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THE EFFECTS OF RUSSIAN MERCANTILE POLICIES ON NATIVE AMERICAN  
LABORERS IN THE ROSS COLONY, CALIFORNIA (1812-1841)

Submitted By

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ABSTRACT:

In this proposal we describe a research design for investigating and interpreting the Native Alaskan Village Site (NAVS) in the Fort Ross State Historic Park. Specifically, we propose to define the spatial layout of the village and to excavate one or two house structures. We will then generate a plan for developing the first leg of a culture/nature trail system that includes the Native Alaskan Village Site, as well as the nearby Fort Ross Beach Site (FRBS). The proposed trail system would include trailside displays that describe and interpret the two archaeological sites to park visitors. The project involves the collaboration of the Kodiak Area Native Association. We are proposing a three year period of fieldwork, beginning in the summer of 1991, followed by a year of write-up. The proposal will be submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, as well as other pertinent funding agencies, for financial assistance.

## I. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPACT OF PROJECT.

This proposal describes a multi-disciplinary (social anthropology, history, archaeology) study of the Ross colony, an early 19th century Russian trade outpost established on the Sonoma County coast of California, 110 km north of San Francisco. The former Ross colony is now a state historic park administered by the California Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR). The Ross study is a collaborative research project involving scholars from the DPR, the Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA), Sonoma State University (SSU), Santa Rosa Junior College (SRJC) and the University of California, Berkeley (UCB). The purposes of the project are twofold. One is to examine the effects of mercantile colonial practices on native peoples at Ross using archival, ethnographic and archaeological data. The other purpose is educational outreach to the 200,000 visitors who tour the Fort Ross State Historic Park each year. We will design a masterplan for an interpretive trail system that will permit park visitors to view the archaeological remains of different ethnic native neighborhoods and dwellings in the nearby hinterland of Ross.

The long-term goal of the Ross project is to evaluate how diverse European colonial policies influenced the acculturation processes of Pacific coast hunter-gatherers. This goal is being addressed using a multi-stage research design. The first stage (1988-1990) concerns background information on the Ross colony. The second stage (1991-1994), about which this proposal is specifically concerned, will focus on the effects that two different mercantile policies -- native wage earning and the formation of multi-ethnic communities -- had on coastal hunter-gatherers. The Ross case study will be compared to earlier Russian colonies in the north Pacific in which natives served as conscripted laborers. The 1991-1994 stage of research will focus primarily on the native Alaskan population at Ross, whose archaeological sites will comprise the first leg of the culture trail system. The third stage (1995-1998) will compare native Californian responses to the mercantile policies of Ross with the "directed indoctrination" policies of nearby, contemporaneous Spanish missions. This final stage will focus our field research on Pomo and coast Miwok sites in the hinterland of Colony Ross. These sites will constitute the second leg of the culture trail system.

The Ross project is significant for its potential in clarifying how different European economic policies and social contexts may have produced very different acculturation patterns among native Alaskan and Californian populations. The project is also significantly relevant to the broader public in the educational benefits it will provide to park visitors. Through the eventual development of a culture trail system, we will present an alternative side of Ross history that shows the colony from a native's perspective and highlights the impact that European colonization had on indigenous populations.

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### III. NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT.

THE ROSS COLONY. Ross was founded by the Russian-American Company, a mercantile monopoly financed primarily by private capital from joint stockholders. The company represented Russia's interests in the lucrative north Pacific fur trade during the 18th and 19th centuries, in which sea otter pelts and other fur products from North America were exchanged to Chinese merchants for tea, silk, linen and rhubarb. Chinese goods were then transported back to western Europe and sold at great profits (Chevigny 1965:37). The Russian entrepreneurs established colonies in the Kurile Islands, the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak Island, and coastal Alaska. Ross was colonized as the company's southernmost outpost in 1812. It served as a staging area for sea otter and fur seal hunts along the coast of California, as an agricultural base for raising crops and livestock for local consumption and for shipment to north Pacific colonies, and as a small shipyard. None of these economic ventures proved profitable, especially as sea mammal yields from California plummeted from overexploitation; the Ross property was subsequently sold to John Sutter in 1841 (see Farris 1989; Spencer-Hancock 1978; Gibson 1969; Essig 1933; Fedorova 1973).

Ross represents one of the earliest pluralistic communities in California that integrated together Europeans, Californian Indians and other North American natives. Russians, Creoles (mixed Russian/native ancestry), native Alaskans, and local Pomo and coast Miwok peoples worked and lived in the hinterland of Ross. Anywhere from 50 to 120 native Alaskans, including people from the Aleutian

Islands, Koniag Eskimos from Kodiak Island, and some northern Athabascan men (Tana'ina) from Cook Inlet, were stationed at Ross to hunt sea mammals (Kari 1983). Most accounts suggest that the majority of them were from Kodiak Island (Fedorova 1973:203; Blomkvist 1972:107; Knecht and Jordan 1985:19).

Approximately 100 coast Miwok, Kashaya Pomo and Southern Pomo peoples were recruited to work at Ross from nearby coastal communities and interior villages along the Russian River (Essig 1933:8; Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:106; Fedorova 1975:12). They served as general laborers -- tending livestock, working in the agricultural fields to harvest wheat and barley crops, and hauling clay for brick production (Gibson 1969:211). Russian administrators noted that a population of local natives resided in Ross's hinterland year-round, while others were seasonal laborers brought in from distances up to 70 km to work during the peak period of the agricultural season (see Gibson 1969; Stross and Heizer 1974). Some seasonal laborers were coerced to work at Ross (Gibson 1969:210-211).

**THE SCOPE OF THE ROSS PROJECT.** The long-term goal of the Ross project is to evaluate how diverse colonial policies influenced the acculturation processes of coastal hunter-gatherers from both Alaska and California. This proposal concerns the second stage of research (1991-1994), in which we will examine the effects of different mercantile practices on native Alaskan populations. Research on mercantile colonies, like Ross, is critical for understanding the character of early contacts between Europeans and Indians in much of North America beyond Spanish-controlled territory. Recent studies,

many sparked by the upcoming quincentenary of Columbus's first voyage, suggest that the initial colonization of northern North America cannot be characterized solely as planned government policies of manifest destiny involving the western movement of settlers in Conestoga wagons. Rather the formative development of European and native affiliations in this region was forged largely by the commercial concerns of private investors who owned joint stock in international mercantile companies. The common agenda of these commercial enterprises was to exploit the natural resources of North America at great profits (see Jacobs 1988; Horsman 1988; Pierce 1988; Ray 1988; Swagerty 1988; Farris 1989). These companies maintained strings of trade outposts deep in "Indian territory" that in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries stretched across interior North America and along the north Pacific Rim. From these trade outposts and rendezvous places representatives from English (Hudson Bay Co., North West Co.), American (American Fur Co., Pacific Fur Co.), French (Company of New France) and Russian (Russian-American Co.) companies competed with each other for access to prized marine and terrestrial fur products.

Eric Wolf (1982), in considering the overall impact that mercantile operations had on North American Indians, notes that the companies' blitzkrieg expansion into native territories had far-reaching implications on the perpetuity of traditional native lifeways. He suggests (see also Trigger 1981:12-13) that significant cultural changes took place long before ethnographers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries began to study indigenous societies in

earnest. In fact, Wolf argues that ethnographers, far from observing "pristine" native societies, were making observations on tribal entities that were largely shaped by the earlier spread of the fur trade (1982:194).

A challenge of historical anthropological studies in the 1990's is to make sense of the broad range of native reactions that followed early contacts with the expanding European world system (Thomas 1989:11). As Simmons (1988:6-8) observes, scholars are both intrigued and somewhat baffled by the diverse native reactions to European expansion into their territory; these varied from total compliance and partial acculturation to complete resistance and subsequent annihilation. In examining this problem, it is important to recognize the diverse range of native cultures and sociopolitical institutions that European traders confronted. This is further compounded by the contrasting mercantile practices of the fur companies operating in North America. Each company employed its own economic strategies in working with native peoples, and these changed greatly over time depending upon the supply and demand for fur products on the world market and the labor needs of companies (Pierce 1988:119-123, Ray 1988:338-347; Swagerty 1988:362-374; Gibson 1988:377-384).

The commercial activities of Russian entrepreneurs are a case in point. In the early years of operation (mid to late 18th century), Russian merchants relied on political subjugation and hostage-taking to exact fur tributes (yasak) from native populations in the Aleutian Islands and Kodiak Island (Chevigny 1965:37; Tikhmenev 1978:14). In

contrast, contemporary British and American traders relied on commodity exchange to obtain sea mammal pelts from independent native hunters and trappers in coastal Alaska (Gibson 1988:380-385). Russian merchants could not compete in the open market against American and British companies because Russian trade goods were generally of lower quality, less plentiful and higher priced (Gibson 1988:377-378). The Russians avoided direct competition for native labor with other companies by conscripting Aleuts and Koniags to hunt exclusively for them. When tribute extortion was banned by the Russian government in 1788 (Pierce 1988:121), it was replaced by compulsory service, in which any "Aleut" male between the ages of 15 to 50 years could be drafted to hunt for the company. Gibson (1987:5-6) describes the native hunters as "corvee serfs" who were paid in kind with clothing, tobacco and food, much of it produced under company supervision by native women and children (see Black 1977:99-101, cited in Crowell 1990).

