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# FORT AND SETTLEMENT

## INTERPRETING THE PAST AT FORT ROSS STATE HISTORIC PARK

by E. Breck Parkman

In 1812, Ivan Kuskov founded an agricultural and fur-gathering outpost of the Russian-American Company on the shores of northern California, naming the settlement "Ross," the archaic name for the Russian motherland.<sup>1</sup> In the preceding year, Kuskov had arranged to lease the land needed for the colony from the native inhabitants, the Kashaya Pomo. This "lease" was formalized and reconfirmed in later years, at which time the Pomo appear to have ceded the land to the Russians.<sup>2</sup> As was customary for company outposts, Kuskov constructed a fortified enclosure with stout palisade and cannon. His fear of attack may have been the result of previous company experiences with the native people of Alaska, rather than any real sense of hostilities on the part of the California inhabitants. Within a few years, any serious fear of attack on Colony Ross would almost certainly have dissipated.

Claiming sovereignty over all of California, Spain (and later Mexico) reacted to the creation of Colony Ross with political protest. Ross was perceived to be a Russian fortress, the "Presidio de Ross." The Russians, however, commonly referred to Ross as a settlement. With the arrival of the first Americans, following the company's sale of Ross to Sacramento Valley rancher and entrepreneur John Sutter in 1841, the name "Fort Ross" was applied to the settlement, and it has remained with us to the present day.

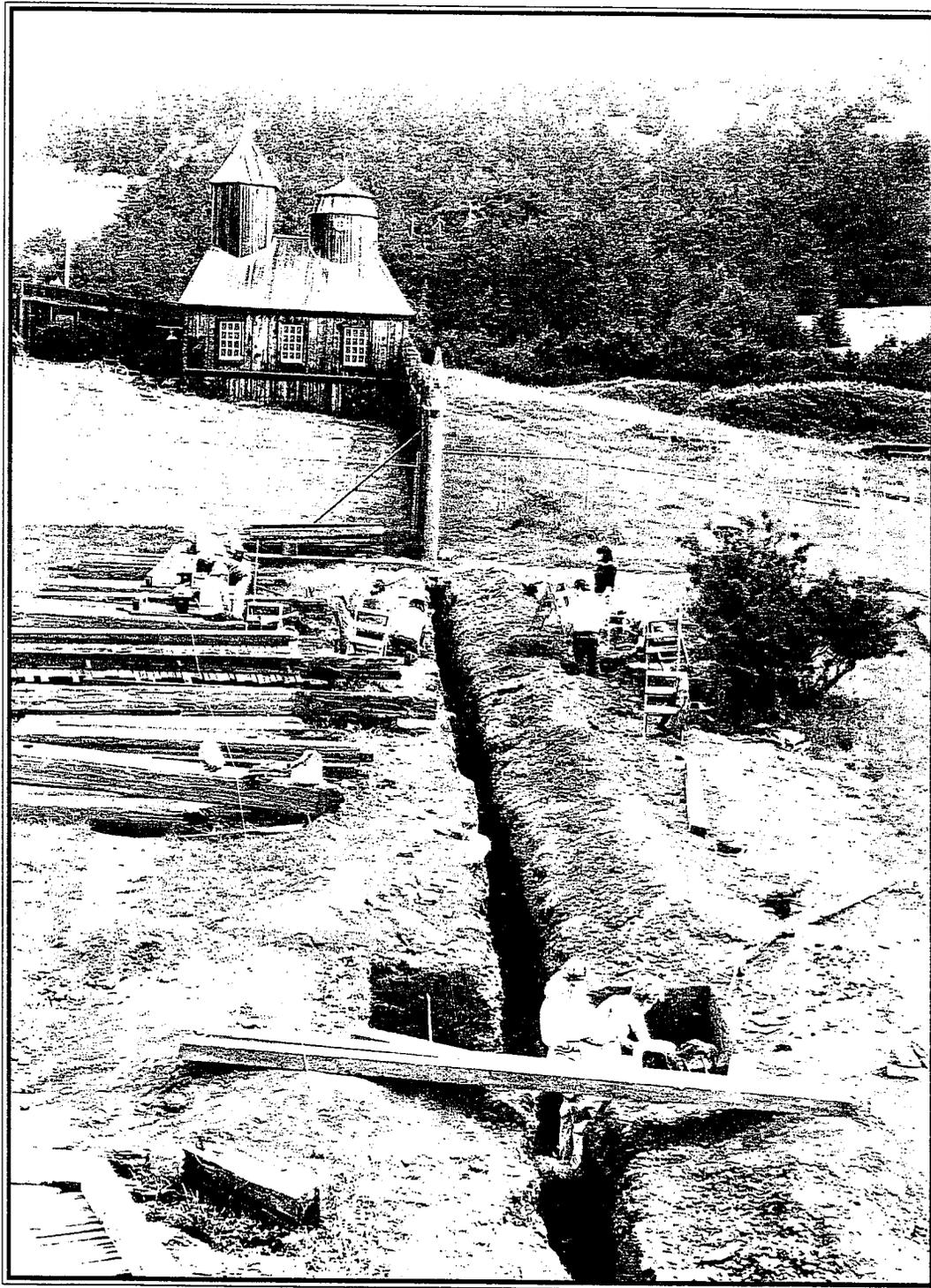
The former Russian settlement is preserved within Fort Ross State Historic Park, a unit of the California state park system. The park receives more than 200,000 visitors a year, and one of its primary missions is to preserve and interpret aspects of life at Ross settlement.<sup>3</sup> Major archaeological and histori-

cal projects now underway promise to reveal important details about day-to-day life at Ross, resulting in a re-evaluation of the current and past interpretive programs for historical accuracy. It is probable that the defensive aspects of Colony Ross have been over-emphasized in both the priority of reconstruction and interpretation, due in part to the use of the term "fort" instead of "settlement" in the park's name. This article will serve as a preliminary discussion of semantics and interpretation at Fort Ross State Historic Park, will attempt to distinguish the Russian "Selenie Ross" (Settlement Ross) from the "Presidio de Ross" and "Fort Ross" of the Spanish, Mexican, and American imaginations, and will illustrate the semantical pitfalls of interpreting daily life at the Russian settlement.

### RUSSIAN FORTIFICATIONS AND ROSS AS A FORTIFIED SETTLEMENT

During the Russian expansion across Siberia, special fortifications (known as *ostrogs*) were established in order to control rivers and portages.<sup>4</sup> Special books detailed the construction of these fortifications, and they were apparently distributed by the Russian-American Company to the founders of their North American outposts. For example, in a letter dated August 9, 1794, Grigorii Shelikhov directed Alexander Baranov to establish the fortified settlement of New Archangel (Sitka), noting that "You should refer to information in the books on fortifications. A good number of these have been sent to you."<sup>5</sup>

Baranov established New Archangel in 1799 in order to counter American and English trade with the Tlingit people (known by the Russians as the Kolosh), who captured the settlement in 1802 and attacked it



A view of Fort Ross State Historic Park, Fort Ross, California, 1989, with the restored chapel in the background. As evidence that Fort Ross thrives as a vital historic site, this photograph captures Sonoma State University archaeologists at work along the eastern stockade wall, with construction underway for the new wall. With its multi-ethnic settlement dating to the early 1800s, Fort Ross has directed several programs for archaeological work. Since the 1970s, four California universities have participated in research at the site. *Photograph by E. Breck Parkman.*

again in 1809 and 1813. When Captain Basil Golovnin visited New Archangel in 1817, he noted that:

The fort stands on a high rocky hill beside the harbor. . . . and being enclosed by a thick palisade with wooden towers serving as bastions and being provided with dozens of guns of various kinds and calibers and a sufficient number of small arms and ammunition, it is really awesome and impregnable to the local savages, but it is no fortress to a European power, even to the power of one frigate.<sup>6</sup>

Tikhmenev, in his history of the Russian-American Company, also noted the vulnerability of the New Archangel fortifications to the vessels of European powers.<sup>7</sup> He described the fortifications as follows:

The main fort built on a high promontory where the chief manager's house is built, is armed with seventeen cannon from twelve to twenty-four pounds caliber. The port is separated from the Kolosh village by a high palisade extending from the seashore to the north of Swan Lake and for about thirty sazhen on its opposite shore. Where the palisade begins on the seashore, the port is protected by a blockship with three guns; and by the so-called Kolosh battery of six guns. There are four towers three stories high at the corners of the palisade; in the second story are placed from three to six cannon depending upon the size of the towers. A battery of twelve cannon from six pounds up to one pud caliber is in the harbor, the cannons directed toward the Kolosh village. The garrison is made up of all the male adults in the settlement, numbering 550. This includes about 180 soldiers from the Siberian infantry regiments and about 90 sailors from the navy and merchant marine. Every man knows his duties in case of alarm and has firearms.<sup>8</sup>

The fortification of New Archangel was a necessary precaution against the Tlingit. The defensive nature noted above suggests a very cautious approach to settlement planning. The Tlingits' 1802 attack on New Archangel reinforced the need for caution. However, there was some controversy about the effectiveness of fortified outposts. Lieutenant Zagoskin, in his 1841 visit to Fort Kolmakov, noted that:

The concept of a fort required the building of a wall or enclosure, the sending of Russian carpenters, the transport of provisions especially for them, and a useless increase in the number of men to maintain a useless watch. . . . I agree with all the managers of our posts in this country that a walled enclosure which is not manned by sentries (and sentries are out of the question given the limited numbers of our men) is far more dangerous than buildings set right

