

Native People in a Pacific World:

The Native Alaskan Encounter and Exchange with Native People of the Pacific Coast

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2,471 words

Junior Research Paper

The Unangan and Alutiiq peoples of Alaska worked in the fur trade in the early 1800s in Alaska, California and Hawaii. Their activities make us rethink the history of Native people and exploration, encounter and exchange. Most historical accounts focus on Native encounters with European people, but Native people also explored and met new Indigenous cultures. The early 1800s was a time of great global voyages and intermixing, from Captain Cook's Pacific voyages to the commercial fur trade in the eastern U.S to diverse workplaces in Atlantic world ports. The encounters and exchanges between and among Native people of the Pacific Coast are major part of this story. Relations between Native Alaskans, Native Californians and Hawaiians show how Native-to-Native encounters and exchanges were important in the creation of empire and the global economy.

During the exploration of the Pacific coast in the early 1800s, Unangan and Alutiiq people created their own multicultural encounters and exchanges in the Pacific with Russian colonists, but most importantly with the indigenous people of Hawaii and California. By examining the religious and cultural exchanges with Russian fur traders in the Aleutian Islands, the creation of cosmopolitan domestic partnerships between different Native groups at Fort Ross and Native-to-Native artistic exchanges in Hawaii, we can see how Native-led events and ideas were integral to the growing importance of the Pacific and beginning an intercontinentally connected world.

The Historical Context of Cross-Cultural Relationships

The Unangan and Alutiiq peoples have been engaged in cross-cultural exchanges and encounters for thousands of years.¹ The Unangan people have lived in the 1000-mile Aleutian

¹ Lucien M. Turner and Ray Hudson, *An Aleutian Ethnography*, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 2008), 170.

Island chain for approximately 10,000 years.² The Alutiiq homeland is just south of the Aleutian Islands, situated between Tlingit, Inupiaq and Unangan lands on Kodiak Island (see Appendix I). Many people assume that because these people were geographically isolated, they didn't have relationships with other cultures. In an example of the inaccuracies told about Alaskan Natives, one history book says, "The Alaska Native people at that time [pre-1741] did not know ... its relation to other continents."³ This is not true.

Native Alaskans were in contact with other indigenous cultures and continents for many years. Unangan had been trading with the Japanese for minerals for centuries. The Alutiiq traded with Unangan, Tlingit and Inupiaq people, the connecting link in a 2,000 mile trade network.⁴ However, when Russians encountered Native Alaskans and exploration around the Pacific coast increased, many important Native-to-Native encounters started to occur. Native Alaskans had a long history of Native-led exchanges and encounters before they encountered the Russians and the Russians' presence only increased this.

The Fur Trade in Alaska

Russian exploration created important exchanges and encounters. The fur seal exchange began as Russian explorers ventured to the Kamchatka Peninsula and farther east in an attempt to establish relationships between Asia, North America and Russia.⁵ In 1741, Vitus Bering ventured

² Douglas Veltre, "Unangax: Coastal People of Far Southwestern Alaska," (n.p., n.d.), 1.

³ Alaska Humanities Forum, "More Russian Exploration in Alaska," Alaska History and Cultural Studies, <http://www.akhistorycourse.org/articles/article.php?artID=130> (accessed 18 Feb. 2016).

⁴ Lydia T. Black, "Russia's American Adventure," *Natural History*, 1(Dec. 1989): 46-58; Alaska Native Heritage Center, "Unangan and Alutiiq Cultures of Alaska," *Alaska Native Heritage Center Museum*.

<http://www.alaskanative.net/en/main-nav/education-and-programs/cultures-of-alaska/unangax-and-alutiiq/> (accessed 19 Feb. 2016).