By about 1812, when Ross was colonized, the mercantile practices of the Russian American Company began to approximate those of other fur companies in North America. There were two developments that tend to characterize later, 19th century trade outposts. First, some natives became full-time employees on the company's payroll. In British, American and Russian fur companies a relatively rigid social/ economic hierarchy evolved in which a person's occupation, hence salary, was dictated largely by ethnicity (Ray 1988:343; Swagerty 1988:365; Monks 1985:407; Burley 1985:416). In the Russian-American Company, the apex of the hierarchy consisted of "honorable"

Russians (company administrators), "semi-honorable" Russians (clerks, soldiers, navigators, traders), and then "colonial citizens" made up of lower class Russians and Creoles (Fedorova 1975:15). The next rank was filled by the native Alaskans who were paid a standardized price for each pelt or earned an annual salary (Tikhmenev 1978:144, 157; Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:51; Gibson 1969:211). Scrip was issued for wages that could be exchanged for European commodities and food at the company store (Fedorova 1975:16). Native Californian laborers filled the lowest rank in the hierarchy at Ross; they were paid in kind (food, tobacco or other goods, such as clothing) for their work (Farris 1988; Gibson 1969:211; Stross and Heizer 1974:9).

The second common trend was the rise of ethnically diverse company outposts. Fur companies commonly transferred native workers from over-hunted regions to newly established outposts. By the early 19th century, fur companies were recruiting native labor from former outposts across the continent to work at new colonies. For example, Eastern Woodland Indians (especially Iroquois) made up one third of the British hired hands in the Columbia River regions by 1821, and about 300 Hawaiians served as deck hands, freighters and general laborers (Swagerty 1988:365). Considerable social interaction took place between ethnic groups in these later mercantile colonies, and inter-ethnic marriages were common (Swagerty 1988:371; Prager 1985:388). At Ross, according to Ivan Kuskov's census of 1820, about 42 coast Miwok and Kashaya women were married

or cohabited with Russian, Creole and native Alaskan men (Fedorova 1975:12).

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS.** The research agenda of the Ross project will address the Russian American Company's policies regarding native workers in a regional, diachronic context. Archaeological and ethnohistorical research has been on-going on Kodiak Island, Alaska (and nearby archipelagos) for several years, the purpose of which is to evaluate how early Russian colonial practices (hostage-taking, corvee labor) impacted the traditional lifeways of Kodiak and Aleut peoples (e.g., Black 1977, 1989; Clark 1974; 1985; Knecht 1985; Knecht and Jordan 1985; Jordan and Knecht 1988). Fieldwork will continue this summer when an international team of scholars from KANA, the Shakalin Regional Museum, USSR, and U.C. Berkeley initiate a full-scale archaeological investigation of the Three Saints Bay Colony, the first permanent Russian settlement on Kodiak Island founded in 1784 (see Crowell 1990).

The study of Ross will build upon the on-going Kodiak Island research. An ideal opportunity exists to examine the impact of early and late Russian colonial policies on the same native peoples by comparing and contrasting early Kodiak Island native settlements with Ross. Ross represents a case study of mercantile colonialism under conditions involving native wage labor in a tightly stratified, multi-ethnic environment. The question we pose is the degree to which wage earning in a multi-ethnic context effected the acculturation process of Aleuts and Koniags brought up under an economic system of corvee seridom and hostage-taking. We envision

at least three potential scenarios for the native Alaskan community at Ross.

Model 1: Cultural Continuity. We may find little evidence of cultural change in comparing the native Alaskan population at Ross to 18th and early 19th century Kodiak Island. Recent archaeological and ethnohistorical investigations on Kodiak Island suggest that many aspects of traditional Koniag lifeways transcended early Russian contact. Koniag village layout; residential architecture, including floor plans, construction materials and interior sweat baths; and some cultural materials (ground stone celts and ulus) changed little during the initial period of contact (1784-1840) (see Knecht and Jordan 1985:32). Since the Koniag workers were paid in kind, especially with products manufactured locally by native women and children, they had little access to nonlocal trade goods. Thus, unlike independent Tlingit hunters working with American and British companies in southwest Alaska, Koniag hunters had little opportunity to accumulate wealth, prestige or political status by harvesting fur products. Since the Russians forged alliances, whenever possible with native elites, the traditional stratified political system of Koniags persevered on Kodiak Island. However, Crowell (1990) suggests that shifts in traditional subsistence pursuits may have resulted in able bodied men now spent most of their time away from Kodiak Island. Coastal foods such as shellfish that could be harvested by elderly people, women and children may have become increasingly important.

Possible scenarios would include:  
could

In sum, if the cultural pattern developed under initial contact with Russians was transplanted to Ross, we may expect to find (after Crowell 1990): 1) traditional Koniag architecture, 2) traditional ground stone technology, 3) few European trade goods in most Koniag residences, 4) little evidence of status and wealth differences outside the traditional political system, 5) the perpetuity of ascribed elites who had some access to trade goods, and 6) the exploitation of readily accessible resources (especially if family units were sent south). If this cultural pattern is found at Ross, then it would indicate that the later, "more enlightened" Russian policies had little effect on the acculturation process of Native Alaskans. Once defined, the nature of the relationship between Russian administrators and Alaskan workers may have changed little during the operation of the Russian-American Company. The broader ramification of this finding to the study of European/native colonialism is that the nature of patron/client bonds forged during initial contact may be relatively conservative, and may transcend new colonial policies.

Model 2: Wage Labor in a Market Economy. We may find evidence for significant changes in the sociopolitical roles and economic statuses of the native Alaskans at Ross. Wage earning in a market economy would allow Koniags to purchase nonlocal goods and obtain European style furnishings. Skillful hunters could now trade pelts for scrip redeemable at the company store. Beginning in the 19th century, Russian administrators established a trade network with American skippers who shipped manufactured goods and luxury foods to

Russian American colonies. Most of the manufactured commodities appear to have been destined for native consumption (Gibson 1976:172) Furthermore, wages could be used to purchase European foods (wheat, beef, pork) raised at Ross or shipped in from Spanish California (Gibson 1976:186-187).

In similar economic contexts where native middlemen or company workers had ready access to nonlocal goods and food, there is evidence that some natives achieved considerable wealth and prestige (see Gibson 1988:390; Swagerty 1988:364-367). In contemporary Northwest Coast tradeposts operated by British and American merchants, customary kin-based political relationships underwent a transformation, since new means of accumulating wealth and prestige now existed outside traditional sources formerly defined primarily by ascription. Competition for the high status positions resulted; the number of individuals claiming elite rankings eventually proliferated, thereby depreciating the traditional political hierarchy (Gibson 1988:390).

In sum, if this second model operated at Ross, then we may expect to find 1) European style innovations in native residences, 2) a greater number of European tools, 3) a diverse range of trade goods in native Alaskan residences, 4) evidence of relatively greater wealth accumulation, 5) a proliferation of high status positions, 6) a diverse range of food refuse, including provisions available from the company (beef and pork). These findings would imply that a shift to wage earning may have a significant effect on the acculturation process of native peoples. The broader ramifications of this

finding to the study of European/native contact is that under colonial conditions in which natives become wage laborers, a breakdown of traditional kin-based political and economic relationships may take place, especially when the extended family units were broken up and stationed in different trade outposts.

Model 3: Inter-Ethnic Exchange. The initial contact between native Alaskans and Californians may be another source of cultural change. The effect that ethnically diverse communities had on the acculturation process of native peoples in colonial settings has received little attention by scholars. Yet the close interaction of different ethnic groups from many different homelands represents a fertile ground for stimulating cultural exchange of architectural styles, material goods, methods of craft production, subsistence practices, diet, dress, and ceremonial practices (see for example Gibson 1988:389). The Pomo and Miwok populations at Ross may have served as important sources of cultural change for the native Alaskans (and vice versa), providing new ideas for adapting to an alien environment (see Dmytryshyn et al. 1989:278).

In sum, if this model of ethnic exchange operated at Ross, then we may expect to find evidence among the native Alaskan population of: 1) Pomo/Miwok architectural innovations in native Alaskan residences, 2) the adoption of Pomo/Miwok culture materials, 3) the adoption of Pomo/Miwok craft manufacture, 4) the adoption of Pomo/Miwok foods, and 5) inter-ethnic households. These findings would suggest that inter-ethnic relationships in later trade outposts could effect the acculturation process of native peoples. The

ramification of this finding to broader studies of European/ native contact is that pluralistic fur trade communities, which sprang up across North America, may be important catalysts of cultural change.

We recognize from the outset that the three models are not mutually exclusive. Various combinations of the test expectations of all three models may be manifested at Ross. Rather, we view the models as heuristic devices for measuring the rate and direction of cultural change. Model One provides a baseline for measuring changes in native Alaskan material culture and architectural features at Ross as it is compared to the early Kodiak Island acculturation pattern. Differences between the expected and observed patterns will then be considered in some detail. Models Two and Three evaluate whether the direction of change from the Kodiak Island pattern may have resulted from wage earning and/or inter-ethnic exchange.

**PUBLIC OUTREACH.** The project is significant beyond its potential contribution to the theoretical perspective on European/ native contact. Currently, the restored garrison and exhibits at the state park focus primarily on the Russian occupation of Ross. Yet based on census data, the ethnic Russians made up only 8-12% of the population of the Ross community (Farris 1989:489). The purpose of the trail system is to complement existing displays by taking the public beyond the garrison to view the archaeological remains of the multi-ethnic Ross community. The trail system will educate the public in the important contributions that different ethnic groups had in building, maintaining, and supporting the Ross colony, as well as underscoring the importance of both ethnohistoric and

archaeological research for understanding the past. The first leg of the cultural trail system will focus on the native Alaskan population. Working closely with native Alaskan descendents, we propose to generate a masterplan for interpreting native Alaskan sites in the near hinterland of Ross.

#### IV. HISTORY AND DURATION OF PROJECT

The Ross project is to extend over a ten year period; beginning in 1988 it will continue through at least 1998. The project is divided into three stages of research: 1) background research, 2) the study of the Native Alaskan population, and 3) the study of the Coast Miwok and Pomo populations.

