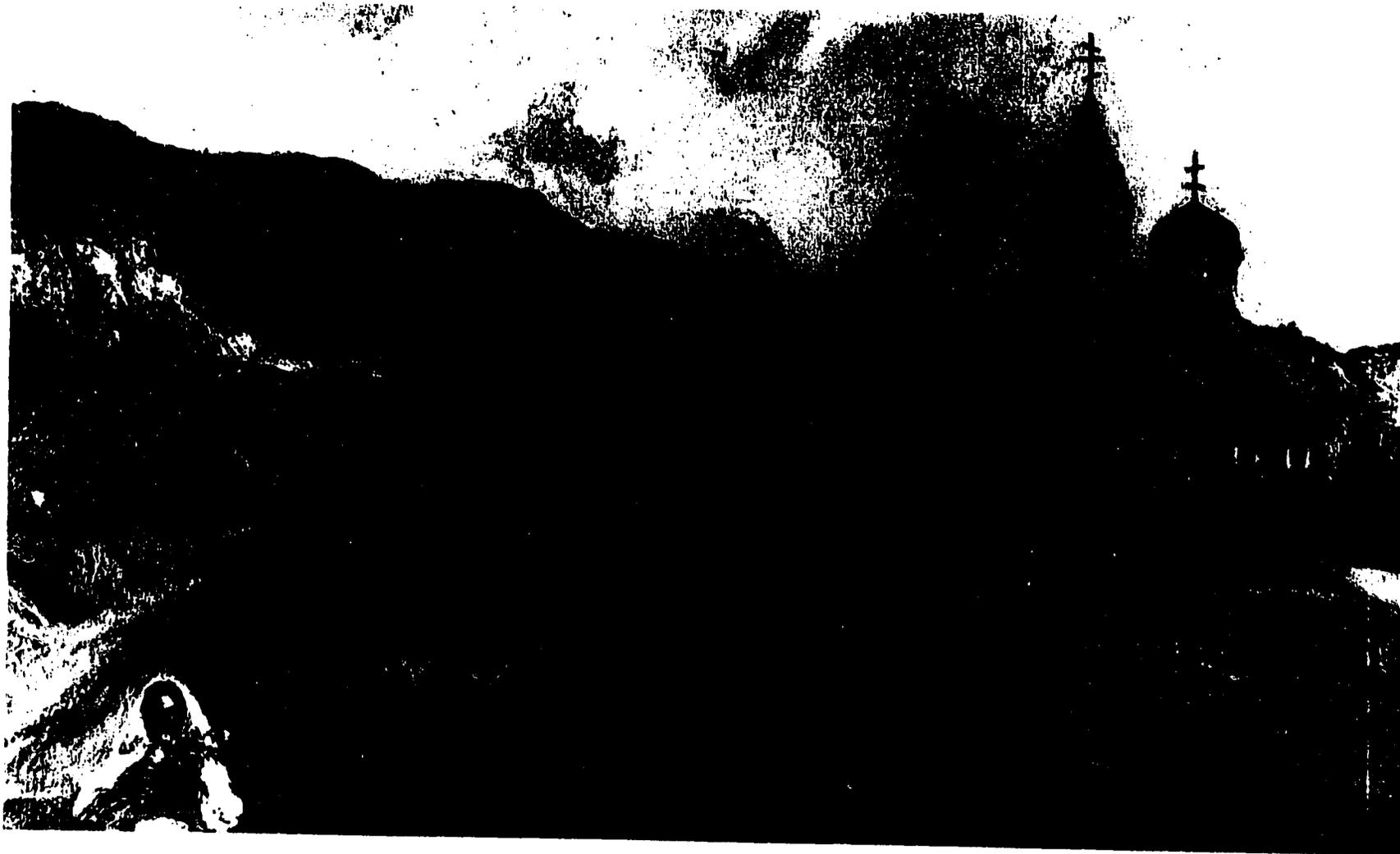


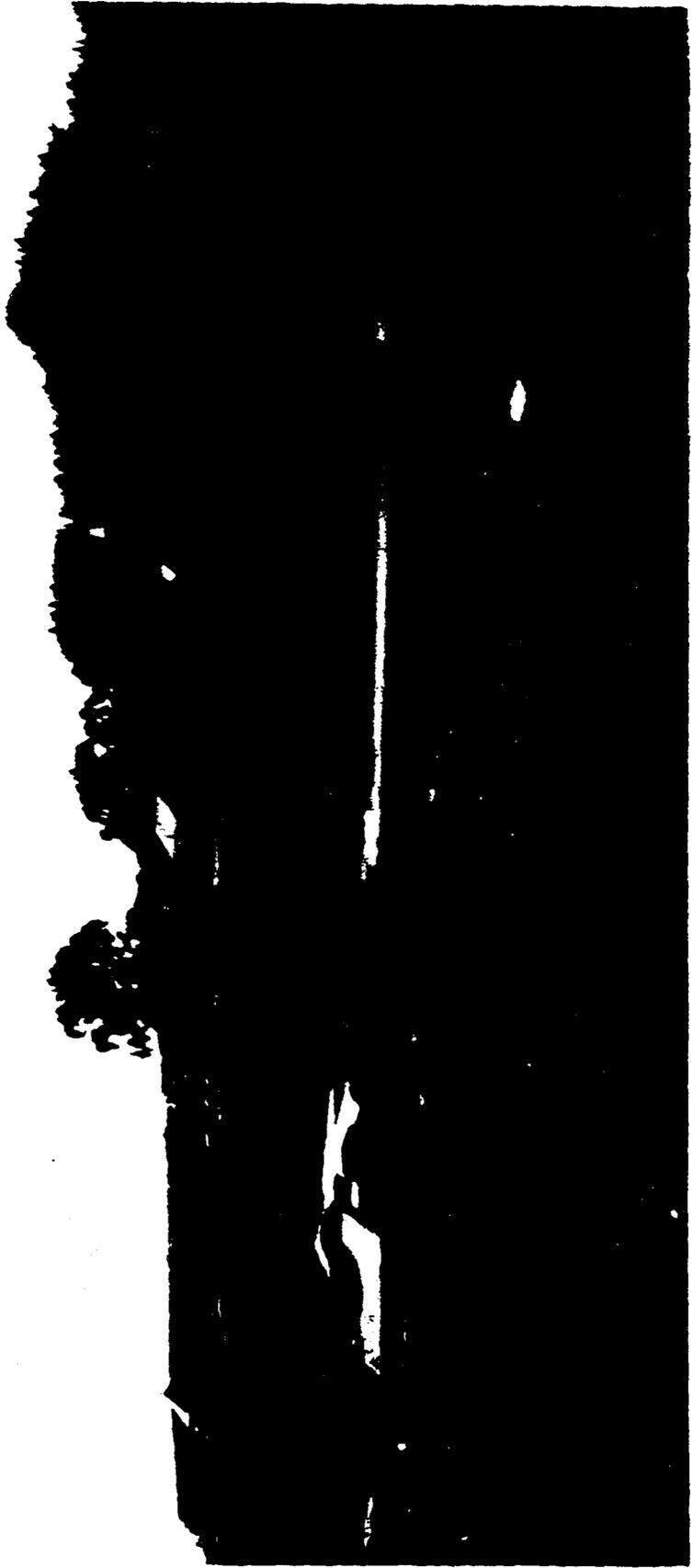
Plate 5.3 Artist's Concept of Ross During Late Russian Period.  
Photo Courtesy, California Department of Parks & Recreation



Plate 5.4 Sketch of Ross During the American Period.  
Photo Courtesy, California Department of Parks & Recreation



Plate 5.5 Ross Cemetery, post-1906 Earthquake.  
Photo Courtesy, California Department of Parks & Recreation



10000 ft. above sea level, near the top of the mountain, near the top of the mountain, near the top of the mountain.



Plate 5.7 Ross Cemetery in 1905. Photo Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