⁵ Black, "Russia's American Adventure."

to the Aleutians, where he encountered Unangan and Alutiiq. His sailors reported an abundance of furs upon their return to Russia.⁶ Fur seal skins sold for the equivalent of \$200. This money fueled the expanding Russian empire and was a big incentive for traders venturing to the Aleutians.⁷ The island chain became very cosmopolitan with traders from England, Russia, America and Spain by the early 1800s.⁸ As the century unfolded, Russians built a monopoly in the trade by controlling Native Alaskan labor, coercing men into seal hunting without good pay.⁹ Importantly, Native people were integral to the fur trade, even though their labor was sometimes forced. As one Unangan person has said, "When the people in the Aleutians came in contact with the Russians ... they were irrevocably brought into the world economy."¹⁰

Native labor was important in the success of the fur trade. The fur trade created one of the first global economies. But the Aleutian Islands were not only a fur trade depot. The islands were hotbeds of religious exchange. On Kodiak Island, many cultures and languages also intersected. The Aleutians became a land of religious exchange, cultural encounters and the exploration of new foods and religions.

⁶ Vasilii Nikolaevich Berkh, *A Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands: Or, The Exploits of Russian Merchants: With a Supplement of Historical Data on the Fur Trade*, trans. Richard A. Pierce. (Kingston, Ont.: Limestone, 1974), 2.

⁷ R.H.M. "The Furs We Wear," *New York Evening Post*, November 9, 1877, as reprinted in *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 9.1 (1973): 5-7.

⁸ A.B., "North Western Coast of America," *Boston Gazette*, February 27, 1806, 1; Anonymous, "The United States and Russia," *The Columbian Centinel and Massachusetts Federalist* (Boston), April 28, 1824, 1.

⁹ Frederick S. Starr, *Russia's American Colony* (Durham: Duke University Press 1987), 126.; Douglas Veltre, Telephone Interview by the Author, January 19 2016.; Veltre, "Unangax: Coastal People of Far Southwestern Alaska," 25.

¹⁰ *People of the Seal*, Online, directed by John Lindsay. 2009; Performed by Aquilina Lestenkof, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2009.

Intercultural Encounters and Exchanges in Alaska

Changes in the Russian Orthodox Church, the multiculturalism of Kodiak Island and bilingualism became important parts of Native Alaskan culture that live on today. In the church, Unangan people had power not given to them in the fur trade. The church translated much of their canon into Eastern Unangan.¹¹ It also saw the worth of having Native Alaskan priests. Bishop Ioann Veniaminov said that "the Atkha Church is superior to the Unalaska church as the parish priest is a Creole."¹² In contrast to the father at Atkha, the priest at Unalaska was Native. Veniaminov believed that Indigenous priests were important to the exchange between Russian religion and Alaskan culture. Native people were not only subjects; they were active priests, parishioners and community members. When fur hunters were mistreated, the village priest spoke up against the Russian American Company.¹³ Religion was important in empowering Alaskan Natives.

Kodiak Island was a meeting ground of many cultures. Even before Russians arrived, it was rife with encounters. Linguistically, the Alutiiq are the southernmost members of the Eskimo language group and are on the edge of the Tlingit and Unangan language areas.¹⁴ This means they were at the meeting point of many cultures and languages. Languages intermixed at Kodiak Island. Geography facilitated Native-to-Native exchanges and encounters.

¹¹ V. V. Ivanov, *The Russian Orthodox Church of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands and Its Relation to Native American Traditions: An Attempt at a Multicultural Society, 1794-1912* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1997), 8.

¹² Ioann Veniaminov, *Sostoianoie Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v Rossiskoi Amerike*, 1840, in Iakov Netsvīetov, *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: The Atkha Years, 1828-1844*, trans. Lydia Black (Kingston, Ont.: Limestone, 1980), xv.

¹³ Sergei Korsun, *Herman: A Wilderness Saint* (Jordanville, NY: Holy Trinity Publications), 50.

¹⁴ Alaska Native Language Center, "Alutiiq / Sugpiaq," Alaska Native Language Center, <https://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/as/> (accessed 19 Feb. 2016).

These encounters and exchanges created a more cosmopolitan Pacific. Inupiaq, Unangan, Tlingit and Alutiiq people worked on Kodiak Island together, intermarried and traded together well into Russian times.¹⁵ Cultural mixing created cultural bonds with people whose homelands ranged from southern Canada to northern Alaska. They often exchanged material items. Russian beads, metals, clothes and foods were exchanged for furs and meats from Alaskan Natives.¹⁶ Because of the innumerable exchanges that bound them together, many historical accounts refer to the Unangan and Alutiiq simply as Kodiak Islanders. Kodiak Island was another square in the quilt of indigenous-initiated encounters and exchanges in the Pacific.