1) Background Research (1988-1990). Initiated in 1988, the first stage of research involved assembling the collaborative interdisciplinary research team, undertaking ethnohistoric and archival research on the Ross community, and implementing two summer seasons of archaeological field work. A search of site records at the Department of Park and Recreation, Sonoma State University, and University of California, Berkeley revealed that about 30 sites had been recorded previously within a 5 km radius of the Ross garrison. The majority are prehistoric and historic native California sites (see figure 1).

During the summers of 1988 and 1989, field crews from U.C. Berkeley conducted an intensive survey of the Fort Ross State Historic park. In the survey of 240 hectares, we detected and recorded 24 additional sites in the immediate hinterland of the Ross garrison (see figure 1). These sites include the locations of

Russian outbuildings, the remains of the Native Alaskan Village site (NAVS) and the Fort Ross Beach Site (FRBS), a trash dump and work area associated with the Alaskan village. However, most sites consist of prehistoric and/or historic native Californian sites that are identified as hunting places, gathering locations, processing stations and villages (Lightfoot in prep.). Some excavation work was undertaken at the FRBS, which is endangered by coastal erosion. In addition, crews under the direction of David Fredrickson (Sonoma State University) and Thomas Origer (Santa Rosa Junior College) tested the subsurface of Son 1453 and Son 1454, extensive lithic scatters situated to the northwest of the Ross garrison.

The results of our archaeological fieldwork and archival research to date suggests that the spatial structure of the Ross colony was organized into four discrete ethnic residential compounds or neighborhoods (figure 2).

a) The Ross Garrison. The nucleus of the Ross community consisted of a stockade and two blockhouses that enclosed a variety of structures. It was here that the "honorary" Russian administrators and military officers lived, worked, and relaxed. The garrison has received considerable archaeological attention since the early 1950's, and good areal samples have been excavated from the official's barracks, the chief manager's living quarters, the fur warehouse, the kitchen and chapel (see Farris 1989:490-492 for summary of Ross archaeology).

b) The Russian Village. Situated primarily to the south and southwest of the garrison, this neighborhood consisted of numerous

residential structures as illustrated in several period paintings. We believe that these were the residences of "semi-honorable" Russian employees, and "Colonial Citizens" made up of lower status Russians and Creoles. Little archaeological work has taken place here. Glenn Farris directed an excavation of a leach line in this area, but the findings seemed to be more related to the Indian community working for William Benitz between 1843 and 1867.

c) The Pomo Neighborhood. The majority of historic native California sites are found to the north and northeast of the garrison within a 1 to 2 km radius. Currently, seven sites are identified as historic villages that may date to the Russian period of occupation based on ceramic types, glass beads, and pending obsidian hydration dates. These include B-3-1, B-5-1, A-5-1, and Son 174, 175, 670, and 1446 (see figure 2). Some of these sites may also postdate the Russian occupation, when local Indians continued to reside in the hinterland of Ross while working for American ranchers. Glenn Farris (personal communication) notes that the 1859 Plat map of the Muniz Rancho shows the location of Son 175 marked as an "Indian Rancheria." In addition, an historic Native American site (Son 174) is found within the boundaries of the Russian Village, although Farris's study (see above) suggests it also postdates the Russian period.

The seven historic native Californian sites have been recorded, mapped and surface collected. Subsurface testing took place at one site, Son 670, by Sonoma State University and Department of Parks and Recreation field crews in the 1970's and 1980's.

d) Native Alaskan Neighborhood. Prior to our work in 1988 and 1989, no archaeological work had specifically focused on the native Alaskan population of Ross. Using both archival sources and archaeological data, we identified the Native Alaskan neighborhood as consisting of two sites (NAVS, FRBS) along the Fort Ross Cove immediately south of the Ross garrison (see figure 2).

Native Alaskan Village Site. NAVS, situated about 30 meters south of the southern portal of the garrison, is identified on the 1817 map of Ross as the location of "14 Aleut Yurts made of planks" (Pedorova 1973:359). The Russians evidently allowed the native Alaskans great freedom in the style in which they built their houses (Blomkvist 1972:107; Tikhmenev 1978:134). Some accounts suggest that Russian style plank houses were constructed out of redwood (Blomkvist 1972:107; Dmytryshyn and Crownhart-Vaughan 1976:106), although other observations suggest that a few traditional semi-subterranean barabaras (sod houses) or "flattened cabins of 80 Kodiaks" were also built (Tikhmenev 1978:134; Duhaut-Cilly 1929:325).

The site sits on a ridge with a spectacular view overlooking the Pacific Ocean and Fort Ross Cove. Today the village location consists of an extensive scatter of artifacts (glass trade beads, ceramics, projectile points, flakes, worked bone artifacts, etc.) distributed over a 200 by 40 meter area. A total of fourteen shallow surface depressions, ranging in size from 3 to 6 meters in diameter, are distributed in a linear fashion from north to south along the ridge top of the site (figure 3). Based on the 2% surface collection of the site, artifact densities were calculated and illustrated as

computer generated isopleths. The contour patterns show that clusters of artifacts (ceramics, beads, stone tools) are distributed outside several of these surface depressions (figures 4, 5, 6). We hypothesize that these depressions may represent former house locations with household refuse deposited around their perimeters. A magnetometer survey of the site undertaken by Lewis Somers strengthens this preliminary interpretation. Along the linear distribution of surface features and middens are magnetometer signals suggesting subsurface anomalies (figure 7).

Fort Ross Beach Site. FRBS sits at the base of a steep slope, 30 m directly below the Native Alaskan Village site. The site extends about 30 meters in length across an eroded face of the cliff on the north side of the Fort Ross Creek (see figure 2). Extensive testing of the erosional face in the 1988 and 1989 field seasons yielded a diverse range of domesticated mammals (horse, cow, pig, sheep), terrestrial mammals (deer, rabbit), sea mammals (harbor seal, sea otter, sea lion, whale), fish, and bird bones, as well as abalone, mussel, limpet, chiton, and turban snail shells. A considerable number of historic ceramics, lithics, glass beads, and bone artifacts have also been recovered. Our investigation to date suggests that the midden deposits were formed primarily from refuse discarded over the cliff (or subsequently eroded down the cliff) from the Native Alaskan village. Two harpoon points, several fragments of harpoon points, a fish hook and other pieces of worked bone are diagnostic of native Alaskan remains. In addition, a pit feature (1.5 m in diameter) has been unearthed that indicates some activities

took place in situ on the colluvial slope. At present the function of the pit has not been determined, although we are evaluating several alternatives including its use as storage pit, bath house or compartment of a larger barabara (domestic house) structure.

The results of the 1988 and 1989 field research are being written for publication in the Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research monograph series. Funding for the first stage of background research was provided by a Junior Faculty Grant at U.C. Berkeley, the California Department of Parks and Recreation, the National Science Foundation (#BNS-8918960), and the American Home Shield Company of Santa Rosa, California.

## 2) The Study of the Native Alaskan Population (1991-1994).

The second stage of field research, for which we are requesting assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities, focuses primarily on the native Alaskan neighborhood at Ross. Four major research activities are proposed for this stage of research:

a) Investigation of NAVS. We propose to test the Native Alaskan Village site to evaluate whether the surface depressions, artifact clusters and magnetometer signals represent the remains of house structures, activity areas and middens. The goals of the investigation are to delineate the spatial structure of the village, and to excavate one or two residences. We will work in close collaboration with representatives of the Kodiak Area Native Association in investigating their ancestral village. KANA is the nonprofit arm of the native's association of Kodiak Island, Alaska. A principle mission of KANA is to educate the public about

traditional native lifeways and "to preserve and promote their language, customs, folklore and arts" (KANA 1988). A museum and culture center will soon be constructed on Kodiak Island that is dedicated to exhibiting traditional Koniag cultural materials. We propose that the KANA archaeologist, Richard Knecht, and the KANA museum director, Gordon Pullar, work with us in all stages of field research. In addition, we propose that four or five KANA high school or college students work in the project, receiving U.C. Berkeley credit for participating in the field school.

b) Interpretation of NAVS and FRBS. We propose that the first leg of the culture trail system focus on the native Alaskan neighborhood. We will generate a masterplan for developing both sites for public interpretation. We propose that R. Knecht, KANA archaeologist, and G. Pullar, KANA museum director, participate with us in all decisions concerning the development of NAVS and FRBS for public access and display. Furthermore, we will work with G. Pullar in planning a traveling exhibit of native Alaskan materials from Fort Ross for the KANA museum and culture center.

c) Museum Research. Another activity will be the study of museum collections from previous excavations at Ross. The California Department of Parks and Recreation has centralized most of these collections in its Archaeology Lab facilities in Sacramento. The material collections and associated field notes will be examined from a) the Russian garrison (chief manager's living quarters, the Old Fur Warehouse, the employee's barracks, the chapel, as well as other areas excavated immediately adjacent to the garrison), b) the Russian

village (G. Farris's leach line excavation), and c) native Californian sites, including: Son 1446, a possible historic Indian residence (B. Parkman, personal communication); Son 1455, a small prehistoric shell midden; and Son 670, a possible village of both prehistoric and historic age.

d) Ethnographic and Ethnohistoric Research. The final activity includes working with local coastal Pomo people in the vicinity of Ross. Contemporary Pomo people reside in the nearby Stewart's Point and Point Arena/Manchester Rancherias. Ethnographic research, under the direction of Richard Hitchcock, U.C. Berkeley, will commence in the summer of 1990. We propose to continue this research in 1991 and 1992. Hitchcock will collect information on the oral tradition of Pomos that pertain to the Ross colony, especially Pomo interaction with native Alaskans (e.g., Farris 1989b; James n.d).