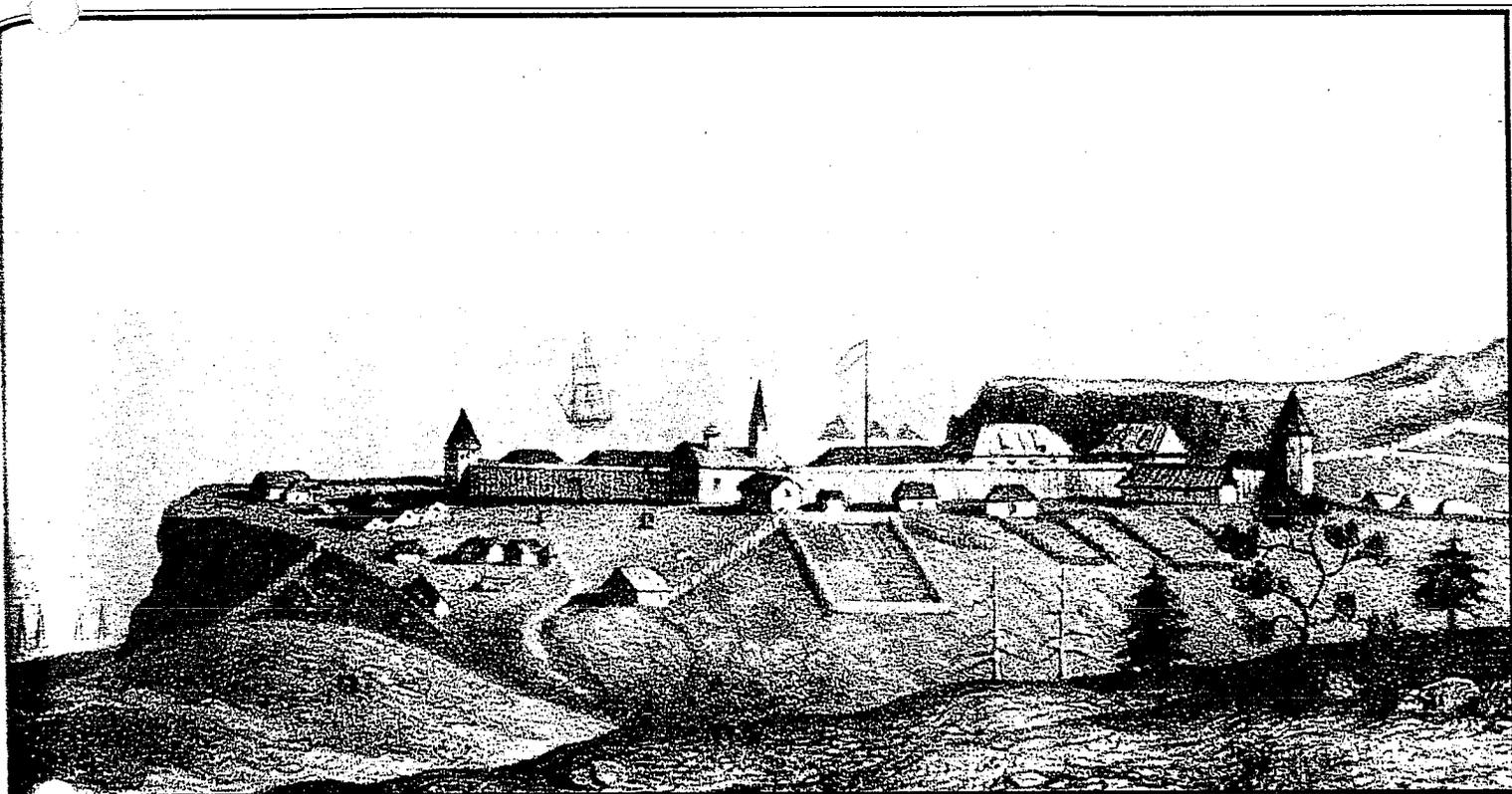
out in the open. It is easier to set fire to a wall, and such piles of snow are heaped against the outside of it in winter that they offer an easy access to the fort.<sup>9</sup>

When Kuskov began construction of Ross in 1812, he probably had in his company builders familiar with the Siberian ostrog-style architecture utilized at New Archangel, since a walled-enclosure was constructed in which a number of the settlement's primary structures were located.<sup>10</sup> Although Kuskov had arranged to lease the land from the local Pomo, common sense would have dictated that he fortify the settlement. This may have been a result of recent native attacks on Alaskan outposts.<sup>11</sup> The fortifications of Ross settlement were described by numerous visitors.<sup>12</sup> The fortifications consisted of a wooden enclosure, the walls of which were about twenty feet high. Two blockhouses with cannon were situated in the northeastern and southwestern corners of the enclosure. Each of the four walls of the enclosure had a door defended by a mortar. When the Russian ship *Apollo* visited Ross in 1822, Achille Schabelski described the fortifications and noted, "All that I observed was in excellent order."<sup>13</sup>

However, it appears that a decade later, the fortifications were being neglected. An 1833 confidential report to Mariano Vallejo, a military official of the Mexican government in northern California, reported that "the fort is in a constant state of deterioration" and "the walls and buildings are constructed of weak timbers. . . . The walls could not withstand a cannon ball of any calibre."<sup>14</sup> In the same year, Wrangel noted that "almost all the buildings, and the palisade itself with the watchtowers are so old and dilapidated that they need repairs, or they will have to be replaced by new structures."<sup>15</sup> A decade earlier, in November 1824, a strong wind had collapsed three of the fortified walls.<sup>16</sup> It is probable that the fortifications of Ross were better cared for in the early years of the settlement, when the threat of attack seemed a greater possibility.

Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, the French sea captain who visited Russian California in 1828, was impressed with Ross settlement's civil defense. He noted that:

Much order and discipline appear to exist at Ross; and though the director is the only chief who is an officer, everywhere is noticed the effects of a minute care. The colonists, at once workmen and soldiers, after being busied all day with the labors of their various occupations, mount guard during the night. Holidays they pass in reviews and in gun and rifle practice.<sup>17</sup>

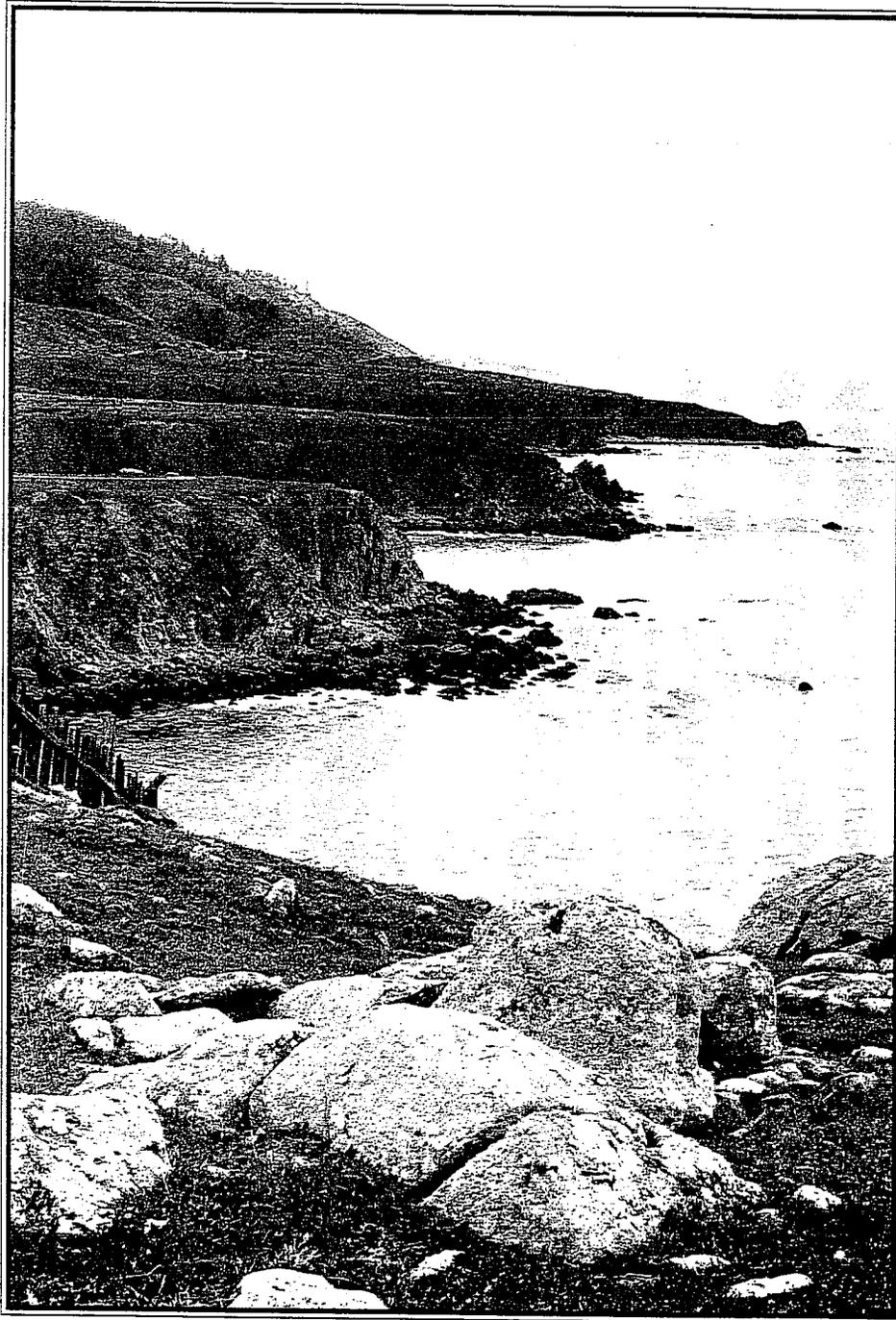


A very early and important rendering of the Ross settlement was made by the Frenchman Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, who sailed *Le Héros* on an extensive voyage in the 1820s, illustrating his written account of the expedition with precise drawings such as this one. In addition to the main, walled compound, this *View of the Russian Establishment*, ca. 1827, shows garden plots and numerous small outbuildings that lay beyond the fort's perimeter but were not rebuilt after the site became a state park in 1906. *Courtesy California Department of Parks and Recreation.*