Language also ceased to be a barrier to communication. Many people involved with the fur trade knew two languages. Even if they had not, Russian-Unangan dictionaries were created by the late 1840s.¹⁷ Interracial marriage abounded and created culturally mixed families throughout the Pacific.¹⁸ From all these we can see that in Alaska, exchange and encounter included religion, material goods and language. This means cultural values also were exchanged in Native-led encounters and exchanges.

The International Forts

However, in the early 1800s, the fur seal population in Alaska was rapidly declining because of rampant overhunting and the discovery of breeding grounds in the Pribilof Islands.¹⁹

¹⁵ Smithsonian Institute of Natural History, "About the Alutiiq People," Smithsonian Institute of Natural History, <http://www.mnh.si.edu/lookingbothways/data/pages/people.html> (accessed February 19, 2016).

¹⁶ Douglas Veltre, "Perspectives on Aleut Cultural Change during the Russian Period," in *Russian-America: The Forgotten Frontier* (Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Society, 1990), 175.

¹⁷ Ivanov, *The Russian Orthodox Church of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands*.

¹⁸ Douglas Veltre, Telephone Interview by the Author. January 19 2016.

¹⁹ Seal Conservation Society, "Northern Fur Seal," Seal Conservation Society, <http://www.pinnipeds.org/seal-information/species-information-pages/sea-lions-and-fur-seals/northern-fur-seal> (accessed 19 Feb. 2016).; *People of the Seal*, Online; Douglas Veltre, Telephone Interview by the Author, January 19 2016.

As the fur seal population in the Aleutians waned, the groundwork for multinational encounters in California was laid with the 1812 exploration of Baja California by Ivan Alexandrovich Kuskov.²⁰ Kuskov and forty Alaskan hunters/soldiers were looking for a suitable trade site and sea otter hunting outpost.²¹ They found it in a bluff overlooking the sea and built Fort Ross there, fifty miles north of present day San Francisco.²² Fort Ross' uses were threefold: 1) to communicate with the indigenous people of that part of California (the Miwok and Pomo), 2) to launch fur seal hunting operations into San Francisco Bay, and 3) to provide food for the settlers in Alaska.²³ All these missions were intertwined with the Unangan and Alutiiq people. From the earliest company census, we know there were over one hundred Native Alaskans at Ross and thirty-seven Unangan and Alutiiq sailors that ventured with the Russians to Hawaii.²⁴ Native people continued to explore and encounter new indigenous people in the Pacific.

Though forcibly brought down to California, Unangan interactions there show little sign of being controlled by the Russian traders. In 1813, Native Alaskans were given the choice to live anywhere within the fort's ground, an offer not granted to the Russian fort residents. Natives decided to build fourteen "yurts" on the outside of the fort, "a position to enhance closer contact with the local Indians," says scholar Stephen Watrous.²⁵ The Unangan and Alutiiq had a desire to create indigenous encounters and exchanges with other Native people.

²⁰ Kent G. Lightfoot, Thomas A. Wake and Ann M. Schiff, *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross, California*, (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, U of California at Berkeley, 1991), 2.

²¹ Stephen Watrous, "Ivan Kuskov and the Founding of Fort Ross," Fort Ross Conservancy, www.fortross.org (accessed 19 Febuary 2016); Lightfoot et al, *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross, California*, 3.

²² Lightfoot et al, *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross, California*, 3.

²³ Anonymous, "History of the Russian's at Fort Ross," *Charleston Courier*, June 21, 1854, p.1; Watrous, "Ivan Kuskov and the Founding of Fort Ross"; Anonymous, "Short History Of Sitka Runs Back to Discovery of Coast in 1741," *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), July, 26, 1899, p. 5.

²⁴ Leontii Andreianovich Hagemeister to Ivan Kuskov, January 28, 1818 in Richard A. Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976); Istomin, *The Indians at the Ross Settlement*, 9.

²⁵ Watrous, "Ivan Kuskov and the Founding of Fort Ross," 11,15,23.