Hitchcock's work will also serve as a prelude to the third stage of research described below. Since we plan to include both prehistoric and historic native Californian sites as part of the second leg of the culture trail system, we need the full participation of local Pomo people to generate an appropriate masterplan for developing their ancestral sites for public interpretation. Yet there is no one tribal organization that represents all coastal Pomo people. Rather, a diverse number of kin based groups must be consulted about the excavation, analysis and interpretation of native California sites. We propose that Dick Hitchcock serve as liaison between the different Pomo groups from Stewart's Point and Point Arena/Manchester to develop a feasibility

plan for identifying survey sites that may or may not be appropriate for further archaeological study and public interpretation.

Furthermore, to facilitate the participation of the Kashaya Pomo early in the project, we are requesting funding from NEH to hire several Pomo elders and students from local rancherias to work with state park, university and KANA personnel in the excavation of NAVS.

Field and laboratory work for the second stage of research will be conducted in the summers of 1991, 1992, and 1993. In 1994 we plan to spend the year writing up this stage of the investigation. We will publish the results of our investigation in the Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility series. Funding for this stage of investigation is being requested from the National Endowment for the Humanities. We will also explore funding possibilities with the Fort Ross Interpretive Association.

### 3) The Study of the Native Californian Population (1995-1998).

As the third stage of research, we propose to implement the above feasibility plan for studying and interpreting coastal Pomo and Miwok sites, and to generate a masterplan for the second leg of the culture trail. Working with Pomo consultants from different kin groups, we plan to excavate and interpret a small sample of both prehistoric and historic sites in the immediate hinterland of Ross in 1995, 1996 and 1997. The research agenda of this investigation is to examine the effects of Russian mercantile policies on indigenous coastal hunter-gatherers. The acculturation process of the Pomo and Miwoks will then be compared to fellow Californian Indians who were subjected to very different colonial policies in nearby,

contemporaneous Spanish missions. By comparing the Ross case study with recent acculturation studies of neophytes in Spanish missions (e.g., Farnsworth 1987; Costello and Hornbeck 1989, Hoover 1989, Deetz 1963), we may address how coastal hunter-gatherers responded to the "directed" indoctrination policies of the Franciscan missions versus the mercantile practices of a trade outpost. Funding for this stage of investigation has not yet been determined.

#### V. PROJECT STAFF (1991-1994)

The collaborative interdisciplinary team includes the following participants and specialities they bring to the Ross study.

Aron Crowell (Graduate Student, U.C. Berkeley)  
North Pacific peoples, Kodiak Island prehistory and history,  
Russian-American Company.

Glenn Farris (State Archaeologist II, Dept. of Parks and Rec.)  
Ethnohistory of Ross, historical archaeology, prehistory  
of the north and central coasts of California, Russian-  
American Company.

David Fredrickson (Professor, Sonoma State University)  
North Coast Ranges archaeology, Pomo subsistence-settlement  
systems, trade networks.

Richard Hitchcock (Graduate Student, U.C. Berkeley)  
Pomo ethnography and ethnohistory.

Richard Knecht (Heritage Program Director, Kodiak Area Native Ass.)  
KANA archaeologist, Kodiak Island history and prehistory,  
fur trade archaeology, Russian American Company.

Thomas Origer (Instructor, Santa Rosa Junior College)  
North Coast Ranges archaeology, obsidian hydration,  
trade networks.

Breck Parkman (Regional Archaeologist, Dept. of Parks and Rec.)  
North Coast Ranges archaeology, coastal hunter-gatherers,  
native rock art, contemporary native peoples.

Heather Price (Graduate Student, U.C. Berkeley)  
Geoarchaeology, site formation processes.

Gordan Pullar (Director, Kodiak Area Native Association Museum)  
Koniag culture history, Kodiak Island history, museum  
studies.

Margaret Purser (Research Archaeologist, Sonoma State University)  
Historical archaeology, ceramic and glass material culture.

Dwight Simons (Instructor, San Jose State University)  
North Coast Ranges archaeology, Faunal analysis.

Lewis Somers (Geoscan Research, Inc.)  
Geophysical survey, magnetometer and resistivity mapping.

Thomas Wake (Graduate Student, U.C. Berkeley)  
Faunal analysis.

## VI. PROJECT METHODOLOGY

This section describes our proposed field and laboratory studies for second stage of research (1991-94). This includes: 1) the field methods for the NAVS excavation, 2) material culture analyses, and 3) archaeological test expectations for the three acculturation models of Ross native Alaskans.

1) Field Methods at NAVS. The first phase of field work will attempt to accomplish two goals: a) define the horizontal spatial structure of the Native Alaskan Village site, including the spatial distribution of midden deposits, various classes of artifacts, and architectural features such as house structures, and b) clarify the depth, structure and constituents of subsurface deposits. The first goal involves the excavation of shallow test units or surface test units (STUs), each measuring .5 by .5 m. in size and 10 cm in depth, laid out contiguously in transects. The test units will be excavated in east/west transects which are systematically placed across the site area based on prior knowledge of surface depressions, surface artifact density maps, and magnetometer anomalies (see figures 3-7).

We feel this method provides a relatively efficient technique for obtaining broad spatial patterns across the site while controlling the specific provenience of materials to a 50cm square unit. Previous excavations of other coastal sites by Sonoma State University crews suggest that archaeological materials recovered from STUs are often representative of subsurface deposits to a depth of 50 to 60 cm below surface (D. Fredrickson, personal communication). This relationship exists because the vertical integrity of most local coastal sites, like NAVS, is disrupted by continuous gopher activity that tends to transport materials to the surface. (The Russians commented on the gophers agitation of the landscape which reduced crop yields). Sediments from the STUs will be wet screened through 1/16" mesh to maximize the recovery of lithic debitage, glass beads and small faunal remains. Using this method we expect to generate high resolution, horizontal spatial distributions of debitage, artifacts, and faunal remains across the site.

Soil cores using a 4" diameter modified Livingston corer will be employed to clarify the depth and structure of subsurface deposits. We propose to excavate one soil core from one out of every four STUs. In addition, soil cores will be taken from every surface depression and magnetometer signal that may mark the location of a buried architectural feature.

The second phase of field work will focus on the excavation of native Alaskan residences. In those cases where soil cores detect possible architectural features, we propose to excavate a one by one meter test unit to provide more information on the geoarchaeological

context of deposits, and to recover artifacts and faunal/floral remains. We will then select one or two structures for full-scale, horizontal stripping excavation. The selection criteria are: 1) the identification of sediments that may relate to the occupation and use of the feature, 2) the identification of well preserved organic remains, and 3) features that demonstrate good potential for dating. We are especially interested in identifying and excavating structures that burned during their use life. We anticipate exposing a horizontal area of ten by ten to twenty by twenty meters in size for each structure. An extensive sample of extramural space around each structure is necessary to define related features, household dumps and activity areas. The excavation of two house structures represents a relatively small percentage of the total site area (less than 10%) and the remainder will be preserved for future archaeological investigations. The field work at NAVS will be directed by a joint research team including G. Farris, D. Fredrickson, R. Knecht, K. Lightfoot, T. Origer, and B. Parkman. L. Somers will provide expertise on interpreting magnetometer signals.

2) Laboratory Studies. A variety of laboratory studies will be undertaken on the material remains from the NAVS excavation to evaluate the three acculturation models. In addition, we will employ pertinent archival information and extant museum collections from the Russian garrison, Russian village and native Californian neighborhood for comparative purposes. Specifically, the following five kinds of studies will be undertaken:

1

a) Chronology. Chronological control of NAVS deposits will be provided by the seriation of temporally sensitive historic ceramics and glass beads; obsidian hydration; and dendrochronology. Obsidian hydration, which is extensively used to date sites in an ordinal manner in the North Coast Ranges, will be most useful for discriminating historic deposits from potential prehistoric ones. The work will be directed by T. Origer using the facilities at the Obsidian Lab at Sonoma State University. A redwood dendrochronology has been established by Lester White for the North Coast Ranges, and this was used to accurately date a redwood post from the Old Fur Warehouse at Ross. If redwood timbers can be recovered from native Alaskan residences, then a fine-grained chronology of the use life of structures (construction, remodeling) may be possible.

b) Analysis of Archaeological Sediments. NAVS sediments from core samples and architectural features will be analyzed to define the geoarchaeological context of deposits. We are especially concerned about the depositional character of architectural features. Are these features characterized by relatively undisturbed in situ primary deposits, secondary refuse deposited after the structure was abandoned or evidence of post-depositional disturbances (e.g., gopher activity)? These geoarchaeological questions will be evaluated through a detailed examination of the vertical structure of the sediments, the particle size, shape and orientation of individual sediments, and the chemical constituents of the sediments (see, for example, Stein 1985; Gladfelter 1981; Hassan 1978). H. Price will

direct the analysis both in the field and in the Archaeological Research Facility's Laboratories at U.C. Berkeley.

c) Spatial Structure of NAVS. We will undertake a spatial analysis of features, artifacts and ecofacts from the NAVS excavation to define the organizational parameters of the village, including the distribution of houses, public architecture, midden deposits, and specific classes of artifacts. Computer mapping programs, such as SURFER, will facilitate this pattern search. G. Farris and K. Lightfoot will direct this work.