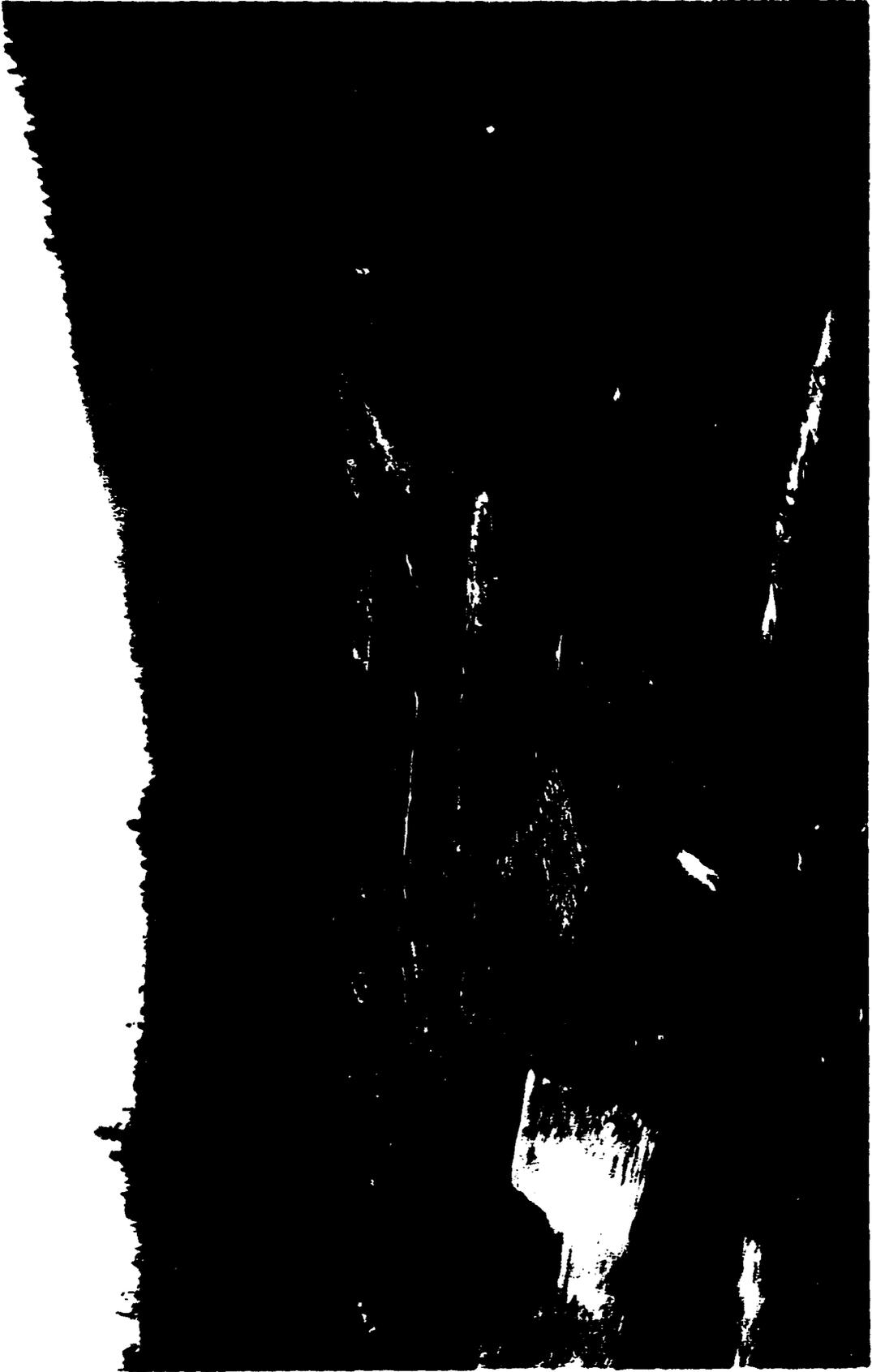


PLATE 111. BOOK COVER OF THE BIBLE COURTESY THE SACRILEGIOUS LIBRARY

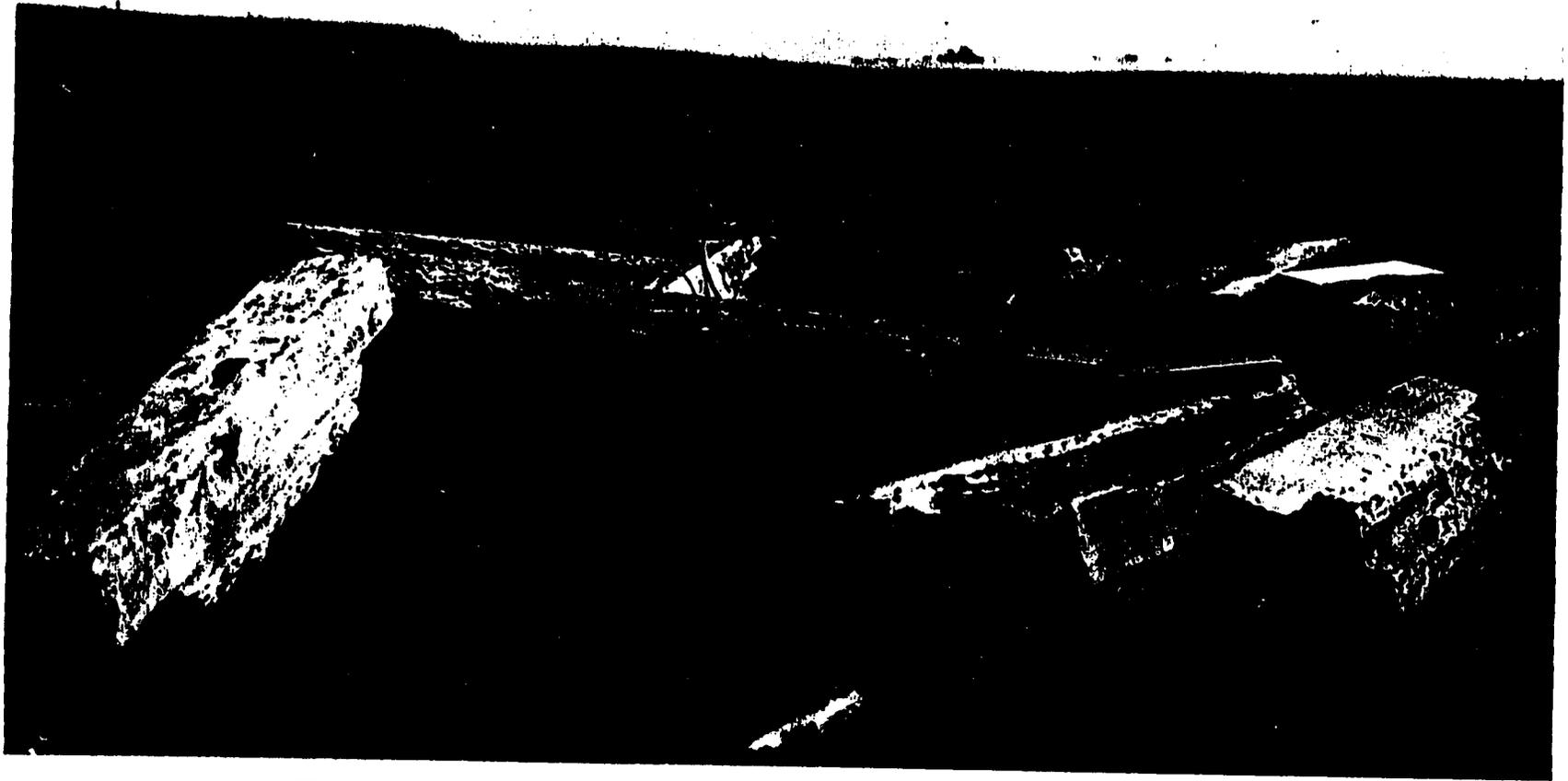


Plate 5.9 Ross Cemetery in 1905. Photo Courtesy, The Bancroft Library



Plate 5.10 Undated Historic Photo of Ross with Cemetery in Foreground.  
Photo Courtesy, California Department of Parks & Recreation

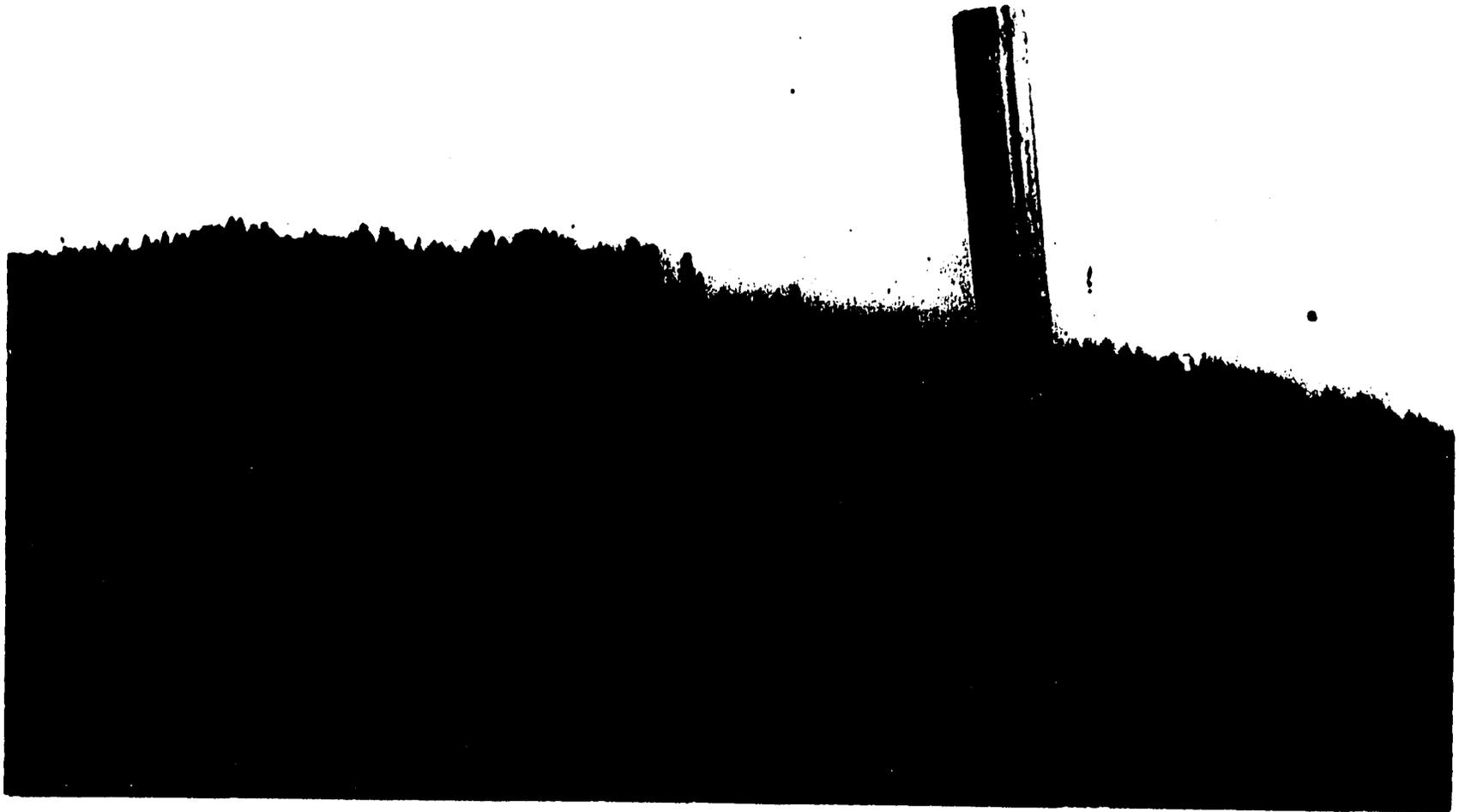


Plate 5.11 Undated Historic Photo of Ross Showing Markers.  
Photo Courtesy, California Department of Parks & Recreation

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## APPENDIX 1

This appendix lists all persons known to have been stationed at Ross. These individuals and families were located during the course of my research of the archival and published literature. They are listed sequentially by ethnic group in the tradition of the Russian American Company: Russians, Yakuts, foreigners, Creoles, Native Alaskans, California Indians, and persons believed to be either Russian or Creole by name or occupation but not clearly designated in the literature. The listing is by place of origin, if known, for the male head of household with the legitimate or illegitimate (common-law) wife and children shown below the male. Where known, the occupation of the person or relationship to other family members is given. "Years at Ross" refers to the four census years of 1820, 1821, 1836, and 1838 with "x" for presence and "-" for absence. "Other" refers to other years at Ross that were referenced in the literature or other information such as arrival or departure on Company vessels. The "Died at Ross" column shows the following information: "YES" means the person is known to have died at Ross; "NO" means there is documentation that the person did not die at Ross and in some cases returned to Alaska or Russia; "?" means there is some question about whether a person known to have been stationed at Ross also died there; and a blank column indicates there is insufficient information on this subject. Ages derived from baptismal or christening records are shown in parenthesis followed by an asterisk, for example (3)\*

