



19005 Coast Highway One, Jenner, CA 95450 ■ 707.847.3437 ■ [info@fortross.org](mailto:info@fortross.org) ■ [www.fortross.org](http://www.fortross.org)

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**Title: The Indians at the Ross Settlement, According to the Censuses by Kuskov, 1820-1821**

**Author(s): Alexei A. Istomin**

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# THE INDIANS AT THE ROSS SETTLEMENT

*According to the Censuses  
by Kuskov, 1820-1821*

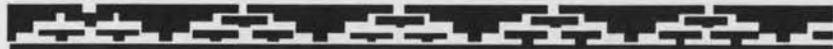
by  
Alexei A. Istomin

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology  
Moscow, Russia

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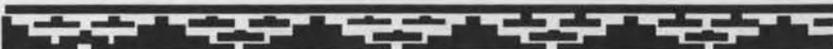


**THE INDIANS  
AT THE ROSS SETTLEMENT**

*According to the censuses  
by Kuskov in 1820 and 1821*

by  
**Alexei A. Istomin**  
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Moscow, Russia

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## *About the author...*

Dr. Alexei Istomin is a specialist in Russian-Indian relations, from the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in Moscow. During the summer of 1991, Dr. Istomin was granted an internship by the Fort Ross Interpretive Association. He joined the archaeology field schools from the University of Wisconsin and UC Berkeley on two separate digs at Fort Ross. While studying at Ross, Dr. Istomin wrote the following manuscript based on the censuses prepared by I.A. Kuskov in 1820 and 1821.



*Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskov*  
**First Governor of Settlement Ross**  
**1812-1821**



Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskov (1765-1823) spent 31 years in the New World, first as an assistant of Baranov, Governor of the Russian colonies in America, which were administered from 1799 by the Russian-American Company, a commercial hunting and trading company. From 1808, Kuskov visited California four times. In 1812 he arrived to establish the colony in California as a food source for

Russian outposts in Alaska and to hunt profitable sea otters from the surrounding area. In that year the Ross Settlement was founded and Kuskov became its first governor remaining at Ross about 10 years. He died in Russia, in his native town of Tot'ma, in the Vologda region, a few months after his return from America.

## *Table of Contents*

Acknowledgements .....	1
Indians in Kuskov's Registers (Introduction) .....	3
<i>Table 1:</i> Ethnic Composition of the Adult Population at Ross .....	9
<i>Table 2:</i> Ethnic Composition of the Adult Male Population at Ross .....	10
<i>Table 3:</i> Ethnic Composition of the Adult Female Population at Ross .....	11
<i>Table 4:</i> Ethnic origin of California Indians at Ross .....	12
<i>Table 5:</i> The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-1821 (from the Kuskov Censuses) .....	14
References .....	38

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Alexei Istomin  
Fort Ross, California  
July 1991

## *Indians in Kuskov's Registers* (Introduction)

Among the available sources on the history of Fort Ross (1812-1841), an exclusive value must be given to two documents: the censuses (or registers) of the colony's inhabitants compiled by the Governor of Ross, Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskov, at the end of his service in California. The first document titled, *Register of people that are in the settlement and fortress Ross: Russians, Kodiaks, and other tribes, male and female sex* was written by Kuskov on June 1, 1820 and was further corrected several times from July 1820 to September (possibly October) of 1821 by annotations concerning changes in population of Ross. The second document titled *List of people that are in the settlement Ross and on Ferlon<sup>1</sup>: Russians, Kodiaks, Chugach, and Indians of both sexes* was written by Kuskov in October of 1821, shortly before his departure from Ross.

The lists contain names, sex, ethnic origin, and the family status of adult residents, information about their minor children, and, in some cases, other information. Both documents are in Moscow, Russia, in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin State Library.<sup>2</sup> "Register" was used as the source by S.G. Fedorova in her work entitled *Ethnic Processes in Russian America* (1973), which was translated to English.<sup>3</sup>

The complete texts of these censuses are to be published in a joint Soviet-Canadian edition of the documents on the history of Fort Ross and Russian-Californian contacts in the first half of the 19th century. Participants in the preparation of this publication at the present time are Dr. V.A. Tishkov, Dr. J.R. Gibson, and the author of the present work.<sup>4</sup>