d) Architectural Analysis. We will undertake a detailed analysis of the architectural features unearthed at NAVS. This will include the floor plans, architectural styles, construction materials, internal features, and organization of space outside the residence. The NAVS residences will be compared to historic barabaras excavated in Kodiak Island by Knecht and Jordan (1985). They will also be compared to historic Pomo residences to evaluate whether inter-ethnic relationships influenced the construction techniques of the native Alaskans. Historic Pomo architecture is described by Russian and French visitors to Ross (e.g., Farris 1988; Stross and Heizer 1974), and Pomo houses have been recently excavated in nearby study areas by Layton (1986, 1987). G. Farris and K. Lightfoot will direct this analysis in close consultation with experts on Koniag houses (R. Knecht, G. Pullar, A. Crowell) and Pomo houses (Pomo consultants, and D. Fredrickson, T. Origer, B. Parkman, D. Hitchcock).

e) Culture Material Analyses. We will focus our efforts on 3 classes of artifacts:

I. Lithics and Worked Bone. Materials will be defined into various debitage, flake and tool categories. A detailed spatial analysis will be undertaken of the "waste stream" of different classes of artifacts, including their manufacture, use and discard across residences, middens and activity areas at NAVS. The purpose of this analysis is to identify the kinds of implements possibly manufactured at NAVS. We will then compare the NAVS assemblage to those curated in museum collections from the Russian Garrison, Russian village and historic Pomo/Miwok sites (e.g., Son 670). In undertaking the comparative analysis, we will attempt to identify the places of manufacture and use of particular lithic and bone implements, and the ethnic groups who may have produced and/or used them. Some implements may have been produced by a specific ethnic group and then exchanged within and between ethnic neighborhoods. Other materials, once introduced to Ross by a specific ethnic group, may have been adopted, modified and then manufactured by multiple groups. A. Crowell and K. Lightfoot will direct this analysis.

II. Ceramics. This artifact class, commonly found in all four neighborhoods of Ross, will be identified by ware, vessel form, and country of manufacture when possible. Most Ross ceramics are English and American earthenwares or Chinese porcelains that were imported to the colony and probably sold in the company store. A detailed spatial analysis of different ceramic types may provide information on the purchasing patterns of different ethnic groups, as well as

their purchasing power, since 19th century prices of different wares can often be assigned (see Miller 1980). We will use ceramics to measure the commercial activity of native peoples, and to appraise wealth and status differences between ethnic neighborhoods and individual residences. M. Purser will direct the analysis.

III) Glass Beads. This material, also commonly found in all four ethnic neighborhoods at Ross, will be analyzed using the criteria outlined by Kidd and Kidd (1970). Most beads found at Ross were probably imported by the Russian American Company. Since beads vary greatly in size, shape, color, method of manufacture, and market value in the early 19th century, they provide another good source for evaluating natives' participation in the Ross market. A spatial analysis of beads may provide information on purchasing power, ethnic choice and status ranking within the Ross community. A preliminary analysis of Ross beads by Achtley (1990) indicates that beads vary significantly in size and color from the Russian garrison, the Native Alaskan neighborhood, and a possible Pomo site. R. Knecht will consult on this work.

f) Faunal Remains. Faunal specimens will be analyzed for skeletal elements, species identification, butchering marks, and butchering practices. A spatial study of different faunal elements will then be undertaken within the NAVS site. Food refuse is one of the most diagnostic signatures of ethnic groups commonly available to archaeologists. Zooarchaeological analyses have successfully defined ethnic differences among historic California groups in their choice of meats, cut of meats, and butchering techniques (Jolley 1983; Gust

1983; Schulz and Gust 1983). Furthermore, faunal remains can inform us about subsistence practices, and the degree to which natives became dependent on European foods (or vice versa) that could be purchased from the company. D. Simons and T. Wake will direct the faunal analysis.

3) Archaeological Test Expectations. The specific test expectations for the three acculturation models are as follows:

a) Model One: Cultural Continuity. If cultural continuity existed between Kodiak Island and Ross, then we expect to find at NAVS:

I. Traditional semi-subterranean sod houses (barabaras) as excavated and illustrated by Knecht and Jordan (1985).

II. Traditional ground stone lithic technology represented by the presence of such tools as celts and ulus.

III. A relatively low diversity and density of nonlocal goods (glass beads, glass containers and ceramic wares).

IV. Few high priced ceramic wares and glass beads. Those found should exhibit a nonrandom distribution, possibly reflecting the residences or household middens of traditional Koniag elites.

V. A relatively high percentage of the faunal remains should consist of maritime resources that are readily harvested from nearby environs.

b) Model Two: Wage Labor in a Market Economy. If wage earning influenced the acculturation process of the native Alaskans at Ross, then we expect to find at NAVS:

I. European innovations in native residences. Access to European goods may be manifested in native architecture. These manifestations may include innovations in the furnishings, construction materials and internal features of houses.

II. The common occurrence of European tools, represented by iron artifacts, available from the company store.

III. Numerous nonlocal goods, represented by glass beads, glass containers and ceramic wares, available from the company store.

IV. The presence of expensive goods, represented by high priced ceramic wares and glass beads, in many of the residences and household middens. This pattern should reflect the overall greater wealth and material accumulation of the native workers, as well as the greater competition for high status positions.

V. A diverse range of food refuse, including a high percentage of supplies purchased from the company store, such as bovid and porcine remains.

c) Model Three: Inter-Ethnic Exchange. If inter-ethnic exchange effected the acculturation process of native Alaskans, then we expect to find the following archaeological pattern at NAVS:

I. Pomo/Miwok innovations in native Alaskan residences, including modifications based on the floor plans, construction materials, and internal features of native Californian houses.

II. The common assimilation of Pomo/Miwok cultural materials into the NAVS lithic and bone assemblages.

III. The adoption of Pomo/Miwok craft production, including chipped stone reduction techniques commonly employed by native Californians. Evidence of manufacture should include the occurrence of all stages of core reduction at NAVS.

IV. The adoption of Pomo/Miwok foods, as represented by local plant and animal remains, and evidence of Pomo food processing and cooking activities, such as mortars and pestles associated with acorn processing. Some foods, such as cervids, may be supplied by Pomo/Miwok people and the faunal remains may exhibit their "ethnic" butchering signature.

V. Evidence of Inter-Ethnic residences. All of the above expectations may be anticipated in inter-ethnic households composed of Pomo/Miwok women and Koniag men. To evaluate whether the archaeological pattern is a product of Californian women cohabiting with Alaskan hunters, or whether it is the result of the acculturation of Alaskan households, we will attempt to analyze separately the material culture of males and females. Since gender-related roles and work habits were highly structured in both traditional Pomo/Miwok and Koniag cultures, we will use Russian archival information to define Pomo/Miwok women's material culture from that of Koniag women. We expect that inter-ethnic households will be composed of Pomo/Miwok female's and Koniag male's cultural materials, whereas "pure" Alaskan households should be characterized by Koniag male and female materials. The degree of change from these ideal expectations in either inter-ethnic or Alaskan households will provide a measure of the rate of acculturation by ethnicity and gender.

## VII. WORK PLAN

See Table One.

## VIII. FINAL PRODUCT AND DISSEMINATION.

The final product produced in 1994 will involve two parts. First, the three acculturation models will be evaluated for the native Alaskan neighborhood at Ross. The results will be written up and disseminated in monograph form in the Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility. Second, a masterplan will be submitted to the Office of Interpretive Services, Department of Parks and Recreation, for developing the FRBS and NAVS sites for public interpretation. We anticipate a plan for the placement of trail displays that describe the archaeological sites in some detail. The trail displays may include numbered posts keyed to a trail pamphlet, as well as photos and maps of the excavation and plastic casts of artifacts.

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TABLE ONE. WORK PLAN

PERIOD	ACTIVITY	PERSONNEL
7/1/91 - 8/15/91	FIELD WORK:  NAVS: Excavation of STUs, sediment coring, interpret magnetometer signals	Knecht, Pullar, Crowell Farris, Parkman, Origer Fredrickson, Lightfoot Price, Wake, Somers KANA students Pomo consultants
	Ethnographic Research	Hitchcock
8/15/91- 7/1/92	LABORATORY WORK:  Museum Collections (Son 670, Russian Village, Chapel) Archaeological materials from NAVS	
	General Sorting and Organ- ization of collections (lithics, trade beads, etc.)	Lightfoot directing under- grad. and grad. students
	Specialized Analyses:	
	Obsidian Hydration Faunal Analysis Geoarchaeology Ceramics, Glass	Origer Simons and Wake Price Purser
1/1/92- 7/1/92	WRITE-UP: Preliminary Report of First Field Season	Farris and Lightfoot
7/1/92- 8/15/92	FIELD WORK:  Excavation of STUs and Sediment Cores at NAVS; Selection of House Structures, Horizontal Stripping Excavation	Knecht, Pullar, Crowell Farris, Parkman, Origer Fredrickson, Lightfoot Price, Wake, Somers KANA students Pomo consultants
	Ethnographic Research	Hitchcock

TABLE ONE (Cont.)

8/15/92- 7/1/93	LABORATORY WORK:	
	Museum Collections (Kuskov House, barracks) Archaeological Materials from NAVS	
	General Sorting and Organ- ization of collections (lithics, trade beads, etc.)	Lightfoot directing under- grad. and grad. students
	Specialized Analyses:	
	Obsidian Hydration Faunal Analysis Geoarchaeology Ceramics, glass	Origer Simons and Wake Price Purser
1/1/93- 7/1/93	WRITE-UP: Preliminary Report of Second Field Season	Farris and Lightfoot
7/1/93- 8/15/93	FIELD WORK:	
	Horizontal Stripping of house structures, extra- mural features at NAVS	Knecht, Pullar, Crowell Farris, Parkman, Origer Fredrickson, Lightfoot Price, Wake, KANA students Pomo consultants
8/15/93- 7/1/94	LABORATORY WORK:	
	Museum Collections (Officials' Quarters, Fur Warehouse) Archaeological Materials from NAVS	
	General Sorting and Organ- ization of collections (lithics, trade beads, etc.)	Lightfoot directing under- grad and grad. students
	Specialized Analyses:	
	Obsidian Hydration Faunal Analysis Geoarchaeology Ceramics, glass	Origer Simons and Wake Price Purser

TABLE ONE (Cont.)