Visiting Ross in 1822, Father Mariano Payeras noted that two sentinels chimed bells each hour.<sup>18</sup> The 1833 report to Vallejo observed that a sentry was stationed at the gate, and checked all who entered or left the compound.<sup>19</sup> The report also noted, however, that "the settlement has no military force, for those residing there are all businessmen or merchants," and that "each commissioned individual keeps a musket in his house," while "sixty extra muskets and eleven rifles are kept in a gunrack in the antechamber of the commander's house."<sup>20</sup> As historian H. H. Bancroft noted, "the presence of these guns [cannon], with the natural strength of the site and the strict system of sentinels and drill never relaxed, gave to Ross the appearance of a military fortress rather than a fur-hunting and trading post."<sup>21</sup>

But can we consider Ross to have been primarily a military fortress? Tlingit hostilities against Alaskan

outposts had occurred just prior to Kuskov beginning construction of the Ross settlement in 1812. Although he had negotiated a lease agreement with the local Kashaya Pomo and Bodega Miwok, Kuskov would have known that their territories extended only a short distance inland, and that the nearby interior was inhabited by potentially hostile tribes, as witnessed by Spanish intrusions into the northern San Francisco Bay area. It appears that Kuskov fortified Ross settlement as a precaution against Indian attack, rather than in fear of other Euro-American powers. Since his builders came from New Archangel, they would have been familiar with the Siberian ostrog architecture utilized there, and it would have been a natural decision to fortify Ross. Thus, the fortifications would have been a secondary, albeit potentially necessary, aspect of the Ross settlement.



Fort Ross Cove, looking south, 1988. Attracted to the waters of northern California by the abundance of sea otters, the Russians used Bodega as their port. Because the surrounding terrain was treeless, however, they located their coastal settlement eighteen miles northwest, in a heavy forest and near the mouth of a river. By 1814 they had erected a barracks, kitchen, bathhouse, warehouse, stable, tannery, mill, storehouse, barns, and other buildings. *Photograph by E. Breck Parkman.*

## NATIVE AMERICAN REACTION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROSS

Native American reaction to the establishment of Ross appears to have been favorable in the initial years of occupation. In 1811, Kuskov arranged for the construction of the settlement adjacent to the Kashaya village of Mettini.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, the Russians purchased rights to the Ross vicinity from a local chief, Pana-cuc-cux, for three blankets, three pairs of trousers, two axes, three hoes, and some beads,<sup>23</sup> although Kyrill Khlebnikov noted that the Pomo village at Ross was called Mad-shui-nui, and that the chief who ceded it to the Russians was named Chu-chu-san.<sup>24</sup> The Pomo apparently assisted the Russians by furnishing materials and helping to erect the buildings.<sup>25</sup> A somewhat contradictory observation was made by Kuskov, who noted that "in the beginning they [the Kashaya] came to us very often, and seemingly remained very content with the intercourse, but from the time the fort was built, they appeared very seldom, especially the men."<sup>26</sup> In 1817, Lieutenant Captain Leontii Hagemeister visited Ross in order to extend and formalize the agreement with the Pomo.<sup>27</sup> A number of prominent Pomo and Coast Miwok headmen, including the chiefs Chu-chu-san and Vale-lie-lie, met with Hagemeister and agreed to the Russian's request for a formal agreement.<sup>28</sup> The arrangement that resulted from this effort represents one of the few official treaties ever made by a Euro-American power with a California Indian tribe.<sup>29</sup> In 1825, Governor Muravyov visited Ross and met with Mannel, a local Pomo chief, in order to reconfirm the Russian treaty.<sup>30</sup>

The Russians also arranged an agreement with the Bodega Miwok in order to develop Port Rumyantsev on Bodega Bay. Rights to Bodega Bay were purchased from the Bodega chief, Iollo, for an Italian-style cape, a coat, trousers, shirts, arms, three hatchets, five hoes, three files, sugar, and beads.<sup>31</sup>

Apparently, the local Native Americans preferred Russian settlement of their traditional territories as protection against Spanish incursions and attacks by interior tribes loyal to the Spanish.<sup>32</sup> It is unlikely, however, that they ever intended to cede complete ownership of the land to the Russians. Among the Pomo, certain resource areas were communally owned and "open to all comers regardless of tribal connections."<sup>33</sup> Thus, it is more likely that the Kashaya intended to give the Russians access to the area, but not the land itself. The legality of the agreement was questioned by Friedrich Luetke when he visited Ross in 1818:

Mr. Kuskov has concluded a pact with the chief of the Indians who live nearby. The latter has thereby ceded all the land they occupy to the Russian emperor's possession, and he subjects himself and his subjects to the imperial government. Mr. Hagemeister asked our captain to take this document back with him and, upon arrival in Russia, deliver it to its proper destination. But a pact with an illiterate man who doesn't know the language and lacks the slightest conception of what the agreement is all about can only serve for fault-finding, and not as a fundamental right and it will probably be of service to no one.<sup>34</sup>

Upon the establishment of Ross, intermarriages among Russian and native Alaskan men with Kashaya and Bodega women became commonplace. On visiting Ross in 1818, Vasili Golovnin noted that "these Indians willingly give their daughters in marriage to the Russians and Aleuts, and there are many Indian wives in Fort Ross. This establishes not only friendly but family ties."<sup>35</sup> Historian Robert Jackson has described the marriage of one Andres Aulancoca, a Kodiak Aleut, with Talia Unuttaca, a Coast Miwok woman.<sup>36</sup> By 1821, there were at least 48 local Indian women living with Russian, Creole (the term used by the Russians to denote individuals of Russian and native Alaskan parentage<sup>37</sup>), and native Alaskan men at Ross.<sup>38</sup> Whereas 26 of these women were Kashaya from the vicinity of Ross, the others appear to have been 10 Southern Pomo from the Russian River area, one Central Pomo from Point Arena, and 11 Coast Miwok from Bodega Bay.<sup>39</sup> While several of the local women were cohabiting with Russian and Creole men, most were involved with native Alaskans. Some of the women were mistreated by their Russian and Alaskan husbands, but the Russian authorities saw to it that the men were punished with severe floggings.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the women were seemingly viewed by the authorities as an integral part of the community. As such, they were subjected to the same administrative control that affected their husbands. For example, in the Kuskov censuses of 1820-1821, behind the names of several women who had departed the settlement after a husband's death or divorce, it is noted that each had been "released" or "allowed to go to her native place."<sup>41</sup> The local women who settled at Ross were visited by their families, who in turn helped supply the colonists with food and much-needed labor. Tikhmenev observed that "the friendly relations existing between the natives and the Russians, soon resulted in the establishment of family ties between the former and many of the Aleuts brought

over by the Russians, so that many of them did not limit themselves to ordinary visits of their new relations but were coming to aid them voluntarily in their work."<sup>42</sup>

Archaeological studies conducted within the vicinity of Ross suggest that a major shift took place in the location of Kashaya villages after the arrival of the Russians, with residential sites being relocated closer to the settlement so as to maximize exchange.<sup>43</sup> Schabelski noted in his 1826 visit to Ross that "the smallest services which they [the local Indians] rendered to the Russians were generously recompensed."<sup>44</sup> While visiting the colony in 1824, Von Kotzebue observed that "the inhabitants of Ross live in the greatest concord with the Indians, who repair, in considerable numbers, to the fortress, and work as day-labourers, for wages. At night, they usually remain outside the palisades."<sup>45</sup>

While Bancroft notes that an attack was made on Ross by a "Sotoyome" (i.e., Satiyomi) chief shortly after the founding of the settlement, there appears to be no other account of an attack made on the settlement, other than incidents of attacks on livestock and property damage in later years.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that in 1820 and 1821, there were a number of local Native Americans detained at Ross for crimes against the settlement. Three Pomo men were sentenced to work at Ross for having killed three of the settlement's best horses.<sup>47</sup> In addition, four Coast Miwok men from Bodega Bay were sentenced to labor at Ross for having murdered native Alaskans, and a fifth Bodega man was working at the Russians' station in the Farallon Islands for the same crime.<sup>48</sup> Three of the men (a Pomo and two of the Miwok) were sent to Sitka on the *Buldakov* in 1820. It is unclear whether they were ever returned to California. Two of the other prisoners were released, one due to old age, and the other after having proven his innocence.

Horses were attacked twice and killed in 1832 by the relatives of an Indian woman slain while in the employment of the Russian-American Company.<sup>49</sup> The woman and her husband were killed while standing guard in the field. A native Alaskan was suspected of having participated in the murders, and it was this fact that apparently resulted in the revenge attacks on the colony's horse herds. Peter Kostromitinov, manager of Ross Colony, jailed one of the alleged horse-killers and sought to capture the chief he held responsible for the attacks.