The censuses have fixed the ethno-demographic situation at Ross in the early twenties of the 19th century that concluded the first epoch in the history of the colony, associated with the

name of I.A. Kuskov. They represent a special interest for the study of the early period of Russian-Indian contacts in California. Analysis of the lists allow us to derive some notes about the position of Indians in the population of Ross. The following text is a short introduction or commentary to the second part of this article, in which the information about Indians contained in Kuskov's lists, is systemized into a table. Additionally, the author made four tables with statistical data on the ethnic composition of the Ross population, based on the Kuskov censuses. The reader should understand that the censuses did not register the population outside the Russian settlement (or settlements), so there is no direct information from documents about inhabitants of Metini<sup>5</sup> and other Indian villages.

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

Almost all male Indians living in the settlement Ross were convicts working for the Company as a punishment for committing crimes against the colony (murder of Kodiaks including "in the Great Bodiga and in Avacha River<sup>6</sup>," killing

of Russian horses, etc.). Some of them were sent to Sitka and their further destiny is unknown. The only exception was an Indian by the name of *lik* (#50), who voluntarily preferred to live "at the kitchen". The mentioned incidents (murders, etc.) are very interesting because the peaceful and friendly Russian-Indian relations, established during the time of Kuskov, was confirmed in many documents.<sup>7</sup> The censuses show us a more complicated and less idyllic picture, although they do not change our general idea about Russian "Indian" policy.

It is interesting to note the almost complete non-existence of pure (non-mixed) Indian families in Ross. The exception was a Coast Miwok (from Bodega) *Kap'pisha* (#4), who was serving his sentence on Ferlon (the Farallon Islands) together with a Kashaya woman (from the vicinity of Ross) *Vayamin* (#55). As Kiril Khlebnikov testified (1826), during the hunting season on Farallon, there were 12 Aleuts and 6 Indians.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the above mentioned *Kap'pisha* (#4) and *Vayamin* (#55), Kuskov's 1821 "List" showed three women "from the vicinity of Ross" (Kashaya) as the Kodiak hunters' wives on the Farallon Islands.

Russians, Creoles, Eskimos, and California Indians were the basic components of the Ross population. The presence of Alaska Indians (Tlingit and Tanaina), as well as the people of Siberia (Yakuts) and of Polynesia (Hawaiians), had no significant importance on the ethnic profile of Ross, demonstrating rather the vast geographical connections of the Russian America.

Kuskov clearly distinguished three groups of California Indians: "Bodegan" or "from the Great Bodega"; "from the vicinity of Ross" and "from the Slavianka River."<sup>9</sup> Behind these names one guesses about the three ethnic units living in the area of Russian colonization: Coast Miwok, Kashaya or Southwestern Pomo, and Southern Pomo. In these denominations, the geography obviously prevails over ethnography,

but we cannot forget that Kuskov, in his lists, always paid close attention to the ethnic differences; it may also be assumed that in determining the origin of Indian women, Kuskov was able to note differences between the languages of Kashaya, Southern Pomo, and Coast Miwok. In any case, we have enough ethnogeographic data to affirm that the "Bodegan" are Coast Miwok, "from the vicinity of Ross" are Kashaya, and "from the Slavianka River" are either South Pomo or Kashaya. The name "from the Slavianka River" could mean some part of Kashaya, whose territory included the mouth of the Russian River (Slavianka).

It is interesting to note that among the Indians in the List of 1820, there is a reference to "the Indian woman from the Cape Barro-Dearena" (Point Arena) by the name *Chupivat'miy* (#66), who apparently belonged to the Central Pomo, on whose territory this Cape is situated. There is also a woman, *Tukul'bin* (#20), in the lists, whose origin is not mentioned, but she is probably a Coast Miwok Indian judging by her name, ("tukkuuli" - 'horned owl' in Bodega Miwok language).<sup>10</sup>

The Russian "promyshlennyye"<sup>11</sup>, the Kodiak sea hunters, and the Indian women were the main Ross residents. Kuskov's lists allow us to supplement our knowledge of Ross inhabitants, particularly the status of Indian women.

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

prefers to use simply "woman" when he refers to the relations with Russian promyshlennyye ("with him is a woman...").

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

The denomination of "woman" is also used for the Kodiak women living with the Russians and sometimes for the Indian women living with the Kodiaks. In some cases (#64 and #65), Kuskov prefers simply the word "girl".