APPENDIX 1 ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
PEOPLE OF VARIOUS RANKS (Russian Men & Families)							
<u>No Origin Given</u>							
Aleksandrov, Roman		-	-	-	X	1837 sent	
Andreianov, Anton	Farmer, Promyshlennik	X	X	-	-	1820 sent	
Antipin, Vasilii	Carpenter, Promysh.	X	X	-	-	died 1821	YES
Katerina Ukkelya	Coast Miwok woman	X	X	-	-		
Alexandr	Son	X	X	-	-		
Matrena	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Bardahoev, Stepan	Promyshlennik	X	X	-	-	on Farallons	
Kashin	Kashaya	X	-	-	-	illegitimate wife	?
Bardakhoev, Vasilii		-	-	-	-	1820 asked to leave	
Bosharin, Lazar		-	-	-	X		
Dmitrev, Stefan		-	-	-	X	1837 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
Doil'nitsyn,	Orderly to Rotchev	-	-	-	-	1837 sent	
Dorokhov, Petr		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Egorov, Andrei		-	-	-	-	1837 sent	
Egorov, Prokhor	Farmer, Promyshlennik	X	X	-	-	1820 sent	
Evsevev, Efim		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Filatov,	Prikashchik	-	-	-	-	1840 sent	
Filatov, Venedict	Promyshlennik	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>	NO
Galushin, Andrei	Blacksmith	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Avdotia	Creole	X	-	-	-	" "	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Gavrilov, Stefan		-	-	-	X		
Anna	Wife	-	-	-	X		
Inokentii	Son (unlawful)	-	-	-	X		
Ioann	Son	-	-	-	X		
Mariia	Daughter	-	-	-	X		
Afanas'ia	Daughter	-	-	-	X		
Liubov	Daughter	-	-	-	X		
Geinz, Iakov	Prikashchik	-	-	-	-	1820	
German, Karl	Employee	-	-	-	-	1839	
Gurbatov, Gavriilo		-	-	-	-	1837 sent	
Ivanov, Andrei	Promyshlennik	X	X	-	-	married 4/9/1822	
Vera	Creole wife	X	X	-	-	" "	
Vasilii	Son	X	X	-	-	christened 2/5/1822 (6)*	
Fedor	Son	X	X	-	-	" " (4)*	
Lubov	Daughter	X	X	-	-	" " (11)*	
Paraskova	Daughter	X	X	-	-	" " (8)*	
Nadechda	Daughter	-	X	-	-	" " (2)*	
Kashenskii,	Prikashchik, Teacher	-	-	-	-	1838	
Kavanskii, Dementii		-	-	X	X	1834 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
Timofei	Creole son	-	-	-	X		
Kazantsov, Stepan	Promyshlennik	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Anisia	Wife	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Kharitonov, Ivan		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldnkov</i>	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Khastel', Fridrikh		-	-	-	-	1838 sent	
Khitrikh [Khitrov], Vasilii		-	-	-	X	1837 sent, 1841 Sitka	NO
Khlebnikov, Iakov		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Kliuev, Pavel		-	-	-	-	1837 sent	
Kolesov, Nikita		-	-	-	X	1837 sent	
Kondakov, Fedor	Carpenter, Ploughman	X	X	-	-	1824	
Konushin, Kornelii		-	-	-	-	1838 sent	
Kornilov, Stepan	Farmer, Carpenter	X	X	-	-	1820; 1823 Mexico?	NO
Korobenikov, Prokopei		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Anna	Creole	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Koroliiov, Rodion	Promyshlennik	X	-	-	-	died 12/1820	YES
Ayumin Mar'ya	Kashaya woman	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Maria	Daughter	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Kotlakovskii		-	-	-	-	died prior to 1820	YES
Lindkvist, Osip	Soapmaker	-	-	-	-	1838-1840	
Medvedev, Efim	Promyshlennik	-	-	-	-	1818, 1919	
Medvedev, Ermil	Carpenter	X	X	-	-		
Moliavin	Carpenter	-	X	-	-	1825, Mexico?	NO
Moliavinskii, Petr		-	-	-	-	1840	
Morelius, Herman	Farmer	-	-	-	-	1840 sent	
Nanekhkun, Nikolai		X	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO
Novoselov, Petr		X	-	-	-	fled in July 1821	
Elena	Creole wife	X	X	-	-	fled from Novoselov 1821	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
Novoselov, Petr (cont.)								
Avdotia	Daughter	X	X	-	-	"	"	
Arina	Daughter	X	X	-	-	"	"	
Pakhomov, Luka		-	-	-	X	1836 sent		
Vassa	Daughter	-	-	-	X			
Parfenov, Petr		-	-	-	X	sent 1837, Sitka 1841		NO
Polopezhintsov, Maksim	Promyshlennik	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>		
Ovdotia	Kolosh servant	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>		
Petrov, Agafon		-	-	-	-	sent 1837		
Romanovskii,	Staff physician	-	-	-	-	1841		
Rozhin, Petr	Employee	-	-	-	-	1839, Sitka 1840		
Shchukin, Grigorii	Boatswain	-	-	-	-	sent 1837		
Semenov, Stepan		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>		NO
Shabalin, Foma	Promyshlennik, Sailor	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>		
Shukshin, Alexei	Promyshlennik	X	-	-	-	died 27 July 1820		YES
Siazov, Mikhailo		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>		NO
Chumamin	Kashaya woman	X	-	-	-	returned to village		
Slobodchikov, Sysoi	Promyshlennik	X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>		NO
Katerina	Kodiak wife	X	-	-	-	" "		NO
Starkovskii, Vasilii	Prikashchik	-	-	-	-	1821, 1823; died 1827		YES
Sukhanov, Mikhailo	Prikashchik	X	X	-	-			
Temnikov, Ivan		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>		NO
Vagin, Fedor	Carpenter, Promysh.	X	X	-	-	1820 sent, Sitka 1823		NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Volkov	Carpenter	X	-	-	-	1825 Mexico?	NO
Zemyanin, Semen		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1821 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
<u>Arkangel'sk</u>							
Antipin, Ivan	Employee	-	-	-	-	1826 sent, died 1827	YES
Antipina, Evlampia	Creole wife	-	-	-	-	married 1826, died 1828	YES
unnamed	Ward	-	-	-	-	1828; ward of Korenev	
Orlov, Efim	Peasant	-	-	X	X		
Pelagiia	Creole wife	-	-	X	X		
Iakov	Son	-	-	X	X		
Paraskeva	Daughter	-	-	-	-	1841	
Vasilii	Son	-	-	-	-	1841	
Sobolev, Pavel	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1834 sent	
<u>Gzhatsk</u>							
Chernyshev, Feodor	Burgher, Cowherd	-	-	X	X	1824, 1840, 1842 Kenai	NO
Mariia Roza	Indian wife	-	-	X	X	Catholic 1836	
Alekssei	Son	-	-	X	X		
Evdokiia	Daughter	-	-	X	X		
Nataliia	Daughter	-	-	X	X		
Ul'ianiia	Daughter	-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Iaroslavl'</u>							
Kuzmin, Lavrentii	Peasant, Cowherd	-	-	X	X	Sitka/Russia	NO
Mariia	Creole wife	-	-	X	X		
Irina	Daughter	-	-	X	X	baptized Aug 1836 (<1)*	
<u>Irkutsk</u>							
Godlevskii, Lavrentii	Settler, Employee	-	-	X	-	1830 sent/Sitka 1836	NO
Anna	Aleut wife	-	-	X	-	1830 sent/Sitka 1836	NO
Anna	Daughter	-	-	-	-	1831	?
Mikhail	Son	-	-	X	-	1830 sent/Sitka 1836	NO
Simeon	Son	-	-	X	-	1830 sent/Sitka 1836	NO
Ul'ianiia	Daughter	-	-	X	-	Sitka 1836	NO
Grudin, Vasilii	Shipbuilder, Promysh.	X	X	-	-	1822, Sitka 1825	NO
Vera	Kodiak wife	X	-	-	-		
Agrafena	Daughter	-	-	-	-	1825 born	
<u>Kamchatka (northern)</u>							
Chernykh, Georgii [Egor]	Agricultural Official Agronomist, Assist Mgr.	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
<u>Kronstadt</u>							
Kalugin, Vasilii	Fel'dsher (medical assistant)	-	-	-	-	1831 sent, 1832-1834 Sitka 1834	NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Moscow</u>							
Rotchev, Aleksandr	Ross Manager	-	-	-	X	1838/Sitka 1841	NO
Elena Pavlova	Wife	-	-	-	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Konstantin	Son	-	-	-	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Elena	Daughter	-	-	-	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Ol'ga	Daughter	-	-	-	X	Sitka 1841	NO
<u>Naryn</u>							
Sosnin, Vasilii	Carpenter, Foreman	-	-	X	X	1828 sent, Russia 1842	NO
unnamed	Indian wife, unlawful	-	-	-	-	1836	
Anastasiia	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X	aka Nataliia	
<u>Novgorod</u>							
Kononov/Ivanov, Vasilii	Citizen	-	-	-	-	1833,1835	YES
Gavriil	Creole son	-	-	X	X	baptized July 1836	
Marfa	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X		
Ponomarev, Andreian	Burgher	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Stefanida	Creole wife	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Vladimir	Son	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Apolon	Son	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Stefanida	Daughter	-	-	X	-	Sitka 1841	NO
Anna	Daughter	-	-	X	-	Sitka 1841	NO
Grigorii	Son	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
<u>Okhotsk</u>								
Sokolov, Aleksei	Priest (visiting)	-	-	-	-	1832		
<u>Olonets</u>								
Dorofeev, Iakov	Prikashchik	-	-	-	-	1823, Unalaska 1828	NO	
Okhotin, Vasilii	Burgher, Sailor	-	-	X	-	Russia 1837	NO	
<u>Pskov</u>								
Andreev, Il'ia	Cooper, Carpenter	-	X	X	-	1823 sent, 1827 1834 resent, Russia 1842	NO	
Peter Andreevich	Son	-	-	-	-	no dates given		
<u>Ryl'sk</u>								
Shelekhov, Pavel Ivanovich	Ross Manager	-	-	-	-	1825, Sitka 1835	NO	
<u>St. Petersburg</u>								
Gol'tsyn, Nikolai Andreev	Burgher, Prikashchik	-	-	X	X	1828 sent, 1840		
Kamenskii, Mikhail Ivanov	Burgher, Prikashchik	-	-	X	X	1829 sent, Sitka 1841	NO	
unnamed	Indian wife, unlawful	-	-	-	-	1836		
Grigorii	Creole son	-	-	X	X	1841 Sitka	NO	
Aleksandra	Daughter	-	-	-	X			