1/1/94-  
12/30/94

SYNTHESIS, WRITE-UP AND PUBLICATION:

Write-up results of the third season of field work at NAVS (Lightfoot and Farris will coordinate efforts)

Generate an interpretive plan for the first leg of the culture trail system (Lightfoot, Farris and Parkman will coordinate efforts with Knecht and Pullar)

Produce a feasibility plan for studying and interpreting Pomo sites as part of the second leg of the culture trail system (Hitchcock and Parkman will be principal authors)

Prepare a monograph on the results of the research, submit for publication in the Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility series. The monograph will describe the results of the NAVS excavation, and evaluate the three acculturation models. Farris and Lightfoot will serve as the volume editors.

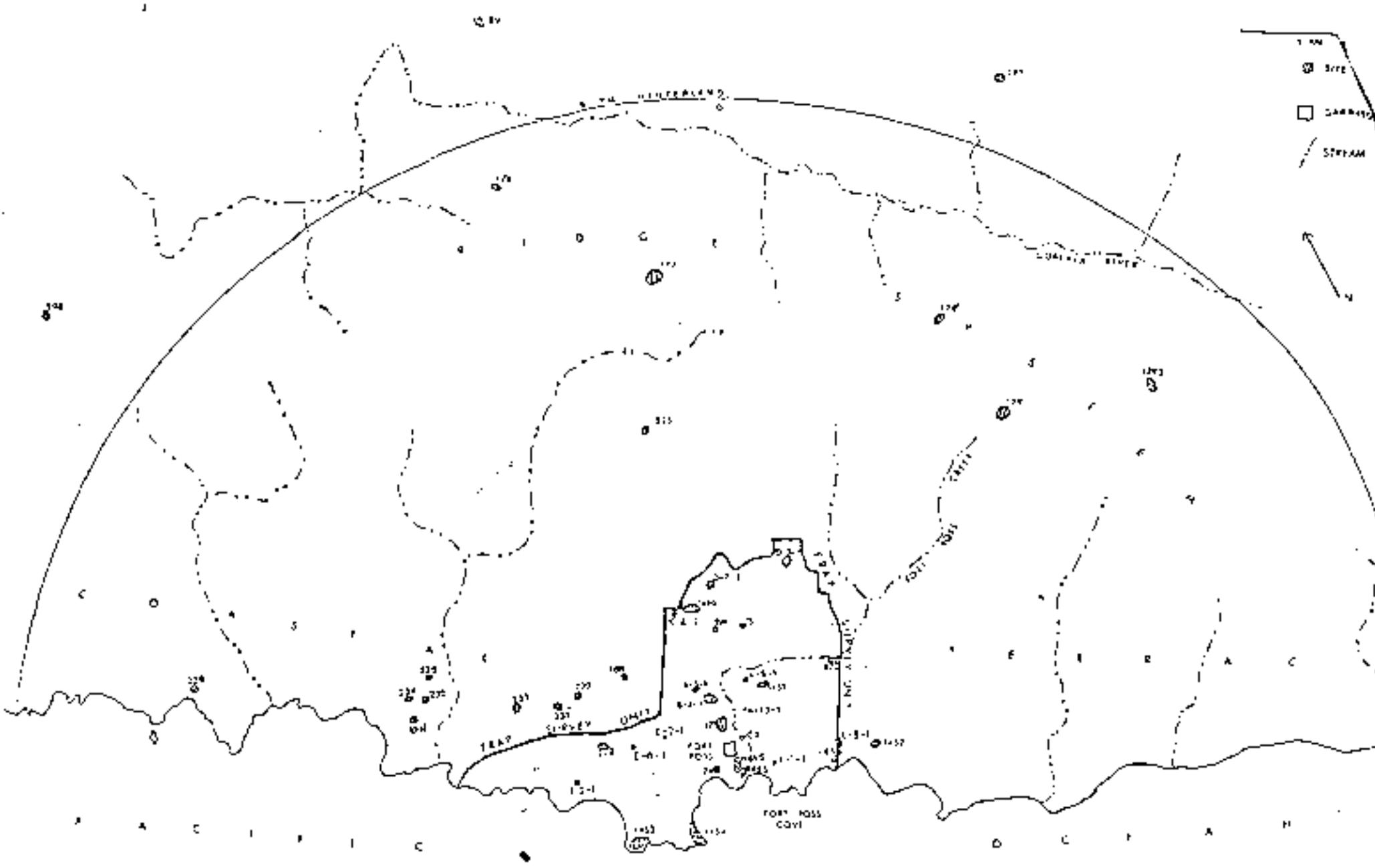


Figure 1. Site Distribution within a Five Km Radius of the Ross Garrison

Figure 2. The Spatial Organization of the Ross Community

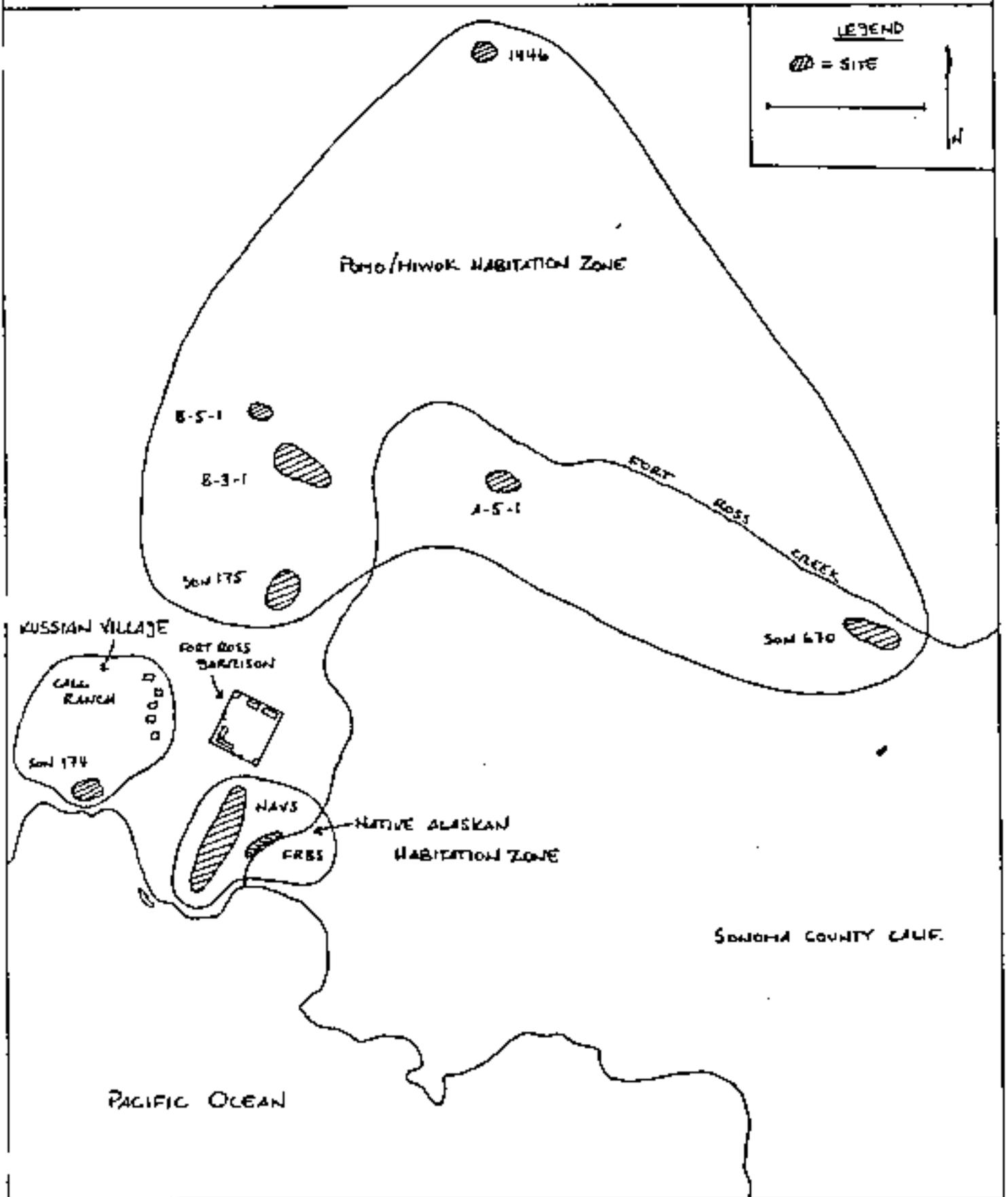
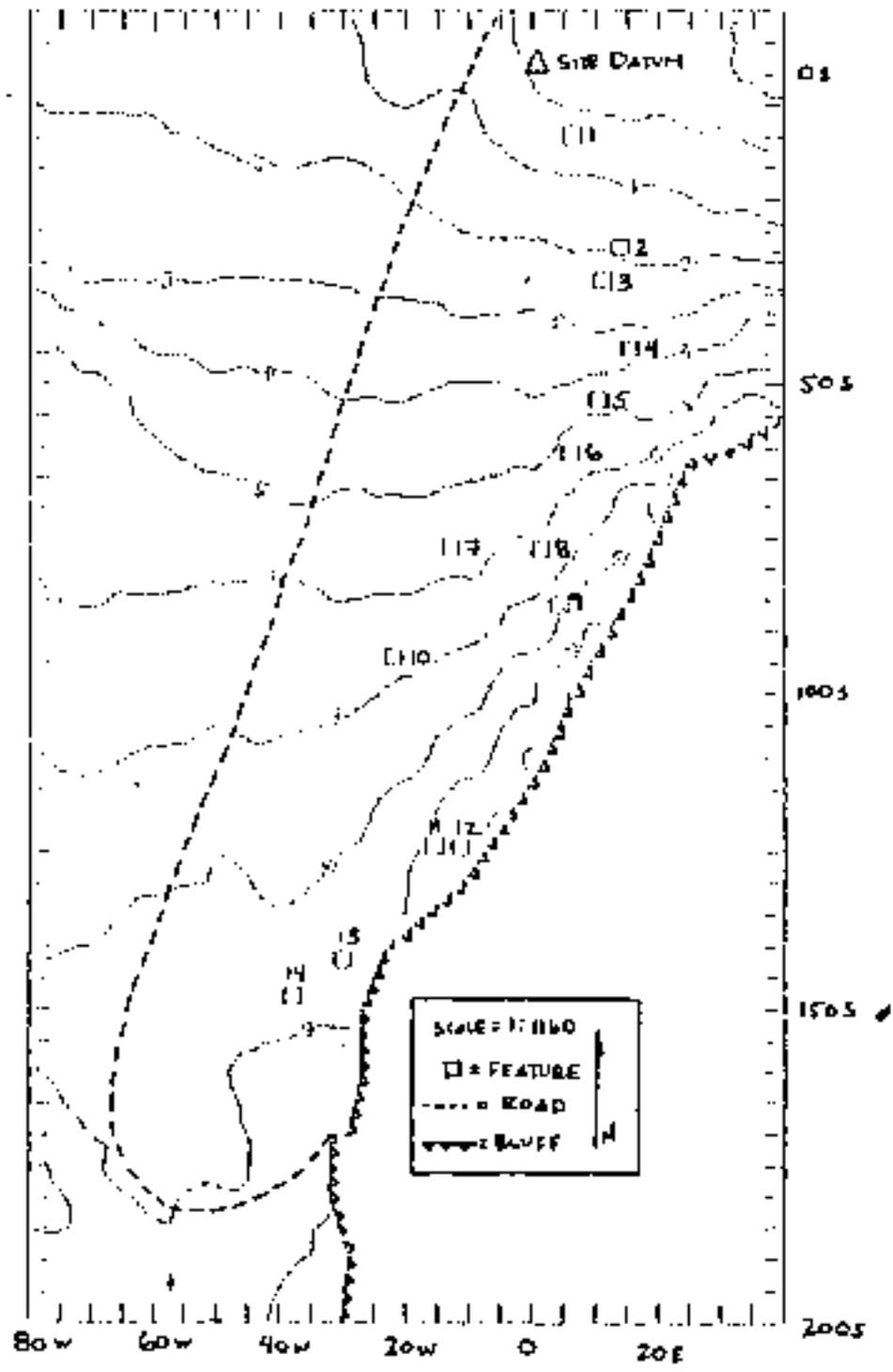