The incarceration of local Native Americans by the

Russians for the acts of murder and property damage in 1820, 1821, and 1832 strongly suggests an ongoing, if initially subdued, current of resistance to the Russian presence at Ross.<sup>50</sup> Whereas attacks on individual native Alaskans may have been the result of personal grievances, attacks on the colony's horse herds suggest increasing political actions against the Russian-American Company itself.

Although the Russians had the cooperation of the local Pomo and Coast Miwok chiefs, in reality, these leaders spoke for only the members of their own kin groups and did not represent all the native people of the Ross vicinity. The Kashaya did not adopt the idea of a single chief until after Russian contact, probably indicating "evidence of the effect of the Russian centralization of authority."<sup>51</sup> In Alaska, the Russians often appointed influential men as chiefs, and it is possible that this was the case at Ross and Bodega Bay as well.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, Tikhmenev noted, "during the course of the winter [1811-1812], he [Kuskov] became acquainted with some of the most prominent native inhabitants, and after distributing among them medals and presents, he persuaded them to voluntary cession of the land necessary for the settlement."<sup>53</sup> These "prominent" individuals, while almost certainly the headmen of local kin groups, would not have had the moral or political authority to cede the surrounding land to the Russians. Instead, they could have offered to share the land with the Russians by way of a lease. It should be noted, however, that the archaeological evidence suggests that "the decision-making process concerning participation in Ross mercantile activities took place at the level of individual families and small groups of native Californians."<sup>54</sup> Thus, even though they signed a treaty with the Russians, the chiefs could not guarantee total peace in their homeland.

It is probable that the acts of resistance were launched by Native California traditionalists as a response to fears of cultural domination by the European powers and the cultural and psychological deprivation that accompanied such domination. Furthermore, the attackers almost certainly included runaways from Mission San Rafael striking back against the Europeans who had deprived them of their lands and freedom.<sup>55</sup> According to an 1832 report, Colony Ross was the potential target of a large-scale uprising inspired by the runaways:

The Manager of the Office reports also that at the end of April of the current year, Spanish soldiers arrived to the Ross with a report that half of the Indi-

Living History Day at Fort Ross, 1991, with the cannon crew relaxing during other events. The reenactment of military activities at the fort, including the militia's drill exercises before visiting Mexican officials, is a popular aspect of public programs at the park. It suggests the Russians' determination to resist Mexican authority, which would have preferred barring the colonists from settlement. Photograph by E. Breck Parkman.



ans in the Mission of San Rafael had incited the working Indians, during the day when the soldiers were absent; they attacked the Mission, robbed it and departed to the mountains. The Missionary Padre Juan Amoroz escaped to Port of San Francisco to request the help. In the mean time, the soldiers together with other half of Indians pursued the rebels and opened the rifle fire while rebels were shooting the arrows and threw stones, and both sides suffered in dead and wounded.

Although steps were taken subsequently to pursue the rebels, the efforts of the soldiers and Mission's Indians were in vain—because the rebels combined with other Indians in one location collected over 1000 Indians. All the threats of poorly armed soldiers met with ridicule.

Pretty soon the news of this event spread through all areas and made an impression on our Indians. They say that if Spaniards could make them no harm, the Russians are even less capable, presuming that the meek treatment of them is cowardice.

Many of the escaped converted Spanish-Indians started to visit Indians living close to the settlement Ross telling them that they want to assemble a large number and once more rob both Missions on this side and to kill all living there and then to try their luck and to do the same to Russians.<sup>56</sup>

Much of the Native American hostility and resistance to the Russians arose out of the methods by which the indigenous people were made to work at Ross. The agrarian practices utilized there were labor intensive, and neither the Russians, Creoles, native Alaskans, nor local Native Americans were enthusiastic about working the land.<sup>57</sup> As agricultural activity expanded in the 1820s, the colonists began to require increasingly more local native labor. With the founding of the Chernykh, Khlebnikov, and Kostromitinov ranchos (i.e., farms) in the early 1830s, much more labor was required. By 1838, there were more than 250 Pomo laborers stationed at the Kostromitinov Rancho alone.<sup>58</sup> Whereas local Indian workers had come voluntarily to Ross in the initial years of the settlement, they had to be physically coerced into working the agricultural fields and bringing in the harvest in subsequent years. José Figueroa visited the Kostromitinov Rancho on August 23, 1834. "At the time they were harvesting," he observed in his diary, "and they were using, for labor, besides the settlers, some Indians from the villages whom they brought usually by force."<sup>59</sup> If the harvest failed, the Indian workers were held responsible, and forced to stay at Ross in order to work off the debt of the

lost crops.<sup>60</sup> Naturally, it became increasingly difficult to arrange for Indian labor.

By the early 1830s, the relations between the colonists and the Indians appear to have broken down. Whereas the local natives had at first turned to the Russians for protection from the Spanish who took them captive and "make them work like cattle in the fields," the Russians now did the same.<sup>61</sup> In 1834, Wrangel reported that at times as many as 150 Indian workers were rounded up and forced to work in the fields for one and one-half months without rest.<sup>62</sup> He described one particularly desperate venture in which an attack was made on the interior plains 43 miles inland from the settlement, and 75 men, women, and children were brought to Ross with their hands tied, driven like cattle to work the fields.<sup>63</sup> The Indians fought back, mounting guerrilla attacks against Russian-American Company property. In 1833, Vallejo was informed that the Russians were sometimes "very harsh" with the local Indians in order to harvest their crops.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the report to Vallejo noted that:

The commander and his subordinates are very disgusted with the Indians who have left their posts on the nearby rancherias. The Russians have killed a few who were seen some distance away from Ross and had stolen a considerable amount of wheat. In extreme exasperation the commander said to me that if my orders included hostilities against the natives, that he personally with 30 of his men would assist me in tracking down and attacking them.<sup>65</sup>

The commander's offer was turned down, and apparently no attack was made on the guerrilla forces. However, Indian attacks did continue at Ross and elsewhere in the northern San Francisco Bay area. Indeed, many of the Pomo, especially the Satiyomis of the interior, waged a series of wars against Mariano Vallejo's forces from 1834 to 1843.<sup>66</sup> It is probable that many of the attacks against the Russian colony were undertaken by the Satiyomis and their allies.<sup>67</sup> In addition to destroying standing wheat in the Russian fields, the Indians stole livestock, killing as many as 100 head of cattle in 1838 alone.<sup>68</sup> To make matters worse, the colony's agricultural pursuits were relatively unproductive, requiring the purchase of much of the food exported to Alaska.<sup>69</sup> Wheat and other foodstuffs were purchased from the Sonoma Mission and from at least one local Indian chief, Camillo Ynitia of Olompali, a Coast Miwok village located on the road from Mission San Rafael to Ross settlement.<sup>70</sup> Thus, given the strain on the

colony's agricultural operations, the loss of Russian produce through theft and vandalism would have exasperated an already serious situation.

It is clear that by the time the Russians abandoned Colony Ross in 1841, their good relations with many of the surrounding Indian tribes had deteriorated significantly. This was in part due to their harsh measures for obtaining Indian laborers, but it may also have been a result of increasing pressure on the local native people by the encroachment of Mariano Vallejo and other Californios. Nevertheless, relations between Russians and those Kashaya Pomo and Bodega Miwok who had intermarried with colonists remained positive. When the colonists departed Ross in 1841, a number of their Indian wives and children accompanied them to Alaska. The Indians who remained at Ross were probably as grief-stricken by the Russian departure as were the native Alaskans upon the Russian abandonment of Alaska in 1867.<sup>71</sup> Even today, the Kashaya language is characterized by Russian and native Alaskan words learned during Russian times,<sup>72</sup> and the Ross colonists are remembered in a positive manner by many of the Kashaya people.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, these people remain genuinely interested in their Russian and Alaskan connections.<sup>74</sup>

In the years immediately following the Russian abandonment of Ross, the local Kashaya were left with relatively little defense from attack. In 1841, following the Russian departure but before John Sutter took possession of the settlement's movable property, the local Pomo were attacked by a band of American settlers in Mexican-controlled territory. A local folktale describes how the Pomo survived the attack by securing themselves within the walls of the former Russian compound, then slipping away into the hills after darkness set in.<sup>75</sup> In 1845, the so-called "Castro and Garcia Raid" captured more than 200 of the Kashaya to be used as laborers on Californio ranches.<sup>76</sup> By the 1870s, the Kashaya had been forced out of the Ross area by American ranchers.