The Unangan and Alutiiq's numerous encounters with the local Miwok and Pomo created pathways for diplomacy between Russians and Native Californians. Many times they would leave the fort for trade or pleasure and be taken in by the local Native nation, mostly the Miwok. When Unangan and Alutiiq people returned,, they were the only people at the fort with fluency in Miwok and Pomo.²⁶ Indigenous translators played an important role for the Russians. Strategic alliances and peacekeeping all fell on their shoulders. For example, in 1818 a Miwok chief allied his tribe with the Russian Crown for protection against Spaniards and the Pomo, a move only possible with the "Aleut Translator" present.²⁷ Here is a moment when Native Alaskans exchanged culture and language with Native Californians. In this case, it was significant to imperial politics.

The fort workers also initiated marriage and friendship with local people. Marriage and domestic partnerships have often been an important part in the bonding of cultures. Fort Ross is no exception. A census taken in 1820 by Ivan Kuskov shows that there were around forty Alaskan Native men who were married to Miwok and Pomo women.²⁸ Many of these women learned the Unangan language, along with Aleut handicrafts.²⁹ This is an example of lasting Indigenous connections and how Indigenous exchanges created a rich culture of Native encounters. As explorer Vasilii Golovnin aptly said, "This establishes not only friendly but family relations."³⁰

²⁶ Fort Ross Conservancy, "Alaska Natives at Fort Ross," Fort Ross Conservancy, <http://www.fortross.org/native-alaskans.htm> (accessed 18 February 18 2016)

²⁷ Watrous, "Ivan Kuskov and the Founding of Fort Ross," 20.

²⁸ Istomin, *The Indians at the Ross Settlement, According to the Censuses by Kuskov, 1820-1821*.

²⁹ Glenn Farris, 'Life at Fort Ross as the Indians Saw It--Stories from the Kashaya,' Fort Ross Conservancy, www.fortross.org (accessed 11 May 2016).

³⁰ Vasilii Mikhaïlovich Golovnin, *Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819*, trans. Ella Lury Wiswell (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1979 [St. Petersburg, Russia: Morskoi Tipografii, 1822]) 163.

Native-to-Native non-marital relationships also were cultivated at Ross. From farming the land around Ross together to trading together outside of Fort Ross to praying together at the chapel, Native people in and around Ross were members of a thriving intercultural exchange.³¹ In one letter about Fort Ross, Russians describe how "these ...people [Native Alaskans] [were] in friendly relations with those who lived at the fort [Native Californians]."³²

The fur trade at Ross proved to be dismal but the Unangan and Alutiiq were still important in many ways around the fort. In Alaska between 1797 and 1821, an average of 50,000 fur seals and sea otters were killed per year. At Fort Ross the number was only 2,800 a year.³³ The Unangan and Alutiiq were forcibly brought down to Fort Ross to kill seals, but the Russians kept them there long after it became clear that hunting was not working. Native Alaskans were integral members of the Fort. They were translators, caretakers, parishioners and farmers of the Fort. They were not merely important for the harvest of fur.³⁴

The Unangan and Alutiiq peoples' exploration went beyond California. In the 1810s, the Russians sought another outpost on the island of Kauai in Hawaii. This was concerning to Hawaiian King Kamehameha and the British and American traders there. Nevertheless, in 1816 Native Alaskans from Fort Ross came to build the fort on Kauai.³⁵ The Native Alaskans worked

³¹ Kent G. Lightfoot, Thomas A. Wake and Ann M. Schiff "A Preliminary Investigation of Native Responses to the Russian Mercantile Colony of Ross in Northern California," www.fortross.org (accessed 18 February 2016).

³² Stephen Watrous, "Ivan Kuskov and the Founding of Fort Ross," Fort Ross Conservancy, www.fortross.org (accessed 19 February 2016), 31.