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
<u>Shadrinsk</u>								
Silinskii, Nikolai	Peasant, Carpenter (Rowboats)	-	-	-	-	1830, Sitka 1831	NO	
<u>Tobol'sk</u>								
Akad'ev [Akat'ev], Trifon	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1833 sent, Sitka 1841	NO	
Afanas'ia	Wife	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO	
Arzhelovskii, Foma	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1832, Sitka 1841	NO	
Matrona	Indian Wife	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO	
Anis'ia	Creole Daughter	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO	
Agrafena	Creole Daughter	-	-	-	X	Sitka 1841	NO	
Babin, Iakov	Carpenter, Promysh.	-	-	-	-	1815, 1818	NO	
Borodin, Stepan	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1834 sent, Russia 1842	NO	
Ekaterina	Creole wife	-	-	X	X			
Budilov, Petr	Burgher	-	-	X	X	1830 sent, Sitka/Russia	NO	
Ioann	Son	-	-	X	X	1830 sent, Sitka/Russia	NO	
Efimii	Son	-	-	X	X	1830 sent, Sitka/Russia	NO	
Ekaterina	Daughter	-	-	X	X	1830 sent		
Melania	Illegitimate daughter	-	-	X	-		?	
Mariia	Daughter	-	-	X	X	1830 sent		
Tat'iana	Daughter	-	-	X	X	1830 sent, 1829 (2)*		
Chukliuldin, Kirik	Peasant	-	-	X	-			
Eremin, Nikita	Peasant, Farmer	-	-	X	X	1827 sent, Sitka/Russia	NO	
unnamed	Indian, unlawful	-	-	-	-	1836		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Eremin, Nikita (cont.)							
Leontii	Creole son	-	-	X	X	born 8/5/1836	
Ekaterina	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X		
Mariia	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X	baptized Aug 1836 (3)*	
Gorbunov, Filip	Burgher, Promysh.	X	X	X	-	1820 sent, Russia 1837	NO
Anna	Creole wife	X	X	X	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	
Zakhar	Son	-	-	X	-		
Kiselev, Vasilii	Peasant, Tanner	-	-	X	X	1823, Sitka/Russia	NO
Paraskovia	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X		
Kokushkin, Ioann	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1833 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
Kozokhin, Ioann	Peasant, Farmer	-	-	X	X	1827 sent	
unnamed	Indian wife, unlawful	-	-	-	-	1836	
Stefan	Creole son	-	-	X	X	baptized Aug 1836	
Kuznetsov, Onufrii	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1833 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
Fedos'ia	Indian wife	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Nikolai	Son	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Varvara	Daughter	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Gavriil	Son	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO
Petr	Son	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO
Mandarov, Fedor	Peasant, Farmer	-	-	-	-	1827 sent, 1835 gone	NO
Pliusnin, Daniil	Burgher	-	-	X	X	1826 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
unnamed	Indian wife, unlawful	-	-	-	-	1836	
Aleksandra	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X	baptized Aug 1836	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
Rozhin, Vasilii	Peasant	-	-	X	-	1834 sent		
Utkin, Iuda	Peasant	-	-	X	-	1826 sent, Russia 1837	NO	
Vasil'ev, Vasilii	Carpenter, Promysh.	X	X	-	-	1820 sent; died 1827	YES	
Vasil'eva, Anna	Fox Island wife	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent; <i>I'lmen</i>	YES	
Aleksei	Creole Son	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent, 1833		
Anna	Creole Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
Aleksandra	Creole Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
Nikita		-	-	X	X	orphan		
Mariia		-	-	X	-	orphan	?	
Vazhenin, Aleksei	Peasant, Farmer	-	-	X	X	1827 sent		
Efim'ia	Indian wife	-	-	X	X			
Evdokiia	Daughter	-	-	X	X	baptized Aug 1836 (1)*		
Velizhanin, Filimon	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1833 sent, Sitka/Russia	NO	
Zyrianov, Nikifor	Burgher, Promysh.	X	X	X	X	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
Irina	Fox Island wife	X	X	X	X	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
Mariia	Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	?	
Palagia	Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	?	
Paraskeva	Daughter	-	-	X	X			
Khristina	Daughter	-	-	X	X			
Ol'ga	Daughter	-	-	X	X			
Mariia	Daughter	-	-	X	X			
Fedor	Son	-	-	X	X			
Stefan	Son	-	-	X	X	baptized Aug 1836 (<1)*		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Tomsk</u>							
Berezovskii, Afansii	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1826 sent	
Anna	Creole wife	-	-	X	X		
Aleksandr	Son	-	-	X	X		
Petr	Son	-	-	X	X	baptized Aug 1836 (<1)*	
Klimyshev, Vasilii	Burgher	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Maliutin, Iakov	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1830 sent	
Matrona	Creole wife	-	-	X	X	1830 sent	
Petr	Son	-	-	X	X	1830 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
Ioann	Son	-	-	X	X	1830 sent	
Anna	Daughter	-	-	-	-	1830 sent	
Zakharii	Son	-	-	X	X	baptized July 1836	
Irina	Daughter	-	-	X	X		
Permitin, Vasilii	Burgher, Promysh.	X	X	X	-	1820 sent, Russia 1837	NO
Paraskeva	Creole wife	X	X	X	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>	?
Mikhail	Son	X	X	X	X	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>	
Ivan	Son	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>	?
Avdotia	Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>	?
Tatiana	Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'Imen</i>	?
Grigorii	Son	-	-	X	-		
Petr	Son	-	-	X	-	baptized Aug 1836	
Mariia	Daughter	-	-	X	-		
Aleksandra	Daughter	-	-	X	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
<u>Priakhin, Afanasii</u>	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1834 sent		
Varvara	Aleut wife	-	-	X	X			
Evdokiia	Daughter	-	-	X	X			
Anna	Daughter	-	-	-	X			
<u>Stepanov, Pavel</u>	Carpenter, Promysh.	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
Anna	Creole wife	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
Anisia	Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
Ivan	Son (new born)	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>		
<u>Zatinshchikov, Andrei</u>	Peasant	-	-	X	X	Sitka/Russia	NO	
Tat'iana	Creole wife	-	-	X	X			
<u>Tot'ma</u>								
<u>Kuskov, Ivan</u>	Ross manager	X	X	-	-	1812, Sitka 1822	NO	
<u>Tumen</u>								
<u>Gusev, Andrei</u>	Peasant	-	-	-	X			
<u>Tver</u>								
<u>Petrov, Vasilii</u>	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1834 sent, Sitka 1841	NO	
Paraskova		-	-	X	X	asked to marry	NO	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Ustinov</u>							
Svin'in, Fedor	Prikashchik, Starosta	X	X	-	-	1819 , 1823, 1825	YES
Alexander	Son (minor)	X	X	-	-	christened 3/3/1825	NO
Mikhail	Son (minor)	X	X	-	-	died Sitka 12/23/1830	NO
Anis'ia	Widow of Svin'in	-	-	X	X		
Grigorii	Orphan of Svin'in	-	-	X	X		
<u>Velikii-Ustiug</u>							
Kostromitinov, Petr	Ross Manager, Prikashchik	-	-	X	X	1829 sent, 1836 left	NO
<u>Vitebsk</u>							
Timofei, Miron	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1830 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
Katerina	Wife	-	-	-	-	1830 sent	?
Nadezhda		-	-	X	X	asked permission to marry	
<u>Vologda</u>							
Malevinskoi, Petr	Peasant, Farmer	-	-	X	X	1833 sent, Sitka 1841	NO
Mikheev, Osii	Peasant	-	-	X	X	1834 sent, Russia 1841	NO
Nozikov, Dimitrii	Peasant	-	-	X	X		
Marfa	Creole wife	-	-	X	X		
Dimitrii	Son	-	-	X	X		
Ioann	Son	-	-	X	X		
Agripina	Daughter	-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Nozikov, Dimitrii (cont.)</u>							
Agripina	Daughter	-	-	-	X	same name as sister	
Nozikov, Nikolai		-	-	X	X	1833 sent	
<u>Vyborg</u>							
Mel's, Simeon [Semen]	Citizen, Metalworker	-	-	-	X	1836 sent	
Mariia	Creole Wife	-	-	-	X		
Iona	Son	-	-	-	X		
Vasilii	Son	-	-	-	X		
Il'ia	Son	-	-	-	X		
<u>Yaremsk</u>							
Igushev, Aleksei	Horse doctor/Promysh.	X	X	-	-	1820 sent; 1827 gone	NO
Marfa	Wife	X	-	-	-		?
Tat'iana	Daughter	X	-	-	-	born 1/7/1820 in Sitka	?
Alexandra	Daughter	-	-	-	-	born 1825 Ross, Sitka	NO
<u>Yeniseisk</u>							
Munin, Efim	Foreman, Carpenter	X	X	X	X	1820 sent, 1842 Kenai	NO
Elisaveta	Kodiak wife	X	X	-	-	12/1820 sent <i>Golovin</i>	?
Elisaveta	Daughter	X	X	-	-	born April 1821	?
Agripina	Aleut wife (unlawful)	-	-	-	-	1836	
Apolon	Creole son	-	-	X	X	baptized July 1836	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<b>Munin, Efim (cont.)</b>							
Ioann	Creole son	-	-	X	X		
Natalia	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X	baptized July 1836	.
Agripina	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X	baptized July 1836	
Ekaterina	Ward	X	X	-	-	12/1820 sent <i>Golovin</i>	?
Andrei	Son	-	-	-	X		
Korenev, Aleksei	Carpenter, Promysh.	X	X	-	-	1827, 1829, died 1832	YES
Ichemen Anis'ya	Kashaya woman	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Paraskeva	Kodiak wife	-	X	-	-	married 1/7/1824	
<b>YAKUTS</b>							
<u>Barginsk ulus</u>							
Permiakov, Stefan/Stepan	Carpenter	-	-	X	-	1829 sent	
Stefanida/Stepanida	Yakut wife, Cowherd	-	-	X	-	1829 sent	
<u>Manilisk ulus</u>							
Zakharov, Georgii (Egor)	Cowherd, Carpenter	X	X	X	-	1820 sent, Russia 1837	NO
Nataliia	Indian wife	-	-	X	-		?
Simeon	Son	-	-	X	-		?
<u>Unspecified settlement</u>							
Fedorov, Ivan		-	-	-	-	1838, Sitka 1841	NO
Ivanov, Georgii (Egor)		-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
Ivanov, Khariton		-	-	X	-	1830 sent	NO	
Luker'ia	Yakut wife	-	-	X	-	1830 sent	NO	
Agaf'ia	Daughter	-	-	X	-			
Nikolaev, Login		-	-	X	X	1834 sent, 1841 NO		
Olimpiada	Wife	-	-	-	X			
Okhlobkov, Iakov	Carpenter	X	X	-	-			
Popov, Gerasim	Carpenter	X	X	-	-			
Popov, Petr	Carpenter, Herdsman	X	X	-	-	Sitka 1829, Sitka 1841	NO	
Katerina Stepanova	California Indian	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1829	NO	
Matrena	Daughter	-	-	-	-	(age 14 Sitka 1831)	NO	
Irina	Daughter	-	-	-	-	(age 7 Sitka 1831)	NO	
Prokof'ev, Aviv	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1829 sent, 1833		
Doroteia (wife)	Cowherd	-	-	-	-	1829 sent		
Zakharov, Login		X	X	-	-			
FOREIGNERS								
<u>Americans</u> (three unnamed to ship work at Ross)		-	-	-	-	1823)		
<u>English Subject</u>								
Betkhe/Bedkhin, Nikolai		-	-	X	-	1833 sent, 1835 left?		
Anna	Creole wife	-	-	X	-	1833 sent		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
<u>Finns</u> (two unnamed Finns)	Work in settlement	-	-	-	-	1823		
Adamson, Isai	Cooper	-	X	X	-	1823 sent, Russia	1842	NO
Paraskeva	Indian wife	-	X	X	-			
Gavriil	Son	-	X	X	-			
Filipp	Son	-	-	X	-			
Flink, Karl	Farmer	-	-	X	X	1833 sent		YES
Anna	Izhiganka (Aleut) wife	-	-	X	X	1833 sent, Sitka	1840	NO
Stefan	Son	-	-	X	X	1833 sent		
Shmidt, Karl Ivanovich	Ross manager	-	X	-	-	1820 sent, Sitka	1825	
<u>Other Europeans</u>								
Lindel (Linden?), Zakhar	Sailor, Farmer	-	-	-	-	1822, 1823		YES?
Walman (Vilman?), Gustav	Farmer	-	-	-	-	1824		YES?
<u>Hawaiians/Sandwich Islanders</u>								
Fartunskii, Jack		-	-	-	-	1820		
Gerri	Sailor	-	-	-	-	1820		
Karya	Cowherd	X	-	-	-	"	"	NO
Kek'kii		-	X	-	-	arrived per Shmidt		
Maktim	Cowherd	X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1821	<i>Buldakou</i>	NO
Men'shoi, James		-	-	-	-	1820		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
<b>CREOLES</b>								
Akliaiuk [Agliaiuk], Pavel	Interpreter	-	-	-	-	raised at Ross, Sitka 1841	NO	
Belonogov, Mikhail		-	-	X	X	1826 sent		
Mariia	Wife	-	-	X	X			
Chechenev, Nikolai (same?)	Subdeacon (visiting)	-	-	-	-	1832		
Chechenev, Nikolai (same?)	Son of Petr Chechenev	X	X	-	-			
Chechenev, Zakhar Petrov	Scribe	-	-	X	X	1833 sent		
Lukiia	Wife	-	-	X	X	1833 sent		
Porfirii	Son	-	-	X	X	1833 sent		
Il'ia	Son	-	-	X	X	1833 sent		
Petr	Son	-	-	X	X	baptized August 1836 (1)*		
Afanasiia	Daughter	-	-	-	X			
Ekaterina Kychkova	Ward	-	-	X	X	1833 sent		
Druzhinin, Filat	Minor	-	-	-	-	1840-1841		
Fomin, Daniil		-	-	X	X			
Fomin, Roman						1822-1824	NO	
Iakovlev, Simeon		-	-	-	X			
Ianov, Zakhar		-	-	-	-	Ross 1841		
Klimovskii, Nikolai,		-	-	-	-	1822		
Kotelnikov, Filip	Employee	X	X	X	X	1827, Farallons		
Amachamin	Kashaya woman	X	X	-	-	first wife	?	
Chichilli	Son	X	X	-	-			
Stepan* (same)	Son	X	X	X	X	see entry below		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Kotelnikov, Filip (cont.)							
Varvara	Indian wife	-	-	X	X	second wife	
Nikolai	Son, Laborer	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	
Marfa	Daughter	-	-	X	X		
Kotelnikov, Stepan* (same)							
Elisaveta	Wife	-	-	X	X	see entry above	
Kulikalov	Scribe	X	-	-	-	died 1820/21	YES
Kulikalova, Praskov'ia	Cowherd	-	X	-	-	1828	YES
Kulikalov, Ivan		-	-	-	-	died 1832	YES
Larionov, Ioann/Ivan							
Elena	Wife	-	-	X	X	1824 sent	
Ol'ga	Daughter	-	-	X	X	born 7/18/1823	
Platon	Son	-	-	X	X		
Mikhail	Son	-	-	X	X	baptized August 1836	
Vasilii, Dii	Son (twins)	-	-	-	X		
Aleksandra	(related)	-	-	-	-	sent 1839	
Limberkh, Karl	Employee, Tailor	-	-	-	-	Russia 1842	NO
Evgenii	Son	-	-	X	X		
Roman	Son	-	-	X	X		
Lukin, Ivan Semenovich	Explorer, Employee					1820 (disputed)	NO
Oskolkov, Iakov	Physician Apprentice	-	-	X	X	sent 1836, 1841	
Anna	Wife	-	-	X	X		
Aleksei	Son	-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Oskolkov, Iakov (cont.)							
Simeon	Son	-	-	-	X		
Ostrogin, Leontii	Blacksmith	-	-	X	X	1832	
Petuhov, Grigorii		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1821 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Paraskova	Creole wife	X	-	-	-		
Potorochin, Mikhailo	Prikashchik	-	-	-	-	1825 sent	
Rastorguev, Mikhailo [Aleut]	Carpenter, Turner	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	YES
	three children at death, two listed below					1823, died 1829	
Aprosinya	Kodiak wife	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i> ; 1829	
Mariia	Daughter	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	
Nikolai	Son	X	X	X	X	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	
Rybolov, Ivan		X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	
Simakov, Gavriila		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Titov, Stepan	Blacksmith, Metalworker	X	X	-	-	1823,1825	
Anisia	Fox Island wife	X	X	-	-		
Titov, Vasilii	Blacksmith	-	-	-	-	1825, 1826	YES
Trukhmanov Sergei	Axe & saw	X	X	-	-	1814 sent, 1823, 1827	YES
	common-law Indian	-	-	-	-	1829	
Nikolai		-	-	X	X	1840	
Nikandr		-	-	X	X	listed w/ Indians 1838	
Ulitovskii, Nikifor	Coppersmith	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i> ;1823	
Vasilisa	Kodiak wife	X	X	-	-	7/1820 sent <i>I'lmen</i>	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
Viatkin, Aleksei	Apprentice Tailor	-	-	X	-		1836 sent	
Zyrianov, Alexei	With Sukhanov	-	X	-	-			
NATIVE ALASKANS								
<u>Aiaktalitskoe village</u>								
Aliksia Aleksei		X	X	-	-			
Aminnak Arseniy		X	-	-	-	3/1821 Sitka <i>Golovin</i>		NO
Libuy	Southern Pomo wife	X	-	-	-	3/1821 Sitka <i>Golovin</i>		NO
Fedor	Son	X	-	-	-	3/1821 Sitka <i>Golovin</i>		NO
Chapushvik Matvei	Toyon	X	X	-	-	died 1824		YES
Unatik Anisia	Kodiak wife	X	X	-	-			
two unnamed	Foster & infant sons	-	-	-	-	1824		
Chavishkak Ivan	Illegitimate son	X	X	-	-	of Negemishknak Matvei		
Gliaa---		-	-	-	-	1823		
Ochaannakhkak Anna	Daughter	-	-	-	-			
Kayashiok Nazap		X	X	-	-			
Nanygnyak Potap	Kodiak	X	X	-	-			
Kavapalii	Kashaya	X	X	-	-	illegitimate wife		
Pazhun Tihon		X	X	-	-			
Shulian Stepan		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>		NO
Sidula Kiril		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>		NO
Tlualkik, Trofim	Kodiak	X	X	-	-	deceased by 1836		YES
Kunuchami	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-			
Izhuaok Petr	Son	X	-	-	-	died 1821		YES