#### SPANISH AND MEXICAN REACTION TO COLONY ROSS

Like that of the Native Americans, Spanish reaction to Colony Ross was mixed. In October 1812, shortly after the founding of the settlement, an officer and seven soldiers from the Presidio of San Francisco appeared at Ross and investigated the premises.<sup>77</sup> The Russians explained the purpose of their settlement and requested a trade arrangement with the Spanish. The officer returned to Ross the

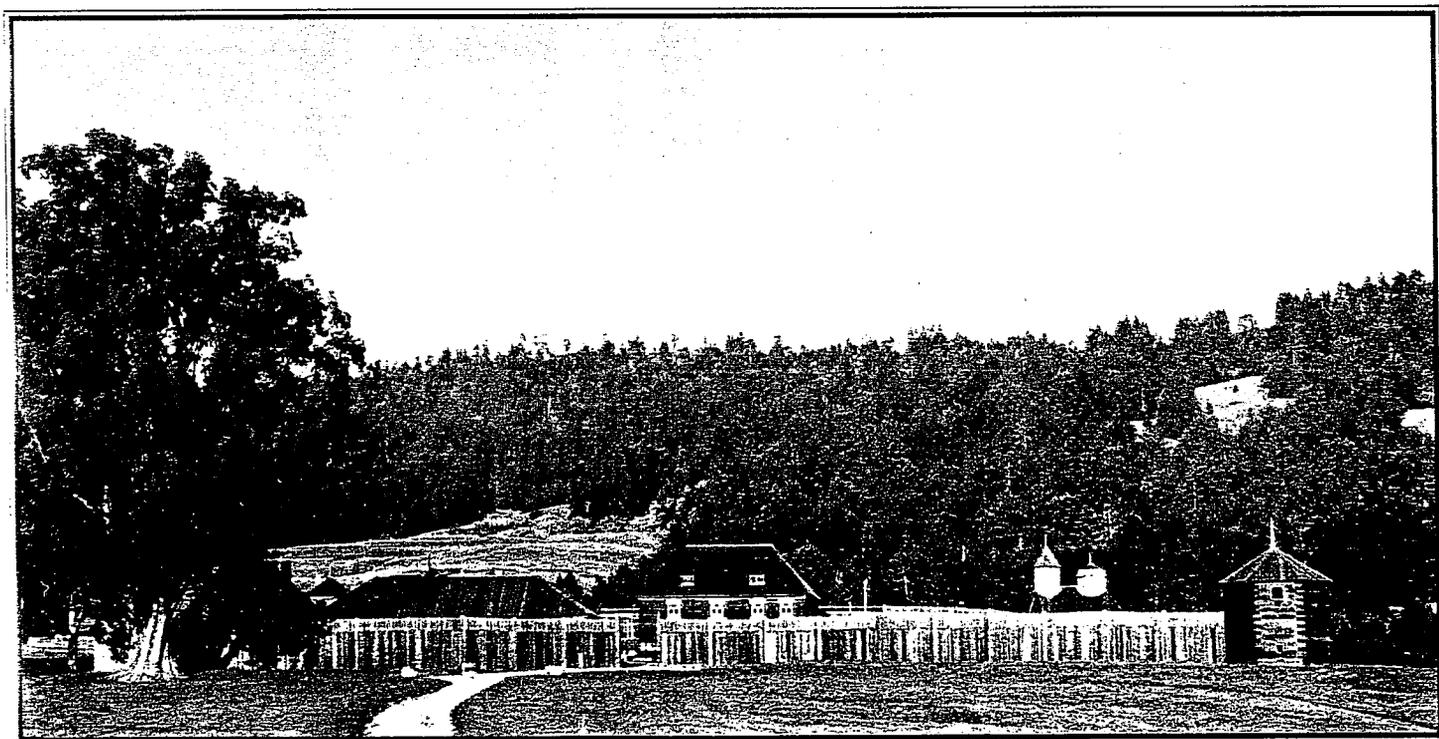
following year and announced that Governor Don José Joaquín de Arillaga would permit trade to be conducted, but under certain restrictions. With the death of Arillaga, however, Spanish resistance to Colony Ross became more vocal, with strong appeals that the Russians withdraw from their settlement. When the Russians politely refused to comply, the Spanish founded Mission San Rafael Arcangel in the north bay in 1817 in an effort to halt Russian expansion.

Following their independence from Spain, the Mexican authorities immediately called for the abandonment of Colony Ross. In 1822, they issued an urgent demand that Ross settlement be destroyed within six months.<sup>78</sup> Once again, the Russians politely refused to comply with such a demand. As was the case with the Spanish, the Mexican authorities continued to press the issue on diplomatic levels, and did not, or could not, resort to military action. In a further attempt to contain the Russians, Mission San Francisco Solano was founded in 1823 on the site of what would become the town of Sonoma. In 1832, the Mexican authorities resorted

to a new tactic aimed at halting Russian expansion south of Ross. California Governor Figueroa was directed to implement the colonization laws of 1824 and 1828, making it easier for foreigners to acquire land, and to facilitate the creation of new communities north of San Francisco to block Russian expansion southward.<sup>79</sup> These measures, and internal conditions at Ross, eventually resulted in the dismantling of the colony. Unable to raise enough food to feed their Alaskan colonies, and unable to expand to more favorable lands, the Russians were forced to abandon Ross, selling its movable property to Captain John Sutter in 1841.

#### FORT ROSS OR ROSS SETTLEMENT?

When Ivan Kuskov founded Ross settlement in 1812, he probably did so with the memory of the Tlingit's 1802 destruction of New Archangel on his mind.<sup>80</sup> Although he had arranged an agreement with the local Kashaya Pomo, Kuskov undoubtedly felt apprehensive about relations with the surrounding Indian tribes. Thus, Kuskov founded a fortified settlement typical of the traditional Russian



Fort Ross, 1997. Photo by Daniel F. Murley.

American Company outposts. However, it is important to remember that many structures and most of the colonists were located outside the palisaded compound. Indeed, there were about fifty buildings outside the stockade in 1841.<sup>81</sup> Three separate residential areas were situated outside the stockade, one each for the working-class Russians (and Creoles), native Alaskans, and local Native Americans.<sup>82</sup> The fortified enclosure was constructed to protect company assets, and to provide a defensive position should the settlement be attacked. As the years progressed, the actual Ross settlement grew well beyond the fortified compound and in many ways, obscured it.

The Russians occasionally referred to their establishment at Ross as a *krepost* ("fort").<sup>83</sup> However, it was most often called "Selenie Ross" (Settlement Ross) or "Koloniiia Ross" (Colony Ross).<sup>84</sup> For example, Iliia Gavrilovich Voznesenskii titled his famous 1841 painting of the settlement, "Ross Settlement."<sup>85</sup> Yegor Chernykh, the agronomist, also referred to Ross as "Ross Settlement."<sup>86</sup>

If the Russians underplayed the fortifications at Ross, the Spanish did not. In all likelihood, Settlement Ross first became "Fort Ross" when the Spanish military delegation from the Presidio of San Francisco visited and inspected it in October of 1812. The fortifications at Ross would have appeared impressive to the Spanish soldiers. The Spanish presidios, including those at Monterey and San Francisco, were notoriously antiquated and under-manned and could not have withstood an attack by artillery.<sup>87</sup> When Schabelski visited the Monterey and San Francisco presidios in 1822, he noted that "the forts, built both at San Francisco and Monterey, fallen into disrepair, are supplied with cannons on decrepit, old gun carriages which break at the first discharge of the cannon. I noticed in San Francisco such a one which dated from the year 1740. In visiting Monterey, I found only one soldier, asleep."<sup>88</sup> On one occasion, the San Francisco Presidio had to borrow powder from a visiting Russian ship in order to fire a proper cannon salute from their only functioning gun.<sup>89</sup> Upon seeing the well-fortified enclosure at Ross, and the organized and well-disciplined civil defense, it is not surprising that the Spanish dubbed the settlement "Presidio de Ross."<sup>90</sup> In 1818, when Spain's foreign minister, Cea Bermudez, demanded that the Russians dismantle the Ross settlement, he referred to the establishment as a "fortress."<sup>91</sup> The Russians replied that what he had considered a fortress was

actually "an area surrounded by a fence" and that "the guns there were mainly ornamental and provided an inadequate defence against an enemy."<sup>92</sup>

When, following independence from Spain, Mexican authorities in California continued the effort to force the removal of Colony Ross, they, too, perceived the settlement as a fort. Father Mariano Payeras, visiting Ross in 1822, identified it as the "Russian fort."<sup>93</sup> Similar reference was made in an 1833 report to Mariano Vallejo.<sup>94</sup> Exasperated by the situation with the Mexican authorities, or perhaps disturbed by the deteriorating condition of the fortifications, Ferdinand von Wrangel termed Ross "this so-called fortress" during his 1833 visit.<sup>95</sup> When the first Americans began arriving in the area, they took a lead from the Californios, and continued to speak of the Russian outpost as "Fort Ross."<sup>96</sup> The name stuck, and remains with us today.

#### INTERPRETATION AND SEMANTICS AT FORT ROSS STATE HISTORIC PARK

Ross settlement has traditionally been interpreted as little more than a fort at Fort Ross State Historic Park. This is partly a result of the name given to the park, and a result of a somewhat incorrect or incomplete perspective of Russian California by Americans. It might also be conjectured that, in some unconscious way, the situation was aggravated by the long Cold War between the United States and the former Soviet Union. However, the situation has likely arisen primarily as a result of reconstruction scheduling. To date, all reconstructions at the park have occurred within the fortified enclosure. Since becoming a park in 1906, the palisades have been rebuilt, and inside them have been reconstructed the northwest and southeast blockhouses, the chapel, the Kuskov house, the Rotchev house, and the officials quarters. Three structures remain to be rebuilt inside the compound: the warehouse, storehouse, and barracks. Although many of the Russian-era structures were situated outside the walls of the compound, there are currently no plans to reconstruct any of them. Instead, as public funds are made available, plans are to continue reconstructing the compound structures. At the same time, the park has been slowly acquiring cannon with which to fortify the enclosure. This has resulted in a less-than-desirable perspective on the actual, historic Ross settlement. One potential problem is that visitors to the park are given the wrong impression of the former Russian settlement, and thus a false sense of history.



Park officials and staff members at Fort Ross associate in various ways with the international community. Members of Russia's anthropological and scientific communities, as well as government officials, have visited the site and participated in numerous events, often as a part of Living History Day. On July 18, 1994, Russian Senator Vladimir Schmeiko, left, and an aide received a historic Russian flag and fired the cannon. Photograph by Diane Askew, courtesy of the author.