³³ Robin Joy, "How the Sea Otter Hunt Began," Fort Ross State Park, <http://www.fortrossstatepark.org/seaotter.htm> (accessed 19 Feb. 2016); Douglas W. Veltre, "Russian Exploitation of Aleuts and Fur Seals: The Archaeology of Eighteenth- and Early- Nineteenth-Century Settlements in the Pribilof Islands, Alaska," [https://sha.org/wp-content/uploads/files/sha/Journals%201967-2005/2000-2004/Vol%2036%20\(2002\)/36-3/36-3-02.pdf](https://sha.org/wp-content/uploads/files/sha/Journals%201967-2005/2000-2004/Vol%2036%20(2002)/36-3/36-3-02.pdf) (accessed 19 February 2016).

³⁴ Lightfoot et al, *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross, California*, 3.

³⁵ Delores L. Kikuchi and William Kenji Kikuchi, "The Russian Forts on Kauai, Hawaiian Islands: A Brief Synthesis," Fort Ross Conservancy Library, <http://www.fortross.org/lib.html> (accessed 19 January 2016)

as caretakers of the fort.³⁶ But they also created encounters with Native Hawaiian people. They did this especially through art. One Russian officer reported that at an Alaskan dance performance, "[t]he wild exclamations of the Aleuts and their spectacular dancing delighted both the king and the crowd."³⁷ Native cultures of the Pacific come together, not to please colonizers but to learn and grow as cultures. These exchanges and encounters were the backbones of a thriving indigenous Pacific exchange.

A Reverberating Impact

The legacy of Unangan and Alutiiq people in the Pacific had effects across the Pacific. Fort Ross opened up California for Pacific trade and rapidly expanded the worldview of Pacific Native peoples. The expeditions, cultural exchanges and encounters with other Native people across the Pacific between the late 18th century and the mid 19th century set the stage for other encounters and exchanges, such as the California Gold Rush and the opening of Japan for trade a few decades later in the mid-1800s.

The events discussed here also made multinational indigenous exchanges possible and changed Native worlds forever. In Alaska, the commercial sea otter exchange paved the way for multilingual, multinational and intercontinental exchanges between cultures for years to come. When the U.S began to have better relationships with Russia after the Cold War, one important sign was that the U.S passed a bill that allowed Unangan people to travel to Russia without a

³⁶ Egor Schafer to Alexander Baranov, June 6, 1817, Hanalei, Kauai in Richard A. Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976).

³⁷ "Journal Kept by Lieutenant Podushkin, March 9-June 2, 1816," as reprinted in Richard A. Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976), 67.

visa..³⁸ This recognized the lasting cultural and religious impacts of each culture on the other and also that many Americans are descendants of marriages between Russians and Native Alaskans in the early 1800s. To this day, many Unangan and Alutiiq still pray in the Russian Orthodox Church and can speak ceremonial Russian, an impact of the role of Unangans in the Church.³⁹ This history makes us think about the impact of global events and empires on Native people.

One of the most important impacts of the indigenous encounters in the Pacific is the changes they can make to the way we think about history. As we can see in these particular events, Native people, even when colonized, initiated encounters. Native people were important in large economies such as the fur trade and even larger empires such as Russia's. One of the most important legacies of Native-to-Native encounters and exchanges was that Native labor and Native ideas were integral to the creation of global economies and super powers.

Native-Native encounters and exchanges in Alaska, California and Hawaii shaped our world. In Alaska's islands, Native people encountered and understood a new colonial power and by doing so built up a vibrant intercontinental global exchange. In Fort Ross, we see extremely important indigenous cross-cultural bonds that live to this day. As one explorer said, these "ties of relationship have arisen which strengthen the good understanding between them."⁴⁰ In Hawaii, we can see artistic encounters between powerful indigenous cultures that cemented cross-cultural understanding.

These events lead to two conclusions. One, these encounters and exchanges between Native cultures serve to show us that indigenous peoples' understandings of the world were not

³⁸ Anonymous, "Visa-free Travel to Russia for Aleuts Awaits Approval," *Tundra Times* [Anchorage], July 1995, 5.

³⁹ *People of the Seal*, Online, directed by John Lindsay. 2009.