Figure 3. Topographic Map of NAVS Showing Location of Fourteen Surface Depressions. Contour Interval is 1 m.



# Memorandum

Date : March 14, 1990

To : Michael R. Stephenson, SPR II  
Fort Ross SHP/Salt Point SP  
Russian River District

From : Department of Parks and Recreation

Subject: Archeological Investigations at Fort Ross/Salt Point

I have attached for your files two archeological permits for work to be conducted this year at Fort Ross SHP and Salt Point SP.

The Fort Ross permit is for the work that the University of Wisconsin will be doing in the historic Russian Cemetery. This permit is still undergoing the required review prior to approval. I am leaving for Kodiak, Alaska tomorrow, and following my consultations there, we may need to write-in special conditions on the permit in regard to the treatment of burials attributed to being Native Alaskan. In other words, the Kodiak people may tell me that they do not wish to have their ancestors unearthed, even if we are planning for re-burial in a dignified manner. I will have a much better idea as to their feelings next week. Of course, we are still working under the impression that there are no Native California Indians buried in the Russian Cemetery, but I must still research this further. The Kashaya people I have talked to so far do not feel that there will be anyone from Kashaya in the cemetery, but if we do encounter a burial that seems to be Kashaya, they want us to stop, mark the gravesite for future knowledge and management, and fill-in the excavation pit. To date, I have discussed this project with Vana Lawson, Violet Chappel, and Anita Silva. I've asked to be put on the agenda for some future Kashaya tribal meeting, but have not heard back on this yet. I would like to do a presentation to the Kashaya community similar to what I will be doing at Kodiak this Saturday.

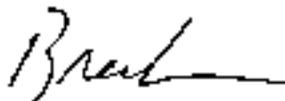
The second permit is for Salt Point. Tom Origer and his fieldclasses (spring, summer, and fall) will be working on salvaging portions of a number of eroding archeological sites. This permit has already been through review, and has been approved by Carl Chavez. I will have Tom contact you before the initiation of his project in order to clarify any special concerns and requests you or your staff might have. I have worked with Tom for many years now, and have always found him to be the most agreeable, so I do not anticipate any problems with his project. However, should any problems arise concerning this project, or the one at Fort Ross, please contact me if I can be of any assistance.

I have determined from the Sonoma County Planning Department that a Coastal Permit is not necessary for either project. CEQA review is necessary, though, and the paperwork and review process for both projects has already been initiated. I anticipate that there might be some natural resource concerns, which will either require mitigation (e.g., revegetating with seed the areas archeologically excavated) or perhaps project adjustment (deciding not to

excavate one site or another due to environmental concerns expressed during CEQA review). Additionally, the Fort Ross project will require a certain amount of the vegetation on the cemetery to be removed. This is primarily Coyote Brush. There is not a lot to be removed (if approved), but I expect it will require additional review, since it is a native species.

While at the Russian Cemetery on February 23rd of this year, I received what appears (according to my doctor) to be another tick bite. Although I can't say for sure, I expect my first tick bite came from this same site last year. According to Kent Lightfoot, one of the students assigned to assisting Louis Somers in mapping the cemetery last summer has also been diagnosed as having Lyme Disease. She may or may not have gotten it from working in the cemetery, but it is enough to make me worry a little about the University of Wisconsin archeologists working there this summer. I thought I would check around to see if anyone had ideas about safeguarding the project personnel. If you or anyone at the park have any ideas or suggestions, I'd appreciate hearing them.

It looks as if it will be an exciting year for archeology at Fort Ross and Salt Point! I hope the attached permit information will help clarify just what we are planning in the parks, and hopefully facilitate the scheduling that will be required as the projects begin. As always, I am looking forward to working with you and the Fort Ross and Salt Point staffs on these projects.



E. Dreck Parkman  
Regional Archeologist

Attachment

c.c. Ron Hanshaw  
Don Ita

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH FACILITY  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

Henry Agonia, Director  
State of California  
Department of Parks and Recreation  
1416 9th Street  
Box 942896  
Sacramento, CA 94296-0001

4/2/90

Dear Mr. Agonia:

I am submitting for your consideration the enclosed proposal to undertake the investigation and interpretation of the Native Alaskan Village Site (NAVS) in the Fort Ross State Historic Park. The archaeological project is a collaborative effort of scholars and professionals from the Department of Parks and Recreation, Santa Rosa Junior College, Sonoma State University, the University of California at Berkeley, and the Kodiak Area Native Association. The project will begin to implement two primary goals of the General Development Plan of the Fort Ross State Historic Park (approved in 1975 as Resolution 53-75). The first goal is to define the spatial structure of the village and to excavate one or two Koniag Eskimo house structures (General Development Plan pp. 50-51). The second goal is to generate a plan for developing the site, as well as the nearby Fort Ross Beach Site (FRBS), for visitors as the first leg of the projected culture/nature trail system in the Fort Ross State Historic Park. The trail system, which will eventually link up different kinds of archaeological sites in the park, is described and illustrated on pages 49, 58 and 59 of the General Development Plan. ♣

The field component of the project is proposed for the summers of 1991, 1992, and 1993. We propose to raise most of the funds for the archaeological research from external sources. We will soon be submitting a grant to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for funding assistance. The NEH program in archaeology provides matching funds for field and laboratory work. Our match includes various professor's salaries from state universities and colleges. We are also requesting release time for several California Department of Parks and Recreation employees to work on the project. The expertise of these

individuals is critical for the success of our project. Their salaries will be matched dollar for dollar by NEH. Release time is requested for:

1) Dr. Glenn Farris, State Archaeologist II, Resource Protection Division. Dr. Farris is the leading authority on the archaeology and ethnohistory of Fort Ross. He will serve as the Co-Principal Investigator in the NEH grant. We are requesting release time for five weeks during the field season and eight weeks following the field work for each of the next three years (1991, 1992, 1993). Release time after the field season is requested so that he may work with us in the archaeological laboratories at U.C. Berkeley, and so that he may conduct ethnohistorical research in the Bancroft Library. During that period he will be granted the honorary post of Research Associate in the Archaeological Research Facility, a position that provides him with space and library privileges at U. C. Berkeley.

2) Breck Parkman, Northern Regional Archaeologist. Mr. Parkman provides a pivotal role in our project on several different levels. He is a leading figure in the archaeology of the North Coast Ranges and contributes greatly to the research objectives, implementation and interpretation of our archaeological work. He also serves as a crucial liaison with the local Kashaya Pomo people. Finally, he serves as the archaeological liaison with other state personnel in the Northern Region office and the Russian River District office. We are requesting release time for five weeks during the field season for each of the next three years (1991, 1992, 1993).