There are many cases of divorce in the lists. In two cases, the Indian women "were released to go to their place" (*Ichemen Anis'ya* (#23) and *Povymen* (#37)) while their husbands joined, in one case Kaskak Ivan, a Creole woman, and in another case, A. Korenev, a Kodiak woman. The "girl" of Chugach Ithoshknak Maksim named *Chubaya* (#64) had left her daughter (who was sent to Sitka) and together with her son Aleksandr, joined another man (name illegible); in the 1821 census the Ithoshknak's woman is listed as Bodegan *Kuniy*. In seven cases (*Chumamin* (#21), *Pokomin* (#30), etc.) the Indian women were abandoned by their husbands who departed for Sitka. In such cases, the father evidently had a preference in deciding the child's fate. Either a child went to his father (in the case of *Agachpuchiye* (#36)), or a daughter remained with her mother to leave Ross, while the son departed with his father (the case of *Katyya* (#45)).

After a husband's death, the Indian women were "allowed" to go to their homeland: in one case with the child (*Ayumin Mar'ya* (#22)), and in another case (*Kobbeya* (#59)) the child was left with the husband's countryman and his Indian wife. In several cases (*Kilyoilok* (#39), *Libuy* (#62)) wives followed their husbands with children to Sitka. Comparing the two censuses of 1820 and 1821, there were cases where a

woman mentioned in 1820, was missing 1821, which probably indicated divorce (*Kashin* (#24), *Kelyaymin* (#32), *Tsullua* (#63) ).

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

The Kuskov Registers also give us some information about the inter-ethnic cultural influence. In particular, a certain interest represents the names of children born from mixed marriages. Most of them have Russian or double Russian-Eskimo names. At the same time, one notices several names which presumably were of Indian origin (see *Pulli* and *Kullashiy* (#17), *Kiyashyomi* (# 47), and *Chichilliy* (#26). This may be an indication of preservation of Indian cultural tradition on the part of mixed families (two Kodiak-Indian and one Creole-Indian).

Personal data on Ross' Indians that are contained in the censuses are given below, in the Table 5. Sometimes the names of the persons are given in two different variants used by Kuskov in the "Register" 1820 and in the "List" 1821. The supposed reading is given in the brackets with a question mark. The word "Kodiak" is used as the old denomination (like Aleut) of the Koniag Eskimos. It is also necessary to note that Kuskov did not record himself and his wife in either census, thus, they are not included in our statistics.

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

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

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

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

**TABLE 2:**  
*Ethnic Composition  
of the Adult Male Population at Ross*

	CENSUS 1820 with the annotations 1820-1821 ("Register")		CENSUS 1821 ("List")	
	Number (persons)	%	Number (persons)	%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Russians	38	21.2	24	19.8
Creoles	8*	4.5	6	5.0
Eskimos:	114	63.7	78	64.5
Kodiaks (Koniag)	108		75	
Chugach	6		3	
Aleuts	...	...	...	...
Yakuts	5	2.8	5	4.1
Hawaiian ("Sandwichan")	4	2.2	3	2.5
Kolyuzh (Tlingit)	1	0.6	1	0.8
Kenai (Tanaina)	1	0.6	...	...
California Indians	8	4.5	4	3.3

\* including M. Rastorguev about whose origin Kuskov had no clear knowledge ("Creole or native Kodiak")

**TABLE 3:**  
*Ethnic Composition  
of the Adult Female Population at Ross*

	CENSUS 1820 with the annotations 1820-1821 ("Register")		CENSUS 1821 ("List")	
	Number (persons)	%	Number (persons)	%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Russians	...	...	...	...
Creoles	9	11.1	6	11.1
Eskimos:	19	23.5	10	18.5
Kodiaks (Koniag)	18		10	
Chugach	1		...	
Aleuts (Fox Islands)	3	3.7	3	5.5
Kolyuzh (Tlingit)	1	1.2	1	1.9
California Indians*	48	59.3	34	63.0
Persons whose ethnic origin is not mentioned	1	1.2	...	...

\* Including *Tukul'bin*

**TABLE 4:**  
*Ethnic origin*  
*of California Indians at Ross*

	1820		1821	
	# of Males	# of Females	# of Males	# of Females
TOTAL	8	48	4	34
"Bodegan"*	5	11	2	13
"from the vicinity of Ross"	3	26	2	19
"from the Slavianka River" (Russian River area)	...	10	...	2
"from the Cape Barro Dearena" (Point Arena area)	...	1	...	...