Without the benefit of the numerous residential, industrial, and agricultural structures that would have crowded the landscape outside the palisades, the reconstructed compound resembles more that of a Fort Apache or Fort Defiance of Hollywood movie fame, than the settlement that was actually there. This has led the Reverend Vladimir Derugin, of the Russian Orthodox Church, to remark:

... it has now become clear to all who care to see, that Fort Ross was never a "fort." Yet on the spot interpretation and presentation continues to promote this fairy tale so close to our John Wayne, Rin Tin Tin, Rambo fascination. It would be justified to conjecture that cannons at Ross had indeed been fired, but only as salutes to incoming ships, to the raising of

the flag or maybe to honor the deceased. Such firing would be perfectly appropriate as long as their proper, peaceful historical nature was clearly depicted. It is almost as if Fort Ross would cease to be interesting and marketable to tourists if its true, peaceful past was presented and stressed, almost as if peace, human success and progress, and the common good are too boring. Yet that is exactly what Ft. Ross was all about: agricultural work, scientific research and expeditions, merchant shipbuilding, and most of all social cooperation governed by values such as freedom and non-violence.<sup>97</sup>

Rev. Derugin goes on to say that the park's cannon appear to be so overemphasized that it is as if they were the main attraction and symbol of Fort Ross.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, for a number of years now, it has been a tradition at Fort Ross State Historic Park to have visiting dignitaries fire the cannon as a salute. In recent years, various dignitaries, such as Dr. Igor Dubov, director of the former Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) Ethnographic Museum, Father Innocent Veniaminov, namesake and great-great-grandson of Bishop Veniaminov, and, most recently, Senator Vladimir Filippovich Schmeiko, Speaker of Russia's Upper House of Parliament, have fired the cannon at Ross.<sup>99</sup> Of course, there is nothing wrong with this. The firing of the cannon to salute visitors appears to have been a tradition of the Russian colonists at Ross. For example, a one-gun salute was fired in honor of the chiefs departing Ross after signing the 1817 treaty.<sup>100</sup> When Don Augustin Fernandez de San Vicente and Father Mariano Payeras visited Ross in 1822, they were welcomed with a four-gun salute.<sup>101</sup> However, it was not always possible to give the traditional salute. For example, when Mikhail Petrovich Lazarev visited Ross in 1822, his ship's seven-gun salute was not answered due to a shortage of powder and shot.<sup>102</sup>

Living History Day, a one-day interpretive event held each summer at Fort Ross, is tremendously popular with park visitors. Several thousand people attend this event every year. On this day, dozens of dedicated park staff and volunteers come dressed in period costume, and during the course of the day, recreate daily life at Ross settlement. Included in the activities are traditional crafts such as candle-making and weaving, blacksmithing, cooking, folk dancing, and singing, as well as musket and cannon drills. The drills are conducted as part of a dramatic reenactment of a Mexican military delegation visiting Ross in order to trade. The firing of the guns is popular with visitors and participants alike, perhaps

because of the sound and smoke produced by the firing. Living History Day would suffer without these drills.

The attention paid by the park to the cannon and military-style drills, however, can be confusing. When the staff of the Leningrad Ethnographic Museum visited the park in 1990,<sup>103</sup> prior to the breakup of the Soviet Union, Head Curator Elena Tsarva declined a request to fire a cannon, stating, "but we [Russians] are a peaceful people!" It was apparent that she misunderstood the intent of the cannon salute, and perhaps viewed it as an American exaggeration of Soviet military aggression. Indeed, it is possible that the park is creating more of a "fort" than history will support.<sup>104</sup> By recreating the fortified enclosure, and nothing more, a false sense of defensive urgency is created.<sup>105</sup> This in turn has affected the way in which the Ross settlement is interpreted, as the following example will illustrate.

When Wrangel described Ross settlement in 1833, he referred to the fortified enclosure as a "so-called fortress."<sup>106</sup> However, when this same description appears in the park's official booklet on Ross, the words "so-called" are dropped, thus altering the meaning of Wrangel's statement.<sup>107</sup> Wrangel was either reacting to the Californios' insistence that Ross settlement was a fortress, or noting the unsatisfactory condition of the settlement's fortifications. Either way, his statement seemingly implies his belief that the Ross fortifications were inadequate to be called a "fortress." Wrangel wrote that, "at two diagonally opposite corners in connection with the palisade have been erected two watchtowers with cannons defending all sides of this so-called fortress."<sup>108</sup> In the park booklet, however, this same description appears as, "at two diagonally opposite corners in connection with the palisades have been erected two watchtowers with cannons defending all sides of this. . . . fortress."<sup>109</sup> Thus, a clearer image of a fortress is deliberately created in the minds of the public.

Another example of the interpretive dilemma might be found in a 1987–1988 debate concerning the placement of cannon in the stockade walls at Fort Ross. At the time, the walls were being replaced due to their deterioration. During a wall restoration project in the 1950s, a rather enigmatic archaeological feature was discovered adjacent to the western wall. At the time of its discovery, it was hypothesized that the feature *might* represent a gun platform, although other interpretations were possible. In 1987, as the

western wall was being rebuilt, a number of state park scholars argued for the installation of gun platforms based on the enigmatic 1950s "discovery." This would have required the cutting of portholes in the walls, through which the cannon could be fired. Other state park scholars, including the historian who had made the original archaeological discovery, as well as Dr. Svetlana G. Fedorova, a Russian America expert from the former Soviet Union, argued against the proposal. They pointed out: (1) the archaeological evidence did not support such a proposal; (2) the historic record did not support the use of guns in the walls; and (3) that such emplacements would have been unnecessary since the blockhouses were constructed to allow for firing along the walls. "I am really surprised that at the time our leaders are conducting a successful dialog about disarmament," Dr. Fedorova noted, "in California there is an attempt being made to picture Ft. Ross as an impregnable fortress. Ft. Ross was never such a fortress."<sup>110</sup>

The guns were not placed in the walls, but the debate did reveal how a preoccupation with the defensive aspects of Ross settlement could affect the way in which the site is interpreted to the public. Quite probably, this preoccupation stems from the fact that only the fortified enclosure of a much larger and more complex settlement has been reconstructed and interpreted.<sup>111</sup>

#### NEW DIRECTIONS AT FORT ROSS STATE HISTORIC PARK

Two projects are currently underway that will modify the manner and direction of public interpretation at Fort Ross State Historic Park. The Fort Ross Archaeological Project, under the direction of Professor Kent Lightfoot of the University of California, Berkeley, is a multi-year research program begun in 1988, which is examining various aspects of the exchanges among Russians, native Alaskans, and Native Californians at Colony Ross.<sup>112</sup> The purpose of this project "is to examine the nature, extent, and direction of cultural change among native workers in a pluralistic, hierarchically structured mercantile colony."<sup>113</sup> A number of public agencies and institutions are participating in the project, including the University of California, Berkeley, Sonoma State University, Santa Rosa Junior College, the Sakalin (Russia) Regional Museum, the Kodiak (Alaska) Area Native Association, and the California Department of Parks and Recreation.

Russian Orthodox priest Fr. Innocent Veniaminov, right, was photographed with Fr. Metropolitan Theodosius, center, and a third priest during a visit to Ross in June 1989. Photograph by E. Breck Parkman.



As part of their project, Berkeley archaeologists conducted a complete survey of the park in 1988 and 1989. Thirty archaeological sites were recorded, dating from the lower archaic period (ca. 6000–3000 B.C.) to the historic period (A.D. 1812–present).<sup>114</sup> Currently, work is underway to investigate the native Alaskan residential area at Ross. During the 1992–1993 field seasons, two extensive activity areas (“bone beds”) were exposed, and partial evidence of a nearby structure was revealed.

A second project underway at Fort Ross State Historic Park entails the restoration of the historic cemetery, in which are buried those Orthodox Christians who died during the Russian occupation of Ross settlement.<sup>115</sup> The Fort Ross Cemetery Restoration Project is being conducted by the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, under the direction of Professor Lynne Goldstein and doctoral candidate Sannie Osborn. Goldstein and Osborn recently completed a three-year

project to relocate and identify the gravesites and features of the cemetery.<sup>116</sup> This project was conducted in cooperation with the Russian Orthodox Church in America, the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, the Kodiak Area Native Association, the Sonoma County Coroner’s Office, and the California Department of Parks and Recreation.<sup>117</sup>

Archival research has been an integral part of the project. To date, records have been found of at least 69 deaths at Ross.<sup>118</sup> The records attest to the dangers of life in the colony. In Professor Goldstein’s words,

In several instances, we know the names and occupations of the deceased individuals, while in other cases we do not even know their ethnic affiliation. The records suggest that disease was common, and that occasionally the colony was hit hard: in 1828, a dysentery epidemic killed one Creole male, three Creole females, 17 Aleut males, and 8 Aleut

females in a three-week period. Smallpox killed several individuals, and accidents or drownings killed others.<sup>119</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

During the course of the excavations, Goldstein relocated 143 gravesites, more than twice the number originally anticipated. Due to the acidic nature of the soil, the human remains were very fragmentary. However, through the work of Dr. Douglas Owsley and a crew of forensic anthropologists from the Smithsonian Institution, the on-site analysis of the remains has shed important light on the ethnicity of those interred there. The unexpected remains of numerous women and children were encountered throughout the cemetery, revealing the colonial nature of the settlement. Also unexpected were the many artifacts recovered from the gravesites. Professor Goldstein discovered thousands of glass trade beads in some of the graves, and none in others. The beads, which came primarily from present-day Czechoslovakia, Venice, and China, found their way to Ross through trade.<sup>120</sup> Also found were numerous buttons, medallions, and crosses. Among the most important discoveries were small fragments of cloth:

Most individuals were apparently wrapped in shrouds; metal in the grave, whether in the form of crosses or other items, often preserves a section of this fabric. Most of the fabric is linen, however, in several instances we have portions of jackets and coats, including linings. This will provide information on clothing types, colors and fabrics, and will also help in the identification of status differentiation.<sup>121</sup>

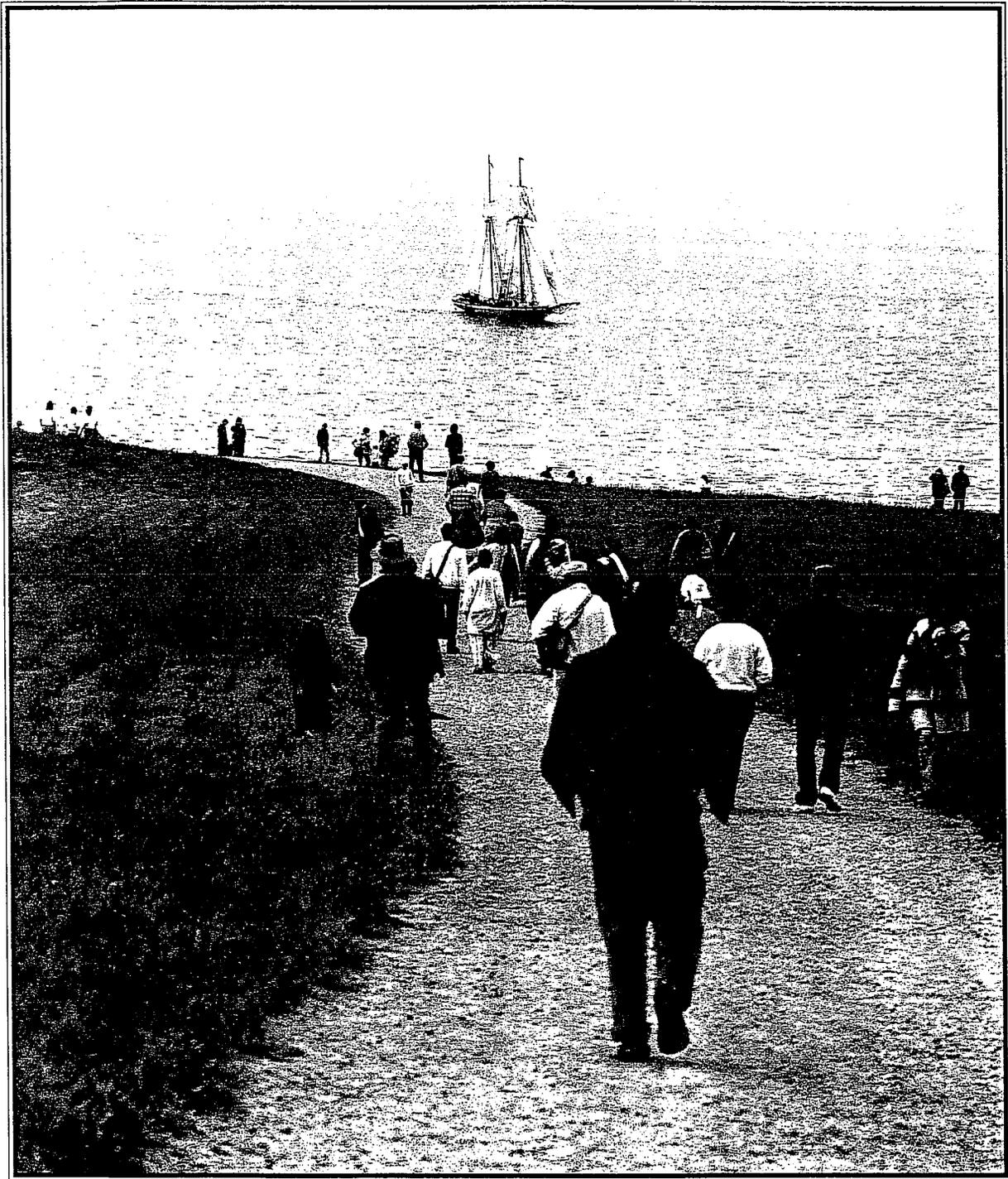
Following the archaeological examination of the gravesites, the human remains were reinterred with Last Rites by the Orthodox Church.<sup>122</sup> Recently, as part of the restoration of the cemetery, Rev. Alexander Krass-ovsky and church members marked each gravesite with a Russian Orthodox cross.<sup>123</sup>

As a result of the insights gained from such archaeological projects, a better understanding will be possible of the day-to-day life of the inhabitants of Colony Ross. Special attention is being paid to the role played by the native Alaskan and native Californian workers at Ross.<sup>124</sup> Attention is also being directed toward a better understanding of the Russian and Creole colonists, especially the women and children. Finally, the archaeological manifestations of the inter-ethnic exchange at Ross settlement are of utmost importance to the current research, the results of which are being shared with the public in an active interpretive program.<sup>125</sup>

It appears that Ross settlement was no more a "fort" than was New Archangel (Sitka). Certainly, Ross was a fortified settlement, especially at first, but the settlement expanded beyond the walled enclosure. However, whereas the Russians viewed Ross as a settlement, their Spanish and Mexican neighbors perceived it to be a fort. Beginning as early as 1812, Ross settlement became known to Hispanic rivals as the "Presidio de Ross." The first Americans to arrive in the area continued that tradition, calling the Russian outpost "Fort Ross." That name, along with its connotations, has remained with us to the present day, and may in some way account for the way in which the settlement has been perceived, reconstructed, and interpreted. Whereas it may not be possible, or even desirable, to alter the name of Fort Ross State Historic Park, it is possible, through on-site interpretation, to change the public's perception of Ross settlement to reflect more accurately its relatively peaceful and colonial nature. 115

*See notes beginning on page 387.*

*E. Breck Parkman is a state archaeologist with the California Department of Parks and Recreation, a research associate at the University of California, Berkeley, and president of the Society for California Archaeology. He earned his B.A. and M.A. degrees in anthropology from California State University, Hayward, and has published more than 50 scientific articles in the U.S., Canada, England, South Africa, and Australia. Parkman is the director of the "Global Village" project, a multi-year educational undertaking that enables elementary schools throughout California, Alaska, and Russia to participate in historic and archaeological research at Fort Ross.*



Here, park visitors, numbering more than three hundred thousand annually, head downhill to the shore to welcome the reconstructed schooner *California* during Living History Day, 1990. For the past several years, the ship has made the one-day voyage to Ft. Ross, bringing passengers from San Francisco to the Living History celebration. *Photograph by E. Breck Parkman.*