3) Professional Staff of the Fort Ross State Historic Park. We propose that any interested park rangers and interpretive staff be released from their normal duties to rotate in the excavation of the site for a week or two during each of the three field seasons. We will take full responsibility in training them in the field methods of archaeology. Since the Fort Ross staff provides the primary interpretation of the Fort Ross State Historic Park to more than 200,000 visitors each year, their participation in the excavation will greatly benefit the public for years to come. Furthermore, since the Maintenance Supervisor of the park will be instrumental in the development of the trail system, we will be pleased to work with him and his staff in any way possible.

We will work in close collaboration with representatives of the Kodiak Area Native Association in studying and interpreting their ancestral village. KANA is the nonprofit arm of the native's association of Kodiak Island, Alaska. A principal mission of the KANA is to educate the public about their traditional native lifeways and to promote and preserve their language, customs, history and folklore. They are very excited about the prospect of working with us at Fort Ross, and about the possibility of exhibiting Fort Ross materials in their new native museum as part of a traveling display. We are proposing that several of their representatives and high school students work with us in excavating the Native Alaskan Village Site. Enclosed is a cooperative agreement that spells out several points of collaboration between KANA, the Archaeological Research Facility, U.C. Berkeley and the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Please let me know if you see any problems with this document.

I will be pleased to meet with you and your staff to discuss any matters in more detail.

Thank you very much for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Kent Lightfoot  
Associate Professor, Anthropology  
Director, Archaeological Research Facility

CC Richard G. Rayburn, Chief, Resource Protection Division  
Carl S. Chavez, Director, Northern Region  
Ronald Hanshew, District Superintendent, Russian River  
District

Figure 4. Predicted Surface Distribution of Ceramics at NAVS. Contour Interval is .25 ceramics/m square.

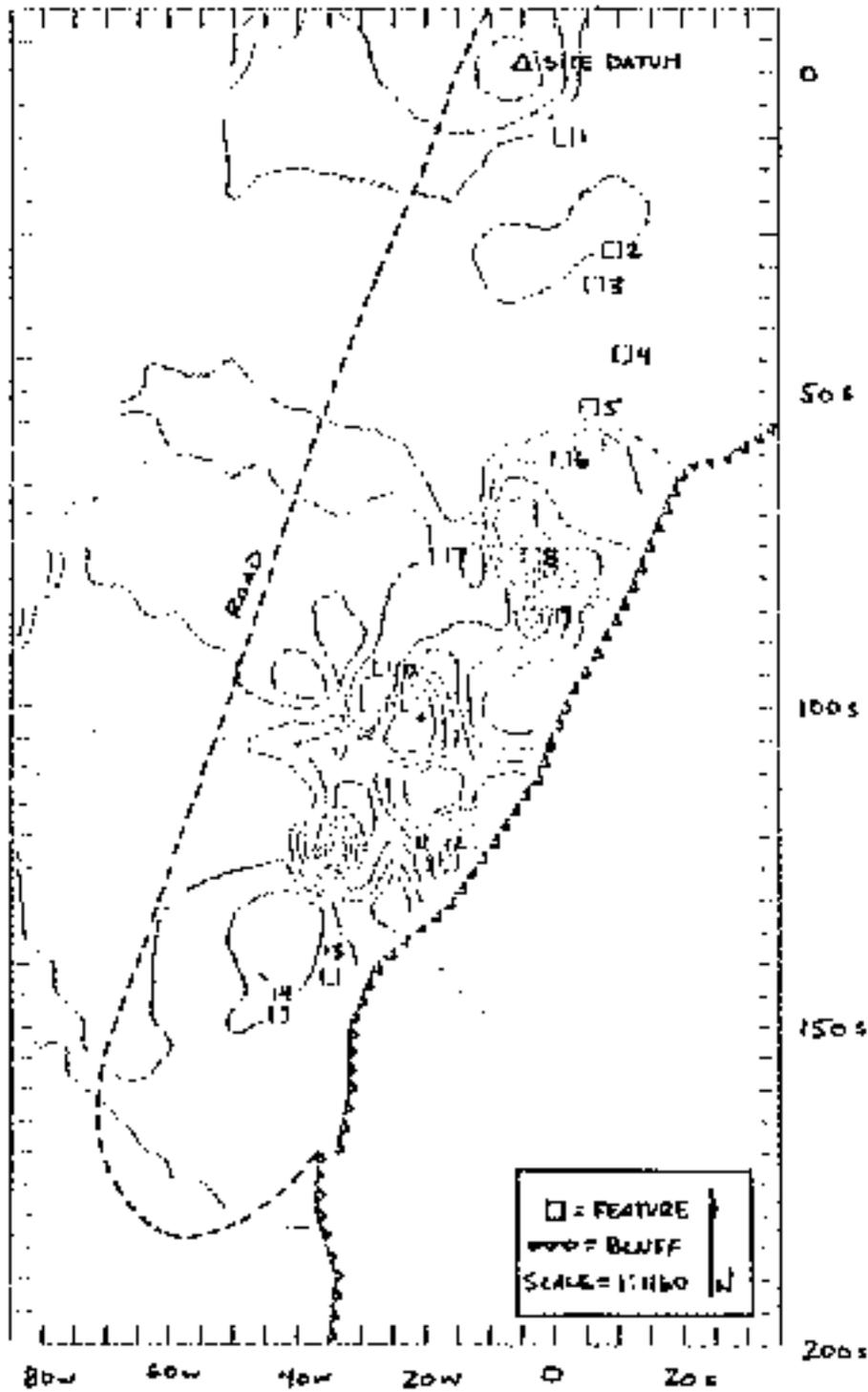


Figure 5. Predicted Surface Distribution of Glass Beads at NAVS. Contour Interval is .1 beads/m square.

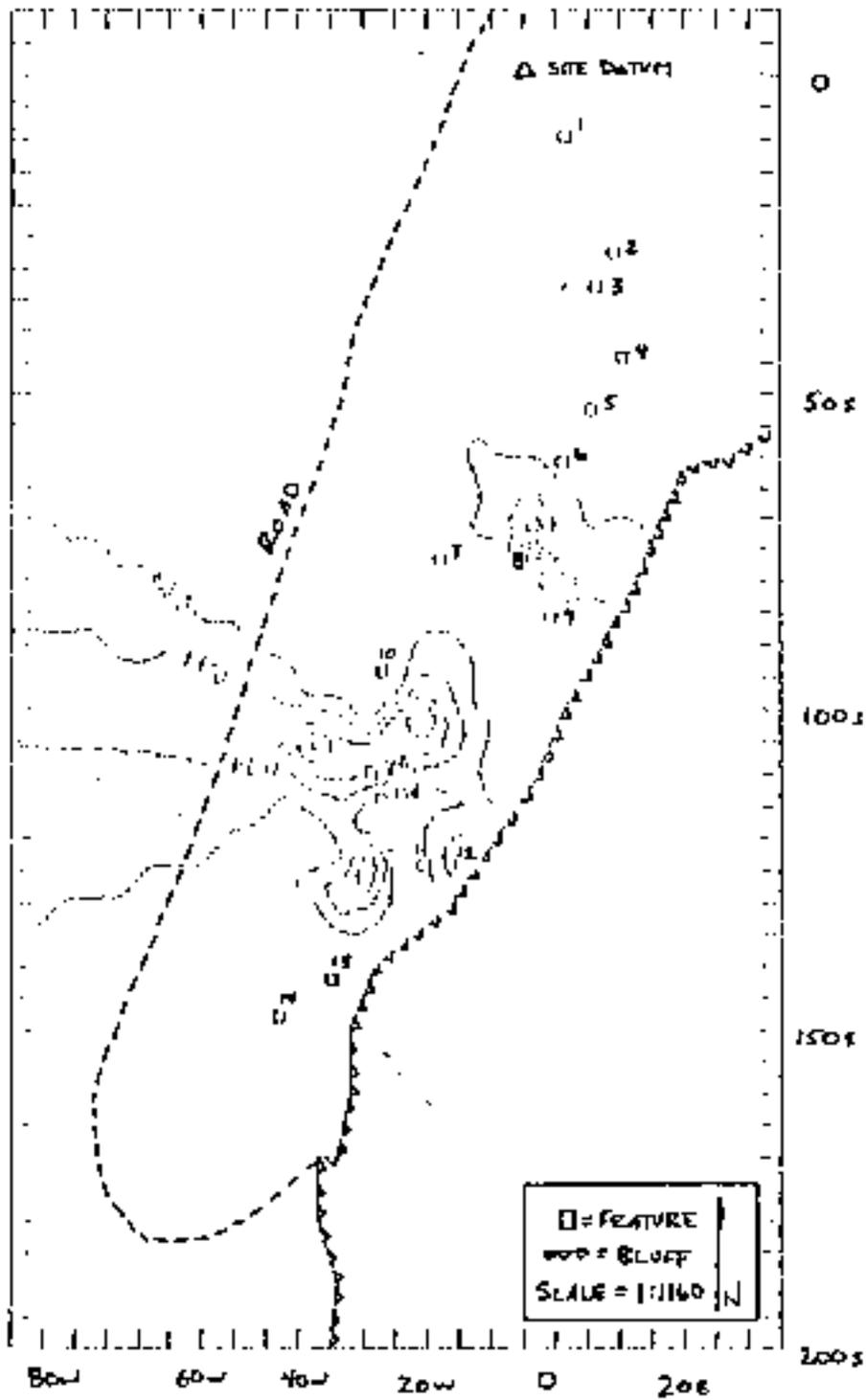


Figure 6. Predicted Surface Distribution of Utilized Lithic Artifacts at NAVS. Contour Interval is .2 tools/m<sup>2</sup>