\* Including *Tukul'bin* (1820 and 1821)  
and *Myssalaya* (1821) in the number of females

*Personal data*  
*on the Indians who lived at*  
*Ross in 1820-1821*

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
*The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)*

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
1	<i>Katerina Ukkelya</i> (UK'keli) Катерина Уккеля	Female	Bodegan	Woman of Vasilij Antipin, Russian promyshennyiy (carpenter, died in Ross end of 1821 or 1822, according to Khlebnikov)	son Alexandr, daughter Matrena	June 1820, October 1821
2	<i>Vaimpo</i> Ваймпо	Male	From the Great Bodega (Bay)	Worked at Ross as a convict for crimes (murder of Kodiaks and some others)	...	June 1820. Was released to return to his native place in May 1821 because of old age and illness.
3	<i>Chichamik</i> Чичамик	Male	From the Great Bodega (Bay)	Worked at Ross as convict for crimes (see above)	...	June 1820. As it turned out, he was not guilty and was released with some reward.
4	<i>Kapisha</i> (Kap'pisha) Капиша (Кап'пиша)	Male	From the Great Bodega (Bay)	Worked at Ferlor (Farallon Islands) as a convict for crimes (see above)	...	June 1820, October 1821
5	<i>Vekvekun</i> Веквекун	Male	From the Great Bodega (Bay)	Captured as one of the murderers of the hunter Andrey Kalag (Kaligin)	...	September 1820. Sent to Sitka on "Buldakov" ship in September 1820
6	<i>Yovlo</i> ЁВЛО	Male	From the Great Bodega (Bay)	Was captured in September 1820 for the murder of a Kodiak, worked as a convict	...	September (?) 1820, October 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
**The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)**

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
7	<i>Унаримен</i> ( <i>Utarimen</i> ) Унапимен (Утапимен)	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Kiliy Nikolay, a Kodiak of Mysovskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
8	<i>Чаикку</i> ( <i>Chakiku?</i> ) ( <i>Chanckku?</i> ) Чаикку (Чакику?) (Чанкку?)	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Chazhvahkak Nikita, a Kodiak of Razbitovskoe village	daughter Akiy Arina	June 1820, mentioned without name; October 1821
9	<i>Кытыпалива</i> <i>Kutyraliva</i>	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Malihkak Matvey, a Kodiak from Ugatatskoe village	daughter Ashana Alimpiada	June 1820
10	<i>Толилукаю</i> <i>Tolilukaю</i>	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Chyunaguzhiy (Chuniguzhi) Alexey, a Kodiak from Chiniyatskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
11	<i>Куш'шья</i> ( <i>Kush'shiya</i> ) ( <i>Kush'shaya</i> ) Кушшья (Куш'шья)	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Gavriya Andreev, a Kodiak from Alitatskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
12	<i>Зльбусшика</i> <i>El'bus'shika</i>	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Avagnak Ivan, a Kodiak from Paiskoe village	daughter Anisyak Maria, son Atunnuki	June 1820, October 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
*The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)*

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
13	<i>Eyemtuli(i)</i> Эемтули (Эемтулии)	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Sidula Sidbr, a Kodiak from Kashkatskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
14	<i>Unutiklin</i> Унутиклин	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Kuignak, an Eskimo from Katmaiskoe village in Alaska peninsula	...	June 1820 (see #18)
15	<i>Unitma</i> УНИТМА	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Sipak (Sikak?) Ishkhatskiy, a Chugach of Chinikatskoe village	daughters: Anusha Maria and Aglal'ya	June 1820, Died in September 1821
16	<i>Ukayla</i> Укайла	Female	Bodegan	Woman of Kili Felor, a Kodiak of Mysovskoe village	...	October 1821
17	<i>Kunay</i> Кунай	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Kaiukak Gan, a Kodiak of Kiliudinskoe village	son Pulli, daughter Kullash(i)y	October 1821
18	<i>Tulikapucha</i> Туликапуча	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Kygnak, unbaptized Eskimo from Alaskan Katmaiskoe village	son Kakalik, unbaptized	October 1821 (see #14)
19	<i>Kuniy</i> Куний	Female	Bodegan	Wife of Ithoshkna Maksim, a Chugach from Chinikatskoe village	...	October 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
**The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)**