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Tlualkik, Trofim (cont.)</u>							
Stepan	Unlawful son	-	-	-	-	Baptised 1836 (17)*	
Kiyashyomiy Alentia	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Natalia	Daughter	X	X	-	-	born to Kodiak woman	
<u>Alitatskoe village</u>							
Chishalak Semen		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821	NO
Gavrila Andreev/Al'koak		X	X	-	-		
Kush'shiya	Coast Miwok	X	X	-	-		
Perfilii	Son	X	-	-	-	1829 absent	
<u>An'iakhtalitskoe settlement</u>							
Kaskak Tuchin Ioann	Charcoal-maker	X	X	X	X	listed from Aiaktalitskoe in 1821	
Tsullua	Southern Pomo	X	-	-	-	illegitimate wife	?
Elena	Daughter	X	-	X	-	Aiaktalitskoe 1821	?
Iosif	Son, Laborer	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Feodor	Son	-	-	X	X		
Eremii	Son	-	-	X	X		
Mariia	Daughter	-	-	X	X		
<u>Anikinskoe settlement</u>							
Aliakhpak [Alniakhkak], Mikhail			-	-	X	X	
Ol'ga	Wife	-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Kaiakhtak, Ioann/Ivan	Translator	X	X	X	X	1824	
Avlashkok Ulita	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		?
Naklynok Vasilii	Son	X	X	-	-		?
Tarasii	Son	-	-	X	-	baptized August 1836 (4)*	?
Artemii	Son	-	-	X	-		?
Kurnyk, Mosei	Toyon	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Uyamin	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-	married U. Andrey, on Farallons 1821	
<u>Chinikatskoe village/Chiniyatskoe village</u>							
Agchyaesikok Roman		X	-	-	-	drowned 1821	Yes
Kobbeya	Southern Pomo wife	X	-	-	-	returned to village	No
Kiochan Mitrofan	Son	X	-	-	-	given to Chyunaguzhiy	
Ash'shyo Andrei	Toyon	X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Chyunaguzhiy, Alexei	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Tolilukayu	Coast Miwok wife	X	X	-	-		
Olga	Kodiak wife	X	-	-	-	died 1820	YES
Iakov Shelihov	Toyon	X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Nastasia	Creole wife	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Aleksandr	Son	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Fedor	Son	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Iakunak Filimon		X	X	-	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Ithoshknak, Maksim	Chugach	X	X	-	-		
Chubaya	Southern Pomo wife	X	-	-	-	illegitimate, with another	NO
Alexandr	Son	X	-	-	-	went with mother	
Marfa	Daughter	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Kuniy	Coast Miwok wife	-	X	-	-		
Anusha Maria	Daughter	-	X	-	-		
Aglala	Daughter	-	X	-	-		
Kovtutan, Leontii		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Kymailvga Konon		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Naneshkum Avvakum		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Olga	Kodiak wife	X	-	-	-	died August 1820	YES
Sipak Ivan (Ishkhatskiy)	Chugach	X	X	-	-	died 1832	YES
Unitma	Coast Miwok	X	-	-	-	illegitimate wife	YES
Anusha Maria	Daughter	X	-	-	-		
Aglal'ya	Daughter	X	-	-	-		
Ukun, Andrey	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Uyamin	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-	also married Kurnyk Mosei	
Miechiy	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-		
<u>Ezabkinskoe settlement</u>							
Akilkak, Il'ia		X	X	X	X		
Ivan Anikinskii	Kayachtan	-	X	-	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Nanehkun, Nikon		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Kamemunay	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Nanehkun, Vasilii	Toyon	X	X	-	-		
Kelyaymin	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-		?
Papinchin Akulina	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Pipichupik Agrafena	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Nangak Login		X	X	-	-		
Tupulihkak Sava	Kodiak	X	X	-	-	on Farallons in 1821	
Mishishiya	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-	on Farallons in 1821	
<u>Fox Islands</u>							
Andrei Petrov	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1820s	
Irina	Daughter	-	-	-	-		
Natalia	Daughter	-	-	-	-	Ross 1819	
Ivanov Dmitrii		X	-	-	-		
Travkin, Maxim	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Veretenin Andrei	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1820s	
<u>Igatskoe settlement</u>							
Achuchik Miron		X	X	-	-		
Amashik Elena	Kodiak wife	X	X	-	-		
Naknak Nikifor	Son	X	X	-	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Chanakhkak Il'ia		X	X	X	X		
Kakishmaya	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-		?
Pinehnun Kiril	Son	X	X	-	-		?
Timofei Iakshak	Son	X	X	X	X		
Ignatii	Son			X	X		
Iakshak Karp		X	X	-	-		
Ibigak Sofron		X	X	-	-		
Kalekts, Kaliuzha	Axe & saw	X	-	-	-	1814 sent	
Shayman Sofron		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Paniuk Palagia	Kodiak wife	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Konstantin	Son	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Fedosia	Daughter	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
No husband listed for							
Marina	Woman of village	X	X	-	-		
Usyashkak Vasilii		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
<u>Kodiak Island</u>							
Aikhtha/Aiakhta Semen	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1824	
<u>Kakitliutskoe settlement</u>							
Atta Kirila	Chugach	X	X	X	X	1820/21 at Chinikatskoe	
Vasilli	Son	-	-	X	X		
Dimitrii	Son	-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Kaknaiutskoe settlement</u>							
Kasents	Kolosh (Tlingit)	X	X	-	-		
<u>Karlutskoe settlement</u>							
Aliazha Mikhail		-	-	X	-		
Nariadov Aleksei	Agricultural Apprentice	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841*	
Olimpiada		-	-	X	-	asked permission to marry*	
<u>Kashkatskoe settlement</u>							
Iakunak Iakov	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Tykpali	Kashaya	X	X	-	-	illegitimate wife	
Gavril	Son	X	X	-	-		
Shaiashin Nikolai		-	-	X	X		
Sidula Sidor	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Eyemtuli	Coast Miwok	X	X	-	-	illegitimate wife	
<u>Katmaiskoe settlement</u>							
Ivalyudak		X	X	-	-		
Ivalyudak Nekr		X	X	-	-		
Kuignak (aka Kygnak)	Eskimo (unbaptized)	X	X	-	-		
Unutiklin	Coast Miwok	X	-	-	-	illegitimate wife	?
Tulikapucha	Coast Miwok wife	-	X	-	-		
Kakalik	Son (unbaptized)	-	X	-	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Kuiukak Dimitrii		-	-	X	X		
Kuiukak Taras		X	-	-	-		
<u>Keiavitskoe village</u>							
Asiana Timofei	Archer	X	X	-	-		
Marina	Daughter	X	X	-	-	born to Indian woman	
Silyango Iakov Kuskov		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Agnagak Ulita	Kodiak wife	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Timofei Atku	Aleut (axe & saw)	-	X	-	-	1815 sent	
<u>Kenai</u>							
Nikolay Kinaets	Tanaina Indian	X	-	-	-	3/1821 left on <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Meyechiy	Southern Pomo "girl"	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
<u>Kiliudinskoe settlement</u>							
Akazhi Nikolai		X	X	-	-	1824	
Anpak Daria	Kodiak wife	X	X	-	-	1821 listed w Iakshak Iakov	
Aishkak Afansii	Son	X	X	-	-	" "	
Aligaga Semon		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Anushika Trofim		X	X	-	-		
Chashuknak Efim		X	-	-	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Chevichpak Il'ia	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Chashiya	Southern Pomo	X	X	-	-		
Agahstan	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Ihuilnok Ivan	Kodiak	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Kilyoilok	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
unnamed	Two sons	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Kagiaga Karp		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Evgigin Elisaveta	Kodiak	X	-	-	-		
Kaiukak Ivan	Kodiak	X	X	-	-	Sitka 1837	NO
Kunay	Coast Miwok wife	-	X	-	-		
Pulli	Son	-	X	-	-		
Kullashiy	Daughter	-	X	-	-		
Kamliuk Aleksei		-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Pelagiia	Indian	-	-	-	X	illegitimate wife	
Timofei	Son	-	-	X	X	baptized July 1836 (3)*	
Sofiia	Daughter	-	-	X	-	" " (1)*	?
Kamliuk Ioann		X	X	X	X	Sitka 1839	
Nataliia	Illegitimate wife	-	-	X	-	Sitka 1839	
Kashpak Ioann		X	X	X	X		
Povymen	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Vera	Kodiak wife	X	X	-	-	second wife	
Vasili Chanaak	Son	-	-	X	-	baptized August 1836 (3)*	?

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Kashpak Nikolai		X	-	X	X		
Marina	Wife	-	-	-	X		
Irina	Daughter	-	-	-	X		
Kashpik		X	X	-	-		
Kumuyak Stepan	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Mchen'	Kashaya wife	-	X	-	-		
Kumuyak Vasilii		X	X	-	-		
Mailhknak Savva		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 Golovin	NO
Agachpuchiye	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Asiavihtok Fedor	Son	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 Golovin	NO
Naykan Nikolai		X	X	-	-		
Nehtkan Ivan		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 Golovin	NO
Lyuymen'	Southern Pomo	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Pishochtnak Pavel	Toyon	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 Golovin	NO
Nushyak Natalia	Kodiak	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Achanan Zakhar	Son	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Asiavihtok Stepan	Son	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Elena	Daughter	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Pizhakhtkak Vasilli		X	X	X	X		
Tulumachua	Kashaya wife	-	X	-	-	first wife	?
Aniehta	Son	-	X	-	-		?
Mariia	Wife	-	-	X	X	second wife	
Feodor	Son	-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Shaia Iosif/Osip	Foreman	X	X	X	X	1829 resent	YES
Myssalaya	California Indian	X	X	-	-	first wife	
Aleksandra	Indian wife	-	-	X	X	second wife	
Sazon	Son	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Mariia	Daughter	-	-	-	X		
Ushmii Abram	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Michaye	Kashaya Wife	X	X	-	-		
<u>Kiniatskoe settlement</u>							
Taneikak Arsenii	Kodiak	X	X	-	-	shown also at Ahiotskoe, Paiskoe	
Tukul'bin	California Indian?	X	X	-	-	"illegitimate wife"	
Agishka	Son	X	X	-	-		
<u>Kolpakovskoe settlement</u>							
Alyshak Vasilii		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Anna	Kodiak wife	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Tanaikan Roman	Son	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Atsiana Maria	Daughter	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Panilak	Daughter	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Alyan Il'ia		X	X	-	-		
Chechidan Boris		X	-	-	-	1820 sent, Sitka 1821	NO
Dmitrii	Son	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Ahanchunak	Daughter	X	-	-	-	" "	NO
Ikhvan [Ikhvannol], Ioann		X	X	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
Nanchin Nikita		X	X	-	-			
Miyacha	Kashaya wife	-	X	-	-			
Pigalyonok Anton		X	X	-	-			
Shaia Stefan		X	X	X	X			
Nuchichiya	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-			
<u>Malinovskoe village</u>								
Gromin (asked for relatives to be sent)		-	-	-	-	1823		
wife, brother Tama---		-	-	-	-	?		
<u>Mysovskoe village</u>								
Iakshak Iakov		X	X	-	-	1821 has wife & child see Akazhi		
Nikolai								
Ichvan Gavriila		X	X	-	-			
Kaichan Arsenu		X	X	-	-			
Kaluchin Ivan		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO	
Kashpak		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO	
Kili Fedor		X	X	-	-			
Ukayla	Coast Miwok woman	-	X	-	-			
Kilii Nikolai		X	X	-	-			
Unapimen	Coast Miwok wife	X	X	-	-			
Noonoon Vasili		X	X	-	-			
Samoilov Ivan	Toyon	X	X	-	-			

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Paiskoe settlement</u>							
Alalyakin Danila		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Katyya	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Marina	Daughter	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Ivan	Son	X	-	-	-	Sitka 1821	NO
Avagnak, Ivan		X	X	-	-		
El'bus'shika	Coast Miwok wife	X	X	-	-		
Anisyak Maria	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Atunnuki	Son	-	X	-	-		
Kitpushknak Tutaka Nikita		X	X	-	-	1821 listed Alitatskoe village	
Pazhuk Filipp		-	-	X	X		
Anna	Wife	-	-	X	X		
Matrena	Daughter	-	-	-	-	Ross 1841	
Utamak Fedor		X	X	-	-		
Akaluchua	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-		
Panichunak Agrafena	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Tatuiu Maria	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
<u>Prokلياتovskoe settlement</u>							
Apangu Filip	Kodiak	X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Pokomin	Kashaya wife	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Kichuk Efim		X	X	X	X		
Vera	Wife	-	-	X	X		
Emel'ian	Son	-	-	-	X		
Uzhekli (Utekli) Petr	toyon	X	X	-	-	1833	
<u>Razbitovskoe settlement</u>							
Angaianak, Ioann		X	X	X	X		
Chazhvahkak Nikita	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Chaikku	Coast Miwok wife	X	X	-	-		
Aki Arina	daughter	X	X	-	-		
Kapion Pavel		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Pininchin Varvara	Kodiak woman	X	-	-	-	died June 14, 1821	YES
Pishochtkak Timofei	Translator	X	-	-	-		
<u>Rubtsovskoe settlement</u>							
Chukuika Mikhail		-	-	X	-		?
Ungaiak Kornill		X	X	X	X		
Kibuchunmiy Maria	Southern Pomo wife	X	-	-	-		?
Agrafena	Daughter	X	-	-	-		
Chiliyahkak	Daughter	X?	-	-	-		?
Mihail Tungihtak	Son	X	-	-	-		?