- press objected to criticisms of its right to express its opinions regarding the war in Europe. The same issue of the paper carried a report that U.S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler had accused the War Department of maneuvering the nation toward war. *L'Italo Americano* (January 17, 1942): 2.
50. "Attorney General Afferma che i Recenti Arresti di Stranieri Non Devono Timori agli Stranieri," *L'Italo Americano* (June 6, 1941): 1.
51. "Ieri, Oggi e Domani," *L'Italo Americano* (July 4, 1941): 2.
52. Randolph Boehm, ed., *Papers of the United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Fredericksburg, Va., 1984), 9:10378. Hereinafter referred to as CWRIC. Similar sweeps were occurring in Latin America and Canada. In early 1942, 2,364 citizens from Axis countries residing in Latin America were interned in Immigration and Naturalization Service camps in Texas. Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied* (Washington, D.C.: 1982), 308. On June 10, 1940, between 600 and 700 Italians, including four women, residing in Canada were arrested and interned as being threats to Canadian security. Luigi Pautasso, "La Donna Durante Il Periodo Fascista in Toronto, 1930-1940," *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America* (Toronto, Canada: The Multicultural History Society of Canada, 1978): 185. Arrests also occurred in Hawaii, where a number of Italian chefs were taken from Honolulu restaurants to the FBI's Bishop Street office. "G-Men Start Rounding Up Japanese Here," *Honolulu Advertiser* (December 7, 1941): 2.
53. Interview with Dr. Giovanni Falasca, Los Angeles, February, 1975. CWRIC 2:1286-88, Stephen Fox, *Unknown Internment: An Oral History of the Internment of Italian Americans during World War II* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990): 164-65; John Christgau, "Enemies" *World War II Alien Internment* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1985): 36. See also S. Myer Dillon, *Uprooted Americans* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971); Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of the Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); "Wartime Reminiscences of Umberto Benedetti on the Life of Italian Internees at Fort Missoula, Montana, 1941-43," Italian American Collection, San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library.
- "Dal 2 al 7 Febbraio Italiani, Tedeschi, Giapponesi Non Cittadini Dovranno Prevedersi la Tessera di Identificazione," *L'Italo Americano* (January 23, 1942): 1. Plans for the registration of aliens had been drawn up by the FBI in December 1940. Conference in General John DeWitt's office in January 4, 1942. CWRIC 2:1251; "Fingerprinting America's Aliens," *U.S. News and World Report* (June 7, 1940).
54. "New Rules for Enemy Aliens," *L'Italo Americano* (January 1, 1942): 1. See also "Aliens in Prohibited Areas," WPA Writers Project, UCLA Special Collections, 306, Boxes 5 and 6; "Aliens Flock to Register Unit," *Los Angeles Times* (February 4, 1942): 6.
55. "Restituzione di Alcuni Oggetti Consegnati dagli 'Enemy Aliens' all Polizia," *L'Italo Americano* (February 27, 1942): 2; J. Edgar Hoover, "Multiple Spot Searches of Premises Inhabited or Controlled by Alien Enemies—Internal Security Alien Control," (Washington D.C.: Federal Bureau of Investigation, February 25, 1942); J. Edgar Hoover, "Alien Enemy Control," *Iowa Law Review* 29 (1944): 398-99; "Residenze di 'Enemy Aliens' Perquisite dal FBI," *L'Italo Americano* (May 1, 1942): 4.
57. "12 More Listed in County and 69 in State," *Los Angeles Times* (February 1, 1942): 3; "Farm Colonies To Be Set Up for Evicted Enemy Nationals," *Los Angeles Times* (February 4, 1942): 6.
58. "Italiani e Tedeschi Non Saranno Evacuati," *L'Italo Americano* (June 5, 1942): 1.
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- Parkman, "Interpreting the Past at Fort Ross State Historic Park," pp. 354-369.**
1. This is a revised version of a paper originally entitled, "A Fort By Any Other Name: Interpretation and Semantics at Colony Ross," presented as part of the symposium, "Colonial Russian Settlements in North America and the Kuriles," at the Annual Meeting of the Alaska Anthropological Association, March 1992, Fairbanks, Alaska.
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12. For example, Charles Franklin Carter, translator, *A Visit to the Russians in 1828: An Episode from the Narrative of Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly* (Silverado: Bohemian Grove, 1946), 9; Nicholas Del Cioppo, editor and translator, "Diary of Fr. Mariano Payeras: Travels of the Canon Fernandez De San Vincente to Ross" (Bancroft Library Manuscript Collection Ms. C-C118, 1979), 2, and "Report to Mariano G. Vallejo: Confidential Information Concerning the Ross Settlement, 1833" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1979), 6; Basil Dmytryshyn and E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan, editors and translators, *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976), 106; Glenn Farris, translator, "Visit of the Ship *Apollo* to California in 1822-23" [Originally published in 1826 as *Voyage aux Colonies Russes de l'Amerique, fait a bord du sloop de guerre l'Apollon, pendant les annees 1821, 1822, et 1823*, by Achille Schabelski, L'imprimerie de N. Gretsck, St. Petersburg, Russia] (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, n.d.), 8.
13. Farris, "Visit of the Ship *Apollo*," 8.
14. Del Cioppo, "Report to Mariano G. Vallejo," 6.
15. Gibson, *Imperial Russia*, 114.
16. *Ibid.*, 137. It should be noted that in 1993, a strong wind collapsed 60 feet of the stockade's northeastern wall. Inspection of the fallen timbers revealed that most of their bases had been weakened by termite damage.
17. Carter, *A Visit to the Russians*, 11-12.
18. Del Cioppo, "Diary of Fr. Mariano Payeras," 2.
19. Del Cioppo, "Report to Mariano G. Vallejo," 6.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Writings of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. XIX, History of Cali-*

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  28. Young, "Notes and Sources of Study," citing Peter Aleksandrovich Tikhmenev, *Historical Review of the Origin of the Russian American Company and Its Activity Up to the Present Time*, Part 1 (St. Petersburg: Edward Weimar, 1861), 218-19, translated by Michael Dobrynin, 1940, typed copy (Ms. on file at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).
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  35. Ella L. Wiswell, translator, *Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819*, by V.M. Golovnin (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), 163.
  36. Robert H. Jackson, "Intermarriage at Fort Ross: Evidence from the San Rafael Mission Baptismal Register," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5 (1983): 240-41.
  37. Svetlana G. Fedorova, *The Russian Population in Alaska and California: Late 18th Century-1867* (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1973), 328; Richard A. Pierce, editor, *Documents on the History of the Russian-American Company* (Kingston, Canada: The Limestone Press, 1976), 202.
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  44. Farris, "Visit of the Ship *Apollo*," 9.
  45. Von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 123-24.
  46. Bancroft, *History of California*, 299n, citing Juan Bautista Alvarado, "Historia de California" (Ms. on file at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, n.d.).
  47. Istomin, *The Indians at the Ross Settlement*, 22-23.
  48. *Ibid.*, 14-15.
  49. Anonymous, "10 November 1832," *Fort Ross Interpretive Association Newsletter*, July-August, 1992, p. 2, translated by Oleg Terichow. [Source: Russian American Company Correspondence, Letters sent by the Governors-General, 1812-1867, Reel 34, Document 538].
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  64. Del Cioppo, "Report to Mariano G. Vallejo," 6.
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84. Harvey Schwartz, "Fort Ross, California," *Journal of the West* 18 (April 1979): 38; Stephen Watrous, editor, *Fort Ross: The Russian Settlement in California* (Jenner, California: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 1975), 6.
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89. Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 56.
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91. Glynn Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters, 1715-1825* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), 212-13.
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95. Gibson, *Imperial Russia*, 114.
96. Frederick C. Cordes, "Talk at Fort Ross" [A presentation made at the 150th anniversary of the founding of Fort Ross] (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1962), 2.
97. Rev. Vladimir Derugin, "Letter to Fort Ross Interpretive Association" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1991), 1.
98. *Ibid.*, 2.
99. See E. Breck Parkman, "Historic Visit to Fort Ross SHP," *News and Views*, November/December, 1989, p. 10 (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation), "Fort Ross SHP Visit by Soviet Anthropologists," *News and Views*, September/October, 1990, p. 15; anonymous, "Post-Cold War Perk," *The Sonoma Country Independent* (Santa Rosa), August 11-17, 1994; Roxanne Patel, "Russian Senator Visits Fort Ross," *The Press Democrat*, July 19, 1994, B2.
100. Spencer-Hancock and Pritchard, "Notes to the 1817 Treaty," 309.
101. Del Cioppo, "Diary of Fr. Mariano Payeras," 2; Raymond Kenneth Morrison, "Luis Antonio Argüello: First Mexican Governor of California," reprinted from *Journal of the West* 2 (Spring-Summer 1963).
102. Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters*, 225.
103. See Parkman, "Fort Ross SHP Visit."
104. I should note that in recent years the staff of Fort Ross State Historic Park and the members of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association have made great progress in creating a more balanced and accurate interpretive program.
105. As an example of the problem that results from this false scenario, let me offer the following account. Several years ago, while at Fort Ross State Historic Park, I watched as a family with two young boys approached the reconstructed compound. Pausing just outside the main sallyport, the boys picked up small sticks and immediately proceeded to engage in a mock gunfight. It appeared that the sight of the "fort" precipitated their response.
106. Gibson, *Imperial Russia*, 114.
107. O'Brien, *Fort Ross*, 15.
108. Gibson, *Imperial Russia*, 114.
109. O'Brien, *Fort Ross*, 15.
110. Svetlana G. Fedorova, letter dated April 27, 1988, *Fort Ross Interpretive Association Newsletter*, September-October 1988, p. 7.
111. See Fort Ross Interpretive Association, "A Walking Tour of Fort Ross State Historic Park" (brochure, Jenner, Calif., 1991); O'Brien, *Fort Ross*, 15-16; State of California, "Fort Ross State Historic Park (brochure Sacramento, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1978).
112. Glenn Farris, "A New Focus at Fort Ross: The Alaskan Native Peoples in California," *Society for California Archaeology Newsletter* 25 (March 1991): 4-5; Lightfoot, Wake, and Schiff, "The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross," and "Native Responses to the Russian Mercantile Colony of Fort Ross"; E. Breck Parkman, "The News Media and the Curious: Interpreting Archaeology at Colony Ross," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 7 (1994): 227-34.
113. Lightfoot, Wake, and Schiff, "Native Responses to the Russian Mercantile Colony of Fort Ross," 162.
114. *Ibid.*, 165-66.
115. E. Breck Parkman, "Restoration of the Russian Cemetery at Fort Ross," *Fort Ross Interpretive Association Newsletter*, July-August, 1990, p. 1-3.
116. Lynne Goldstein, and Sannie K. Osborn, "Proposal to Excavate the Russian Cemetery at Fort Ross State Historic Park, Sonoma County, California" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1990); Sannie K. Osborn and Lynne Goldstein, "The Historic Russian-American Cemetery at Fort Ross: A Preliminary Report" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1991); Lynne Goldstein, "Preliminary Report of the Fort Ross Cemetery Excavations, 1990-91" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1992). Prior to the initiation of the cemetery restoration project, the cemetery was unmarked, the grave markers having all disappeared shortly after the turn of the century.
117. Rev. Vladimir Derugin, "Letter of Support for the Russian Cemetery Restoration Project" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1988), "Ross Colony Settlement's Cemetery Restoration Project" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1991); Rev. Michael Oleska, "Letters of Support for the Russian Cemetery Restoration" (Ms. on file at California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, 1988).
118. Goldstein, "Preliminary Report of the Fort Ross Cemetery Excavations," 1.
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*, 5.
121. *Ibid.*, 4.
122. As there was no resident priest at Colony Ross, it is probable that some of the dead were originally buried without Last Rites. Also, note that when the expression, "the Church" is used herein, it is in reference to both the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad and the Russian Orthodox Church in America.
123. Chad Surmick, "Crosses for Ft. Ross Settlers," *The Press Democrat*, May 15, 1994, B1.
124. Antoinette Martinez, "Sociopolitical Influences on Gender Roles in the North Coast Ranges" (Ms. on file at Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1994), "Native California Women as Cultural Mediators," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 7 (1994): 41-46.
125. Parkman, "The News Media and the Curious."