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
20	<i>Tukul'bin</i> Тукульбин	Female	origin is not mentioned, Bodegan?	Wife of Taneikak Arsenii, a Kodiak from Kinyatskoe (or Ahlotskoe?) village	son Agishka	October 1821, also probably mentioned in June 1820 without name
21	<i>Chumatın</i> Чумамин	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Woman of Mihail Siyazov, Russian, who went away to Sitka in September 1820	...	June 1820; she "was released to go to her (native) place"
22	<i>Ayumin Mar'ya</i> Аюмин Марья	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Woman of Rodion Korolyov, Russian, who died 9 December, 1820	daughter Maria	June 1820. She and her daughter "were released to go to their native place"
23	<i>Ichemen Anis'ya</i> Ичемеи Анистья	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Woman of Alexei Korenev, Russian promyshlennyiy	...	June 1820, "was allowed to return to her native place"
24	<i>Kashin</i> Кашин	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Woman of Stepan Bardahoev, Russian promyshlennyiy	...	June 1820
25	<i>Bidushipibin</i> Бидушипибин	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Anton Kilyudinskiy, a Kodiak employee of the Company	daughter Arina	June 1820, October 1821
26	<i>Amachatin</i> ( <i>Amichatin</i> ) Амачамин (Амичамин)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Woman of Filip Kotelnikov, a Creole employee of the Company	sons Stepan and Chichilliy	June 1820, October 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
*The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)*

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
27	<i>Chilan</i> Чилан	Male	from the vicinity of Ross	Worked at Ross as a guilty punishment for the killing of the best three horses	...	June 1820. Sent to Sitka in September 1820
28	<i>Yogokoiy</i> Ёгокой	Male	from the vicinity of Ross	Worked at Ross as a guilty punishment for the killing of the best three horses (See # 27)	...	June 1820. Sent to Sitka in September 1820
29	<i>Chil'lya</i> Чил'ля	Male	from the vicinity of Ross	Captured in September 1820 for killing of Russian horses; worked as a convict	...	September 1820, October 1821
30	<i>Pokomin</i> Покомин	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Filip Apangu, a Kodiak of Proklatovskoe village, sent to Sitka on "Golovnin" ship	...	June 1820. "Was allowed to return to her native place"
31	<i>Nuchichiya</i> ( <i>Nuchigaya</i> ) Нучичия (Нучигая)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Taya Stepan, a Kodiak of Kolpakovskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
32	<i>Kelyaymin</i> Келяймин	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of the toyon (chief) Nanekun Vasiliy, a Kodiak of Ezopkinskoe village	two daughters Papinchin Akulina and Pipichupik (Pinichunak) Agrafena	June 1820. In 1821 census, only the children are mentioned

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
**The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)**

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
33	<i>Mishishiya</i> Мишишия	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Tupulihkaik Sava, a Kodiak of Ezopkinskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821. Was on Farallon Islands in 1821 together with her husband
34	<i>Kamemunay</i> Камемунай	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Nanehkun Nikon, a Kodiak of Ezopkinskoe village who was sent to Sitka in March 1821	...	June 1820. "Was allowed to go to her native place"
35	<i>Uyamin</i> Уямин	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of toyon Kurnyk Moisei who departed to Sitka in March 1821. Later the wife of Ukun Andrey, a Kodiak of Chiniatskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821. Stayed in Farallon Islands "for assistance the Company's works"
36	<i>Agachpuchiye</i> Агачпучие	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Malihknak Savva, a Kodiak of Kiliudinskoe village	son Asiavihtok Fedor	June 1820. After the departure of her husband and son to Sitka she "stayed with her relatives"
37	<i>Povumen</i> ( <i>Novumen?</i> ) ПОВЫМЕН (НОВЫМЕН?)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Kaskak Ivan, a Kodiak of Kiliudinskoe village, who got a new wife Vera, a Kodiak woman	...	June 1820. "Was allowed to return to her motherland"
38	<i>Michaye</i> Мичае	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Ushmii (U'shli) Abram, a Kodiak of Kiliudinskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
39	<i>Kilyoilok</i> Килёйлок	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Ihuilnok Ivan, a Kodiak of Kiliudinskoe village	two sons	June 1820. All the family was sent to Sitka in March 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
**The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)**