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Shashkatskoe settlement</u>							
Aniehta Nikolai	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		
Mit'ya	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-		
Chanian Vissarion	Son	X	X	-	-		
Tunuliakhkak Iakov	Axe & saw	X		X	-	1815 sent	
Chupivat'miy	Central Pomo wife	X	-	-	-		?
Petr	Son	X	X	-	-		
Timofei	Son	X	X	-	-		
Talizhuk Kosma		X	X	X	-		YES
Yayumen	Kashaya wife	-	X	-	-	on Farallons 1821	?
Pelagiia Talizhuka	Widow	-	-	X	X		
Nikifor	Son	-	-	X	X		
Vasilii	Son/Laborer	-	-	X	X	Sitka 1841	NO
Ukukutak Gavriil		-	-	X	X		
Uyay Savva		X	X	-	-		
<u>Ugatatskoe settlement</u>							
Agliaiuk [Amliaiuk] Savva		-	-	X	X		
Aliyachkak Mikhail		X	X	-	-		
Anishta Andrei		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 Golovin	NO
Kamlyok Miron		X	X	-	-		
Amayumiy	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-		
Kashpak Nazar		X	X	-	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Malihkak Matvei	Axe & saw/archer	X	X	-	-	1815 sent, 1833	YES
Kytupaliva	Coast Miwok wife	X	-	-	-		
Ashana Alimpiada	Daughter	X	-	-	-		
Nikolaii	Illegitimate son	-	-	-	-	baptized Aug 1836	
<u>Uginatskii settlement</u>							
Al'vadu [Luka]	Cooper	X	X	-	-	1822, 1823, 1827	
<u>Uhitskoe settlement</u>							
Taneikak Apalnak Ivan	Kodiak	X	X	-	-		YES
Pizhichimiy	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-		
Olga	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Chunyuun	Son	-	X	-	-		
Pelagiia	Widow	-	-	X	X		
Il'ia	Son	-	-	-	X		
Marko	Son	-	-	-	X		
Simeon	Son	-	-	-	X		
<u>Uyatskoe settlement</u>							
Chananok Efim		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO
Kanishmaya	Southern Pomo wife	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Tulutagak Taras Anton		X	-	-	-	Sitka 3/1821 <i>Golovin</i>	NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Unspecified settlement</u>							
Afaianak Stefan		-	-	-	X		
Akhuchik Aleksandr	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	NO
Aleksei	Translator	-	-	-	-	1822	
Aletula Boris	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1822	
Alexeieva Seraphima		-	-	-	-		
Amiak Koz'ma	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	NO
Aminnak Andrei	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	NO
Amnak Semen	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	NO
An'ikhta Vasilii		-	-	-	X		
Anuzhikak Sosipatr	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	NO
Avilia Egor	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Chechulka Andrei (Aleut)	Metal Craftsman, cooper	-	-	-	-	1822	
Chinakhank	Hunter	-	-	-	-		
Efimov Nikolai		-	-	X	X		
Pelagiia	Wife	-	-	-	X	illegitimate wife	
Feodor	Son	-	-	-	X	baptized August 1836 (<1)*	
Iaekhkan, Abram	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1835	
Iani	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1835	
Il'ia	Baidarshchik	-	-	-	-	1822	
Ingliu Ignatti	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	NO
Ivan	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1824	
Kanapak Luka		-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO
Kanuk Gavriilo	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Kashpak Vasilii	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Kaumakshak Nikita	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Kilygnyk Nikolai		-	-	-	-	1829 sent	
Kilyudinskiy Anton	Employee	X	X	-	-		
Bidushipibin	Kashaya wife	X	X	-	-		
Arina	Daughter	X	X	-	-		
Klim	Baidarshchik	-	-	-	-	1822	
Kondratti, Sokol'nikov	Hunter	-	-	-	-		
Koug'i Nikolai	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Kunuchunak Marko	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Lakhgak Iakov	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Lukashin Il'ia	Hunter	-	-	-	-		
Manutynyl'kha Ivan	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Nil Fedor	Hunter	-	-	-	-	1824	
Nupkhuk Isai	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Ponomar'kov Ivan	Hunter/Baidarshchik	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Samoilov Dimitrii	Blacksmith	X	-	-	-	1823; son of toyon	YES
Arina	Daughter	X	-	-	-		
Parents unknown		-	-	-	-		
Tatiana	Aleut orphan	-	-	X	-		?
Shuniga Andrei	Interpreter	-	-	-	-	1824	
Silianu Afonasii	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Tol'kvaiak Petr	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Tumaga/Tutaka Nikita		-	-	-	-	1827, 1833	
Tuteg	Tanner	-	-	-	-	1822, 1823	
Uzvakhchik Efim (Illegible name)	Hunter	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1835	
Pelagiia Kutta	Indian wife, unlawful	-	-	X	-	1836	
Afanasii	Son	-	-	X	-		
<b>BAPTISED INDIANS</b>							
<u>Females &amp; Children</u>							
Afanasiia		-	-	X	X		
Afrosiniia	Widow	-	-	X	-		
Agripina		-	-	X	-		
Dariia		-	-	X	-		
Ekaterina	Widow	-	-	X	-		
Elisaveta		-	-	X	-		
Evdokiia		-	-	X	-		
Evdokiia		-	-	X	X		
Dionisii	Son	-	-	-	X		
Evlampiia		-	-	X	X		
Marko	Son	-	-	-	X		
Vasilii		-	-	X	-		
Evlampiia (cont.)							
Dimitrii		-	-	X	-		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Feodosiia		-	-	X	X		
Irina		-	-	X	X		
Irina Pashichamie		-	-	X	-		
Mariia	Daughter	-	-	X	-		
Luker'ia		-	-	X	-		
Luker'ia		-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO
Mariia		-	-	X	-		
Marina		-	-	X	-		
Matrona		-	-	X	X		
Matrona		-	-	X	-		
Matrona Lashushmana [Matrona*]		-	-	X	X		
Mavra	an Indian woman	-	-	X	-		
Luker'ia	Daughter	-	-	X	-		
Melaniia	Widow	-	-	X	X		
Ul'ianiiia Kalalichiman [Ul'ianiiia*]		-	-	X	X		
Vassa		-	-	X	X		
Artmii [Artemii]		-	-	-	X		
Venedikt		-	-	-	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
<u>Males with wives &amp; children</u>							
Chichamik	Coast Miwok	X	-	-	-		
Chilan	Kashaya	X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Chil'ya	Kashaya	X	X	-	-	worked as convict	
Genvar		-	-	-	-	prisoner, Sitka 1838	
Iik	Kashaya	-	X	-	-	works in kitchen	
Kapisha	Coast Miwok	X	X	-	-	on Farallons (1821)	
Vayamin	Kashaya wife	-	X	-	-	on Farallons (1821)	
Evdokiia	Daughter	-	-	-	X		
Maletin		-	-	-	-	prisoner, Sitka 1837	
Murav'ev Ieromin	(Indian) Laborer	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	
Vaimpo	Coast Miwok	X	-	-	-	returned to village	NO
Vekvekun	Coast Miwok	X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Yovlo	Coast Miwok	X	X	-	-		
Yogokoiy	Kashaya	X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Zakharov Irodion	(Indian) Laborer	-	-	X	-	Sitka 1841	
Zhak		-	-	-	-	Sitka 1840 for crimes	NO

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838	OTHER	
<u>Unknown Ethnicity</u> (Russian or Creole?)							
Bogdanov, Ivan	Sailor	-	-	-	-	Sitka 1823	NO
Bykov, Vasilii	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1835 sent	
Chekin, Nikolai		-	-	-	-	1828 sent	
Cheremnov, Nikolai	-	-	-	-	-	1830, 1832, 1835	
Igant'ev Ivan	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1824	
Igumov, Aleksei	Chief carpenter	-	-	-	-	1824	
Ivan, Vaialtak		-	-	-	-	1833 sent	
Ivanov, Sysoi	Ploughman	-	-	-	-	1825 sent ,1827	
Ivanova, Alexandra	Illegitimate daughter	-	-	-	-	1840	
Ivanova, Anna	Illegitimate daughter	-	-	-	-	1840	
Karlukskii, Andrei	Cooper	X	X	-	-	1823	
Malanya	Kodiak	X	X	-	-	Illegitimate wife	
Kasterskii, Aleksandr	Crew of Elena	-	-	-	-	1840	
Katlanovskii, Aleksei		X	-	-	-		
Khudiakov, Aleksei	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1823 sent	
Klimsha	Baidarshchik	-	-	-	-	1822-1824	
Kochetov, Ivan	Mast apprentice	-	-	-	-	1825	
Kokenen, Pavel		-	-	-	-	1834 sent	
Kortis, Il'ia	Boatswain	-	-	-	-	1820	
Laurin, Ivan		-	-	-	-	1834 sent	
Lis'iakov, Filipp	Farmer	-	-	-	-	1824	
Malikhnak, Pavel		-	-	X	X		
Nikolai	Son	-	-	X	X		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS					OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838			
Marenin/Marinin, Marko	Employee/Farmer	-	-	-	-	1827 sent, 1833		
Markov, Irikalii	Crew of Elena	-	-	-	-	1840		
Maxim	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1824		
Mordvinov, Marko		-	-	-	-	1822 fled, 1828		
Nikolaev Ermolai		-	-	X	X			
Ekaterina	Wife	-	-	-	X			
Pavlov Ioann		-	-	X	X			
Elena	Wife	-	-	-	X			
Popov, Efrem	Crew of Elena	-	-	-	-	1840		
Rezantsev, Nikandr	Farmer	-	-	-	-	1822		
Samsonov, Aksentii	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1823 sent	YES	
Melaniia	Creole daughter	-	-	X	X	(orphan)		
Shebanov/Shebalov, Rodion	Sailor	-	X	-	-	Sitka 1825	NO	
Shogren/Shogrin, Gavriilo	Farmer	-	-	-	-	1823,1827		
Simanov, Andrei		-	-	-	-	1827 sent, 1833		
Liubov'	Wife	-	-	-	-	1827 sent		
Irina	Daughter	-	-	-	-	1827 sent		
Tat'iana	Daughter	-	-	-	-	born 1830; Okhotsk 1837	NO	
Mar'ia/Anna	Sister-in-law	-	-	-	-	1827 sent		
Skrypka, Matvei	Crew of Elena	-	-	-	-	1840		
Sorokin, Vasilii		-	-	-	-	1826 sent		
Spiridonov, Sergei		-	-	-	-	Sitka 1841	NO	
Tarankov, Vasilii	Baidarshchik	-	-	-	-	1820s		

APPENDIX 1 (cont.) ORIGIN/NAME	OCCUPATION/ RELATIONSHIP	YEARS AT ROSS				OTHER	DIED AT ROSS
		1820	1821	1836	1838		
Tarionov		-	-	-	-	1824	
Tiazhkin, Luka		X	-	-	-	Sitka 9/1820 <i>Buldakov</i>	NO
Tikjanov, Fedor	Crew of Elena	-	-	-	-	1840	
Uimoin, Tomas	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	1835	
Ukko, Adam		-	-	-	-	1834 sent	
Vasil'ev, Ivan		-	-	-	-	1830 sent, 1833	YES
Tat'iana	Wife	-	-	-	-	1830 sent	YES
Avdot'ia	Daughter	-	-	X	X	1830 sent, orphan	
Vasil'ev, Feodor		-	-	-	X		

## APPENDIX 2

This appendix lists the occupations of those stationed at Ross for whom the occupation is identified in the archival or published literature. In many cases, a person is shown with more than one occupation. Some categories such as "burgher", "citizen", "employee", "peasant", and "settler" refer to the status that the person held in Russia.