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
40	Mit'ya Митья	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Aniehta Nikolai, a Kodiak of Shashkatskoe village	son Chanian Vissarion	June 1820, October 1821
41	Amayumiy Амаюмий	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Kamlyok Miron, a Kodiak of Ugatatskoe (Ugitatskoe) village	...	June 1820, October 1821
42	Pizhichimiy Пижичимий	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Taneikak Apalnak Ivan, a Kodiak of Uhitskoe (?) village	daughter Olga, son Chunyuun	June 1820, October 1821
43	Miechiy Миэчий	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Ukun Andrei, a Kodiak of Chiniatskoe village. (See # 35, 51?)	...	June 1820
44	Kakishmaya (Kanishmaya?) (Kakashmaya) Какишмая (Канишмая?) (Какашмая)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Chapahkak Ilia, a Kodiak of Igatskoe village	sons Pinehnun Kiril, Iakshak Timofei	June 1820, October 1821
45	Katyua Катья	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Alalyakin Danila, a Kodiak of Paiskoe village, sent to Sitka in March 1821 together with his son	son Ivan, daughter Maria	June 1820. Was allowed to go back to her native place with the daughter

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
*The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)*

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
46	<i>Akaluchua</i> Акалучуа	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Utamak Fedor, a Kodiak from Paiskoe village	daughters Panichunak Agrafena and Tatuin Maria	June 1820, October 1821
47	<i>Kunuchami(y)</i> Кунучами (Кунучамий)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Tlyualik Trofim, a Kodiak from An'yahtalitskoe village	son Izhuaok Petr (died in June 1821), daughter Kiyashyomi(y) Alentia	June 1820, October 1821
48	<i>Kavapalii</i> ( <i>Kavapatiiy</i> ) ( <i>Kavakatiy?</i> ) Кавапалии (Кавапамий) (Кавакакий?)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Nanygnyak Potap, a Kodiak of Anyahtalitskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
49	<i>Tukralii</i> ( <i>Tuk'rali</i> ) Тыкпалии (Тык'пали)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Yakunak Yakov, a Kodiak of Kashkatskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
50	<i>Iik</i> Ийк	Male	from the vicinity of Ross	"is at the kitchen of his free will"	...	October 1821
51	<i>Miyacha</i> Мияча	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Nanchin Nikita, a Kodiak of Kolpakovskoe village	...	October 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
**The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)**

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
52	<i>Tulumachua</i> Тулумачуа	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Pizhohtkak Vasiliy, a Kodiak from Kilyudinskoe village	son Aniehta	October 1821
53	<i>Mchen'</i> ( <i>Mechen'</i> ?) Мчень (Мчень?)	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Kumuyak Stepan, a Kodiak from Kilyudinskoe village	...	October 1821
54	<i>Yaumen</i> Ююмен	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Talizhun Kosma, a Kodiak from Shashkatskoe village. On Farallon Islands.	...	October 1821
55	<i>Vayamin</i> Ваямин	Female	from the vicinity of Ross	Wife of Kap'pisha, an Indian from Great Bodega (See # 4). On the Farallon Islands.	...	October 1821
56	<i>Myssalaya</i> МЫССАЛАЯ	Female	In 1820 "from the Slavianka River;" In 1821 "Bodegan"	Wife of Kodiak Taya Osip of Kilyudinskoe village	...	June 1820, October 1821
57	<i>Chashiya</i> Чашия	Female	from the Slavianka River	Wife of Chevyhpak Iliia, a Kodiak from Kilyudinskoe village	daughter Agahtan	June 1820, October 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
*The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)*

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
58	<i>Люумен'</i> Люймень	Female	from the Slavianka River	Wife of Nehtkan Ivan, a Kodiak from Kilyudinskoe village, who was sent to Sitka on the brig "Golovnin" (March 1821)	...	June 1820. "Was allowed to return to her native place"
59	<i>Коббея</i> Коббея	Female	from the Slavianka River	Wife of Agchyaesikok Roman, a Kodiak from Chiniyatskoe village, who was drowned in March 1821	son Kiochan Mitrofan who was left to Kodiak Alexey Chaniguchi (Chunaguzhiy) for upbringing	June 1820. "Was allowed to go to her motherland," leaving her son at Ross
60	<i>Кибучунтий Мар'уа</i> Кибучунтий Марья	Female	from the Slavianka River	Wife of Ungiyak Kornilo, a Kodiak from Rubtsovskoe village	daughter Agrafena Chiliyahkak, son Mihail Tungihtak	June 1820, October 1821
61	<i>Канишмаја (Какешмаја?)</i> Канишмаја (Кацишмаја?)	Female	from the Slavianka River	Wife of Chananok Efim, a Kodiak from Uyatskoe village, who was sent to Sitka in March 1821	...	June 1820. "Was allowed to return to her native place"
62	<i>Либуй</i> Либуй	Female	from the Slavianka River	Wife of Aminnak Arseniy, a Kodiak from Ayalhtalitskoe village	son Fedor	June 1820. All of the family was sent to Sitka in March 1821

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
**The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)**

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
63	Tsullua Цуллуа	Female	from the Slavianka River	Wife of Kaskak Tachin Ivan, a Kodiak from Ayahtalitskoe village	daughter Elena	June 1820.
64	Chubaya Чубая	Female	from the Slavianka River	A "girl" of Ithoshknak Maksim, a Chugach from Chinikatskoe village (See # 19)	son Alexandr, daughter Marfa. Marfa was sent to Sitka on the ship "Golovnin"	June 1820. Joined another man (name illegible) together with her son Alexandr
65	Meuechiy Меэчий	Female	from the Slavianka River	A "girl" of Nikolay "Kinaets" (of Kenai) evidently Tanaina Indian (See # 69)	...	June 1820. "Was allowed to go to her native place"
66	Chupivat'miy Чупиватьмий	Female	"from the Cape Barro- Dearena" (Central Pomo?)	Woman of Tupuliahnak Iakov, Kodiak of Shashkatskoe, in the service of the Company	sons Petr and Timofei	June 1820. In 1821 census only the children are mentioned.
67	Avdot'ya (Ovdot'ya) Авдотья (Овдотья)	Female	Kolyuzh (probably Tlingit)	Woman (woman servant) of Maksim Polupezhentsov, Russian promyshlennyiy	...	June 1820., October 1821.

**TABLE 5, continued:**  
**The Indian Inhabitants of the Ross Settlement, 1820-21 (from Kuskov Censuses)**

#	Name (transliteration and original)	Sex	Origin	Position	Children	Census: date, further biography
68	<i>Kasents</i> ( <i>Kisents?</i> ) Касенц (Кисенц?)	Male	Kolyuzh (Tlingit) of Kaknautskoe (Kaknau) village	In service of the Company	...	June 1820, October 1821
69	<i>Nikolay Kinaets</i> Николай Кинаец	Male	"Kinaets" (of Kenai). Probably Tanaina	Probably worked together with Eskimos (mentioned after them). See #65	...	June 1820. Sent to Sitka on brig "Golovnin."

## References

1. *Ferlon*: The Farallon Islands where the Ross Office had a hunting settlement.
2. OR GBL, f. 204, k.32, d. 40, 42.
3. Fedorova, S.G., *Ethnic Processes in Russian America*. Trans. by A. Shalkop, Anchorage, 1975, p. 12
4. The author, A.A. Istomin, is responsible in particular for the preparation of the original manuscript texts of the Russian documents (including the Kuskov's) for publication.
5. *Metini*: The Kashaya Pomo name for the area surrounding Fort Ross.
6. *Bodiga*: i.e. Bodega. *Avacha River*: Its identification is difficult. Probably the Russians used this name for some creek south of the Russian River.
7. Istomin, A.A. *Selenie Ross i kaliforniyskie indeitsy*. (*The Ross Settlement and the California Indians*.) — "Sovetskaya etnografiya," Moscow 1980, #4, p. 57-69.
8. AVPR, f. RAK, op. 888, d. 323, fol. 7v.
9. *Slavianka River*: The Russian River in Sonoma County, California.
10. Callaghan, C.A., *Bodega Miwok Dictionary*, Berkeley e.a., 1970, p. 74.
11. *Promyshlennyye*: Originally fur traders and hunters. Later, in the period when the Ross colony existed, this was usually the denomination for the Russian workers (employees) of low rank who worked for the Russian-American Company. Singular form: *promyshlennyiy*.