- Baidarka: a one, two, or three person kayak used for hunting
- Baidarshchik: a foreman, supervisor, overseer, or work leader
- Fel'dsher: a medical assistant
- Kayachtan: a person associated with kayaks or baidarkas
- Prikashchik: an agent or administrator of the Company
- Promyshlennik: a trader or hunter
- Starosta: a religious lay person
- Toyon: Siberian or Native Alaskan tribal elder or leader

APPENDIX 2

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Agronomist</u>			
Chernykh, Georgii Nariadov, Aleksei	Russian	Assistant Manager Agricultural Apprentice	< 1836-1841 < 1838 >
<u>Archer</u>			
Asiana Timofei Malihkak Matvei	Native Alaskan Native Alaskan	Axe & Saw	< 1820-1821 > 1815-1821 >
<u>Assistant Manager</u>			
Chernykh, Georgii	Russian	Agronomist	< 1836-1841
<u>Axe &amp; Saw</u>			
Kaliuzha Kalekts Malihkak Matvei Trukhmanov, Sergei Atku Timofei Tunuliakhkak Iakov	Native Alaskan Native Alaskan Native Alaskan Native Alaskan Native Alaskan	Archer	1814-1820 > 1815-1821 > 1814-1829 1815-1821 > 1815-1821 >
<u>Baidarshchik (foreman)</u>			
Il'ia Klim Klimsha Munin, Efim	Native Alaskan Native Alaskan Russian/Creole? Russian	Carpenter, Peasant*, Promyshlennik	< 1822 > < 1822 > < 1822-1824 > 1820-1838

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Ponomar'kov Ivan	Native Alaskan	Hunter	< 1835
Shaia Iosif	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1838 >
Sosnin, Vasilii	Russian	Burgher*, Carpenter	1828-1838 >
Tarankov, Vasilii Petrovich	Russian/Creole?		< 1820s >
<u>Blacksmith</u>			
Galushen, Andrei	Russian		< 1820-1821
Mel's, Simeon	Russian	Metalworker	< 1838 >
Ostrogin, Leontii	Creole		< 1832-1838 >
Samoilov Dimitrii	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1823 >
Titov, Stepan	Creole	Metalworker	< 1820-1825 >
Titov, Vasilii	Creole		< 1825-1826
<u>Boatswain</u>			
Kortis, Il'ia	Russian/Creole?		< 1820 >
Shchukin, Grigorii	Russian		< 1837 >
<u>Burgher*</u>			
Budilov, Petr	Russian		1830-1838 >
Chernyshev, Feodor	Russian	Cowherd, Sailor	< 1824-1838 >
Gol'tsyn, Nikolai Andreev	Russian	Prikashchik	1828-1838 >
Gorbunov, Filip	Russian	Farmer, Promyshlennik	1820-1836 >
Kamenskii, Mikhail	Russian	Prikashchik	1829-1841

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Klimyshev, Vasilii	Russian		< 1836-1841
Okhotin, Vasilii	Russian	Farmer, Sailor	< 1838 >
Permitin, Vasilii	Russian	Carpenter, Farmer	1820-1836 >
Pliusnin, Daniil	Russian		1826-1841
Ponomarev, Andreian	Russian		< 1836-1841
Sosnin, Vasilii	Russian	Carpenter, Foreman	1828-1838 >
Zyrianov, Nikifor	Russian	Burgher*	1820-1838 >
<u>Carpenter</u>			
Andreev, Il'ia	Russian	Cooper/Joiner, Peasant*	1823-1836 >
Antipin, Vasilii	Russian	Promyshlennik	< 1820-1822
Babin, Iakov	Russian	Promyshlennik	< 1815-1818 >
Bykov, Vasilii	Creole		1835 >
Igant'ev Ivan	Creole		< 1824 >
Igumev, Aleksei	Creole	Chief Carpenter	< 1824 >
Ivanov, Andrei	Russian	Promyshlennik	< 1820-1821 >
Khudiakov, Aleksei	Creole		1823 >
Kondakov, Fedor	Russian	Farmer, Promyshlennik	< 1820-1824 >
Korenev, Aleksei	Russian	Promyshlennik	< 1820-1833
Kornilov, Stepan	Russian	Farmer, Promyshlennik	1820-1825
Maxim	Creole		< 1824 >
Medvedev, Ermil	Russian		< 1820-1821 >
Moliavin	Russian		< 1821-1825

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Munin, Efim	Russian	Baidarshchik, Peasant*, Promysh.	1820-1838 >
Okhlobkov, Iakov	Yakut		< 1820-1821 >
Permiakov, Stefan	Yakut		1829-1836 >
Popov, Gerasim	Yakut		< 1820-1821 >
Popov, Petr (Herdsman)	Yakut	Cowherd, Promyshlennik	1820-1841
Prokof'ev, Aviv	Yakut		1829-1833 >
Rastorguev, Mikhailo	Creole	Turner	1820-1829
Samsonov, Aksentii	Creole		1823 >
Silinskii, Nikolai	Russian	Peasant*	< 1830 - 1831
Sosnin, Vasilii	Russian	Burgher*, Foreman	1828-1838 >
Stepanov, Pavel	Russian	Promyshlennik	1820-1821 >
Uimon, Tomas	Russian/Creole?		< 1835 >
Vagin, Fedor	Russian	Promyshlennik	1820-1823
Vasil'ev, Vasilii	Russian	Promyshlennik	1820-1827
Volkov	Russian		< 1820-1825
Zakharov, Georgii	Yakut	Cowherd, Farmer	1820-1836 >
<u>Charcoal-maker</u>			
Kaskak Tuchin Ioann	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1838 >
<u>Citizen*</u>			
Kononov/Ivanov, Vasilii	Russian		< 1833-1835

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Cooper</u>			
Adamson, Isai	Finn		1823-1836 >
Al'vadu Luka	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1827 >
Andreev, Il'ia	Russian	Carpenter/Joiner, Peasant*	1823-1836 >
Chechulka Andrei	Native Alaskan	Craftsman, Metalworker	< 1822 >
Karlukskii, Andrei	Russian/Creole?		< 1820-1823 >
<u>Coppersmith</u>			
Ulitovskii, Nikifor	Creole		1820-1823 >
<u>Cowherd</u>			
Chernyshev, Feodor	Russian	Burgher*, Sailor	< 1824-1838 >
Karya	Sandwich Islander		< 1820 >
Koz'min, Lavrentii	Creole		1832 >
Kulikalov, Praskov'ia	Creole		< 1821-1828
Kuzmin, Lavrentii	Russian	Peasant*	< 1836-1838 >
Maktim	Sandwich Islander		< 1820-1821
Permiakov, Stefanida	Yakut		1829-1836 >
Popov, Petr (Herdsman)	Yakut	Carpenter, Promyshlennik	1820-1841
Prokof'ev, Doroteia	Yakut		1829 >
Zakharov, Georgii	Yakut	Carpenter	1820-1836 >

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Craftsman</u>			
Chechulka Andrei	Native Alaskan	Cooper, Metalworker	< 1822 >
<u>Employee</u>			
Antipin, Ivan	Russian		1826-1827
German, Karl	Russian		< 1839 >
Godlevskii, Lavrentii	Russian	Settler*	1830-1836 >
Kotelnikov, Filip	Creole		< 1820-1838 >
Kilyudinskiy Anton	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1821 >
Larionov, Ioann	Creole		1824-1838 >
Limberkh, Karl	Creole		< 1836
Lukin, Ivan Semenovich	Creole	Explorer	< 1820? >
Marenin/Marinin, Marko	Russian/Creole?	Farmer	1827-1833 >
Rozhin, Petr	Russian		< 1839-1840
<u>Explorer</u>			
Lukin, Ivan Semenovich	Creole	Employee	< 1820? >
<u>Farmer</u>			
Andreianov, Anton	Russian	Promyshlennik	1820 >
Egorov, Prokhor	Russian	Promyshlennik	1820 >
Ivanov, Sysoi (ploughman)	Russian/Creole?		1825-1827 >
Kornilov, Stepan	Russian	Carpenter, Promyshlennik	1820-1825
Eremin, Nikita	Russian	Peasant*	1827-1838 >

## APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Gorbunov, Filip	Russian	Burgher*, Promyshlennik	1820-1836 >
Kondakov, Fedor	Russian	Carpenter, Promyshlennik	< 1820-1824 >
Kozokhin, Ioann	Russian	Peasant*	1827-1838 >
Lindel, Zakhar	Russian/Creole?		< 1823 >
Lis'iakov, Filipp	Russian/Creole?		< 1824 >
Mandarov, Fedor	Russian	Peasant*	1827-1835
Marenin/Marinin, Marko	Russian/Creole?	Employee	1827-1833 >
Morelius, Herman	Russian		1840 >
Okhotin, Vasilii	Russian	Burgher*, Sailor	< 1838 >
Permitin, Vasilii	Russian	Burgher*, Carpenter	1820-1836 >
Rezantsev, Nikandr	Russian/Creole?		< 1822 >
Shogren/Shogrin, Gavriilo	Russian/Creole?		< 1823-1827 >
Utkin, Iuda	Russian	Farmer	1826-1836 >
Vazhenin, Aleksei	Russian	Peasant*	1827 >
Walman, Gustav	Finn/German?		< 1824 >
Zakhar	Russian/Creole?	Sailor	1822 >
Zakharov, Georgii	Yakut	Carpenter, Cowherd	1820-1836 >
<u>Fel'dsher (Medical Assistant)</u>			
Kalugin, Vasilii	Russian		1831-1834
Oskolkov, Iakov	Creole		< 1836-1838 >

## APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Horse Doctor</u>			
Igushev, Aleksei unnamed	Russian	Promyshlennik	1820-1827 < 1837
<u>Hunter</u>			
Aikhta Semen	Native Alaskan		< 1824 >
Akhuchik Aleksandr	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Aletula Boris	Native Alaskan		< 1822 >
Avila Egor	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Amiak Koz'ma	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Aminnak Andrei	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Amnak Semen	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Andrei Petrov	Native Alaskan		< 1820s >
Anuzhikak Sosipatr	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Avila Egor	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Chinakhank	Native Alaskan		< ? >
Iaekhkan Abram	Native Alaskan		< 1835 >
Iani	Native Alaskan		< 1835 >
Ingliu Ignatti	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Ivan	Native Alaskan		< 1824 >
Kanuk Gavriilo	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Kashpak Vasilii	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Kaumakshak Nikita	Native Alaskan		< 1835

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Kondratti Sokol'nikov	Native Alaskan		< ? >
Koug'i Nikolai	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Kunuchunak Marko	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Lakhgak Iakov	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Lukashin Il'ia	Native Alaskan		< ? >
Manutynyl'kha Ivan	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Nil Fedor	Native Alaskan		< 1824 >
Nupkhuk Isai	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Ponomar'kov Ivan	Native Alaskan	Baidarshchik	< 1835
Silianu Afonasii	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Tol'kvaiak Petr	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Travkin Maxim	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Uzvakhchik Efim	Native Alaskan		< 1835
Veretenin Andrei	Native Alaskan		< 1820s >
<u>Interpreter/Translator</u>			
Akliaiuk, Pavel	Creole		< 1841
Aleksei	Native Alaskan		< 1822 >
Kaikhtak Ivan	Native Alaskan		< 1824 >
Kaiakhtak Mikhail	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1838 >
Pishochtkak Timofei	Native Alaskan		< 1820 >
Shuniga Andrei	Native Alaskan		< 1824 >

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Joiner</u>			
Andreev, Il'ia	Russian	Cooper/Carpenter, Peasant*	1823-1836 >
Flink, Karl	Finn		1833-1839
<u>Kayachtan</u>			
Ivan Anikinskii	Native Alaskan		< 1821 >
<u>Laborer</u>			
Kaskak, Iosif	Native Alaskan		< 1836-1841
Murav'ev Ieromin	California Indian		< 1841
Talizhuk, Vasilii	Native Alaskan		< 1838-1841
Zakharov Irodion	California Indian		< 1836-1841
<u>Mast Apprentice</u>			
Kochetov, Ivan	Russian, Creole?		< 1825
<u>Metalworker</u>			
Chechulka Andrei	Native Alaskan	Cooper, Craftsman	< 1822 >
Mel's, Simeon	Russian	Blacksmith	< 1838 >
Titov, Stepan	Creole	Blacksmith	< 1820-1825 >
<u>Orderly</u>			
Doil'nitsyn,	Russian	Promyshlennik	1837 >

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Peasant*</u>			
Akad'ev, Trifon	Russian		1833-1841
Andreev, Il'ia	Russian	Carpenter, Cooper/Joiner	1823-1836 >
Arzhelovskii, Foma	Russian		< 1827-1841
Berezovskii, Afansii	Russian		1826-1838 >
Borodin, Stefan	Russian		< 1834-1838 >
Chukliuldin, Kirik	Russian		< 1836 >
Eremin, Nikita	Russian	Farmer	1827-1838 >
Gushev, Andrei	Russian		< 1838 >
Kiselev, Vasilii	Russian	Tanner	1823-1838 >
Kokushkin, Ioann	Russian		1833-1841
Kozokhin, Ioann	Russian	Farmer	1827-1838 >
Kuzmin, Lavrentii	Russian	Cowherd	< 1836-1838 >
Kuznetsov, Onufrii	Russian		< 1833-1841
Malevinskoi, Petr	Russian		1833-1841
Maliutin, Iakov	Russian		1830-1838 >
Mandarov, Fedor	Russian	Farmer	1827-1835
Mikheev, Osii	Russian		1834-1838 >
Munin, Efim	Russian	Baidarshchik, Carpenter, Promysh.	1820-1838 >
Nozikov, Dimitrii	Russian		< 1836-1838 >
Orlov, Efim	Russian		< 1836-1838 >
Petrov, Vasilii	Russian		1834-1838 >
Priakhin, Afanasii	Russian		1834-1838 >
Rozhin, Vasilii	Russian		1834-1836 >

## APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Silinskii, Nikolai	Russian	Carpenter	1823-1831
Sobolev, Pavel	Russian		1834-1838 >
Timofei, Miron	Russian		1830-1838 >
Utkin, Iuda	Russian	Farmer	1826-1836 >
Vazhenin, Aleksei	Russian	Farmer	1827 >
Velizhanin, Filimon	Russian		1833-1841
Zatinshchikov, Andrei	Russian		< 1836-1838 >
<u>Physician</u>			
Romanovskii,	Russian		< 1841 >
<u>Priest (visiting)</u>			
Chechenev, Nikolai (subdeacon)	Creole		1832
Sizykh, Andrei	Russian		1841
Sokolov, Aleksei	Russian		1832
Veniaminov, Ioann	Russian		1836
<u>Prikashchik</u>			
Dorofeev, Iakov Dorofeevich	Russian		< 1823-1828
Filatov,	Russian		1840 >
Geinz, Iakov	Russian		< 1820 >
Gol'tsyn, Nikolai Andreev	Russian	Burgher*	1828-1838 >
Kamenskii, Mikhail	Russian	Burgher*	1829-1841

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Kashenskii,	Russian	Teacher	< 1838 >
Kostromitinov, Petr Stepanov	Russian	Ross Manager	1829-1836
Potorochin, Mikhailo	Creole		1825 >
Starkovskii, Vasilii	Russian		< 1823-1827
Sukhanov, Mikhailo	Russian		< 1820-1821 >
Svin'in, Fedor	Russian	Starosta	< 1819-18??
<u>Promyshlennik</u>			
Andreianov, Anton	Russian	Farmer	1820 >
Antipin, Vasilii	Russian	Carpenter	< 1821-1822
Babin, Iakov	Russian	Carpenter	< 1815-1818 >
Bardahoev, Stepan	Russian		< 1820-1821 >
Doil'nitsyn,	Russian	Orderly	1837 >
Egorov, Prokhor	Russian	Farmer	1820 >
Filatov, Venedict	Russian		1820 >
Gorbunov, Filip	Russian	Burgher*, Farmer	1820-1836 >
Grudinin, Vasilii	Russian	Shipbuilder	< 1820-1825
Igushev, Aleksei	Russian	Horse Doctor	1820-1827
Ivanov, Andrei	Russian	Carpenter	< 1820-1821 >
Kazantsov, Stepan	Russian	Settler*	< 1820-1821
Kondakov, Fedor	Russian	Carpenter, Farmer	< 1820-1824
Korenev, Aleksei	Russian	Carpenter	< 1820-1833
Kornilov, Stepan	Russian	Carpenter, Farmer	1820-1825

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Koroliov, Rodion	Russian		< 1820
Medvedev, Efim	Russian		< 1818-1819 >
Munin, Efim	Russian	Baidarshchik, Carpenter, Peasant*	1820-1838 >
Permitin, Vasilii	Russian	Carpenter, Farmer	1820-1836 >
Polopezhintsov, Maksim	Russian		1820-1821 >
Popov, Petr (Herdsman)	Yakut	Carpenter, Cowherd	1820-1841
Shabalin, Foma	Russian	Sailor	1820-1821 >
Shukshin, Alexei	Russian		< 1820
Slobodchikov, Sysoi	Russian		< 1820
Stepanov, Pavel	Russian	Carpenter	1820-1821 >
Vagin, Fedor	Russian	Carpenter	1820-1823
Vasil'ev, Vasilii	Russian	Carpenter	1820-1827
Zyrianov, Nikifor	Russian	Burgher*	1820-1838 >
<u>Ross Manager</u>			
Kostromitinov, Petr Stepanov	Russian	Prikashchik	1829-1836
Kuskov, Ivan Aleksandrovich	Russian		1811-1822
Rotchev, Aleksandr	Russian		1838-1841
Shelekhov, Pavel Ivanovich	Russian		1825-1835
Shmidt, Karl Ivanovich	Finn		1820-1825

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Sailor</u>			
Bogdanov, Ivan	Russian/Creole?		< 1823 >
Chernyshev, Feodor	Russian	Burgher*, Cowherd	< 1824-1838
Gerri	Sandwich Islander		< 1820 >
Kasterskii, Aleksandr	Russian/Creole?		< 1840
Lindkvist, Osip	Russian	Soapmaker	< 1840 >
Markov, Irikalii	Russian/Creole?		< 1840
Okhotin, Vasilii	Russian	Burgher*, Farmer	< 1838 >
Popov, Efim	Russian/Creole?		< 1840
Shabalin, Foma	Russian	Promyshlennik	1820-1821 >
Shebanov, Rodion	Russian/Creole?		< 1821-1825
Skrypka, Matvei	Russian/Creole?		< 1840
Tikjanov, Fedor	Russian/Creole?		< 1840
Zakhar	Russian/Creole?	Farmer	1822 >
<u>Scribe</u>			
Chechenev, Zakhar	Creole		1833 >
Kulikalov	Creole		< 1819-1821
<u>Settler*</u>			
Godlevskii, Lavrentii	Russian	Employee	1830-1836 >
Kazantsov, Stepan	Russian	Promyshlennik	< 1820-1821

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
<u>Shipbuilder</u> Grudin, Vasili	Russian	Promyshlennik	< 1820-1825
<u>Soapmaker</u> Lindkvist, Osip	Russian	Sailor	< 1840 >
<u>Starosta</u> Svin'in, Feodor	Russian	Prikashchik	< 1819-1832
<u>Tailor</u> Limberkh, Karl Viatkin, Aleksei	Creole Creole	Apprentice Tailor	< 1836 >
<u>Tanner</u> Kiselev, Vasili Tuteg	Russian Native Alaskan	Peasant*	1823-1838 > < 1822-1823 >
<u>Teacher</u> Kashenskii,	Russian	Prikashchik	< 1838 >
<u>Toyon</u> Ash'shyo Andrei Chapushvik Matvei Iakov Shelihov	Native Alaskan Native Alaskan Native Alaskan		< 1820 < 1820-1824 < 1820

APPENDIX 2 (cont.)

OCCUPATION/NAME	ETHNIC GROUP	OTHER OCCUPATIONS	YEARS AT ROSS
Kurnyk Mosei	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1821
Nanehkun Vasili	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1821 >
Pishochtnak Pavel	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1821
Samoilov Ivan	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1821 >
Uzhekli Petr	Native Alaskan		< 1820-1833 >
<u>Turner</u>			
Rastorguev, Mikhailo	Creole	Carpenter	1820-1829

[\*refers to social status in Russia]

< = first reference, may have arrived earlier, > = last reference, may have left later  
 Promysh. = abbreviation for Promyshlennik

## APPENDIX 3

These tables are derived from the metrical books of the Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Sitka Parish (ARCA). The Ross Colony was administratively part of the Sitka Parish. I have reprinted these in English translation; the originals are still in handwritten Cyrillic.

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (1816) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	0	0	0	1	0	1
CREOLES	1	0	1	0	0	0
ALEUTS	0	0	0	0	0	0
OTHERS	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	1	0	1	1	0	1

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (1817) SITKA PARISH

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	1	0	1	3	0	3
CREOLES	11	9	20	2	1	3
ALEUTS	3	1	4	1	2	3
OTHER	0	0	0	1	3	4
TOTAL	15	10	25	7	6	13

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (1818) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	0	0	0	0	0	0
CREOLES	1	1	2	0	1	1
ALEUTS	3	0	3	1	1	2
OTHERS	1	2	3	0	0	0
TOTAL	5	3	8	1	2	3

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (APRIL 1818-MAY 1820) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	1	1	2	6	0	6
CREOLES	8	11	19	8	8	16
ALEUTS	8	3	11	26	10	36
TOTAL	17	15	32	40	19	58

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1820-AUGUST 1822) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	0	1	1	10	0	10
CREOLES	3	14	17	1	3	4
ALEUTS	7	13	20	11	11	22
OTHERS	11	0	11	1	1	2
TOTAL	21	28	49	23	15	38

**LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (APRIL 1822-MAY 1824)  
SITKA PARISH**

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	9	1	10	9	0	9
CREOLES	5	15	20	10	3	13
ALEUTS	6	4	10	9	5	14
OTHERS	0	1	1	0	1	1
TOTAL	20	21	41	28	9	37

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1824-1825) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	0	2	2	5	1	6
CREOLES	7	6	13	2	1	3
ALEUTS	2	2	4	6	2	8
OTHERS	0	1	1	0	1	1
TOTAL	9	11	20	13	5	18

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1827-1828) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	0	1	1	9	0	9
CREOLES	7	5	12	7	3	10
ALEUTS	0	1	1	2	5	7
TOTAL	7	7	14	18	8	26

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1828-1829) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	1	1	2	8	0	8
CREOLES	7	6	13	6	8	14
ALEUTS	2	1	3	8	10	18
TOTAL	10	8	18	22	18	40

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1829-1830) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	0	2	2	5	1	6
CREOLES	7	8	15	3	0	3
ALEUTS	2	0	2	2	4	6
TOTAL	9	10	19	10	5	15

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1830-1831) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	2	2	4	6	2	8
CREOLES	7	3	10	6	6	12
ALEUTS	1	3	4	4	4	8
TOTAL	10	8	18	16	12	28

**LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1831-1832) SITKA PARISH**

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	2	2	4	3	0	3
CREOLES	13	8	21	9	3	12
ALEUTS	1	1	2	3	1	4
TOTAL	16	11	27	15	4	19

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1832-1833) SITKA PARISH						
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RUSSIANS	4	2	6	4	2	6
CREOLES	9	7	16	2	5	7
ALEUTS	5	1	6	6	2	8
TOTAL	18	10	28	12	9	21

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1834-1835) SITKA PARISH

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	6	2	8	0	5	3	0	0	0	8
CREOLES	15	14	29	4	2	0	3	2	0	11
ALEUTS	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	5	2	10
OTHERS	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	23	17	40	5	9	3	3	7	2	29

**LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1835-1836) SITKA PARISH**

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	6	9	15	1	10	0	0	1	0	12
CREOLES	15	10	25	7	3	0	6	3	0	19
ALEUTS	0	2	2	0	7	1	0	10	0	18
OTHERS	0	4	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>51</b>

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1836-1837) SITKA PARISH

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	5	6	11	2	11	2	4	0	0	19
CREOLES	28	33	61	8	2	0	7	2	0	19
ALEUTS	7	1	8	1	6	0	1	2	1	11
OTHERS	5	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
INDIANS	7	10	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	52	52	104	11	19	2	12	5	1	50

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1837-1838) SITKA PARISH										
RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	5	4	9	1	7	4	0	0	0	12
CREOLES	19	15	34	11	7	0	9	7	0	34
ALEUTS	2	1	3	0	4	0	3	1	0	8
OTHERS	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
TOTAL	26	24	50	12	18	4	12	11	0	57

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1838-1839) SITKA PARISH

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	2	4	6	4	5	3	1	2	0	15
CREOLES	13	13	26	7	6	0	5	4	0	22
ALEUTS	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
OTHERS	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	20	18	38	12	11	3	6	7	0	39

LIST OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (MAY 1839-1840) SITKA PARISH

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	4	2	6	1	12	1	0	0	0	14
CREOLES	11	11	22	2	4	0	4	5	0	15
ALEUTS	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	4
ALEUTS (c)	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OTHERS	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	20	14	34	4	17	1	4	7	1	34

LIST OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (MAY 1840-1841) SITKA PARISH

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	1	3	4	0	12	5	0	0	0	17
CREOLES	20	21	41	7	5	0	8	6	0	26
ALEUTS	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
INDIANS (c)	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	26	25	51	7	18	5	9	7	0	46

LIST OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (MAY 1839-1840) SITKA PARISH

RANKS	BIRTHS			DEATHS						
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE AGE			FEMALE AGE			TOTAL
				0-10	11-50	51+	0-10	11-50	51+	
RUSSIANS	4	2	6	1	12	1	0	0	0	14
CREOLES	11	11	22	2	4	0	4	5	0	15
ALEUTS	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	4
ALEUTS (c)	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0		0
OTHERS (c)	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1		1
TOTAL	20	14	34	4	17	1	4	7	1	34

## VITA

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Behavior in Frontier Russian America

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