⁴⁰ Charles Hillinger, "Russian Rule: California's Ft. Ross Was Once Their Remotest Outpost," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 August 1990.

simple. In their daily lives, Unangan and Alutiiq people had contact with people from around the Pacific and that contact changed their cultures, families and worldviews. Two, Native people were the catalysts and participants in important explorations, encounters and exchanges. This history means we must think of Native people and their encounters with exploration and exchange as important factors in the history of the modern world. This time of forging connections between Native people up and down the Pacific changed indigenous worldviews and connected them with other Native people in ways that were outside of colonial control. In the early 1800s, Native Alaskans created Pacific indigenous exchanges and encounters and, most importantly, make us see that Native-led encounters and exchanges were integral parts in the exploration of the Pacific and the creation of global economies and cosmopolitan Native worlds.

Appendix I



Marco Ramerini, "The Russians in America: Alaska and California," Colonial Voyage, <http://www.colonialvoyage.com/russians-in-america-alaska-california/#> (accessed February 12, 2016).

This is a map of important places in the Russian Empire in North America. Note that Kodiak Island is referred to here as Saint Paul Kodiak. The Unangan lands run from Kodiak out to Unalaska. Tlingit lands run down past Fort St. Dionysius, and Inupiaq lands run above Nulate. Miwok and Pomo lands were centered around Fort Ross. This map illustrates the enormity of this exploration, encounter and exchange and also shows where locations are in relation to each other.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

A.B. "North Western Coast of America." *Boston Gazette*, February 27, 1806, p. 1.

This article helped me to illustrate my point about the multiculturalism of the Aleutian Islands and Kodiak Island. It also helped to strengthen my paper's reliance on primary sources and show how the Aleutians have been multicultural for hundreds of years.

Anonymous. "The United States and Russia." *The Columbian Centinel and Massachusetts Federalist* (Boston), April 28, 1824, p. 1.

This newspaper article helped me illustrate how many different people of different nationalities lived in the Aleutian Islands. It was also fascinating to see how many different background stories the people there had.

Anonymous. "Visa-free Travel to Russia for Aleuts Awaits Approval.," *Tundra Times*[Anchorage], 5 July 1995.

This is a newspaper article on allowing Unangan people to travel visa-free to Russia. I used this article in my legacy section to show the longstanding cultural impacts of the Aleutian Islands exchanges and encounters. This was a primary source on the impacts of Native exchange in the late 20th century.

Berkh, Vasilii Nikolaevich, and Richard A. Pierce. *A Chronological History of the Discovery of the Aleutian Islands: Or, the Exploits of Russian Merchants: with a Supplement of Historical Data on the Fur Trade*. Kingston, Ont.: Limestone, 1974.

This primary source book is a translation of a Russian book published in 1823. It provides very solid basic information about the exploits of Russian explorers in the Aleutians from the view of early Russians. It has especially good information about Vitus Bering's expedition to the Aleutians.

Golovnin, Vasilii Mikhaïlovich. *Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819*. Ella Lury Wiswell, trans. Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1979 [St. Petersburg, Russia: Morskoi Tipografii, 1822].

This is the journal of a Russian explorer who visited Fort Ross. I find his observations on Native life at Fort Ross from a Russian perspective very interesting. It was helpful in understanding the enormity of Native domestic partnerships and their importance.

Hagemeister, Leontii Andreianovich to Ivan Kuskov, January 28, 1818. In Richard A. Pierce, *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976.

This letter was about the founding of the Russian fort in Hawaii and the jobs of people there. It was helpful in getting raw data and seeing the uninterpreted facts of the time.

"Journal Kept by Lieutenant Podushkin, March 9-June 2, 1816." Reprinted in Pierce, Richard A. (comp.) *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976. This is the journal of a Russian sailor. It was extremely important in showing the artistic exchanges in Hawaii. I used it to see the daily events and adventures in Russian Hawaii and how Native people were involved in these events.

R.H.M. "The Furs We Wear." *New York Evening Post*, November 9, 1877, as reprinted in *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 9.1 (1973): 5-7.

This article gives a good picture of costs and profits in the fur industry. It really helped me see how lucrative the industry was and why the Russians would go to Alaska in the first place.

Schafer, Egor to Alexander Baranov, June 6, 1817, Hanalei, Kauai. In *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817*, edited by Pierce, Richard A. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976. This was a letter between the governor of the Russian Territories of America and the founder of the Russian fort in Hawaii. It was helpful in seeing the duties and lifestyles of Native people at the fort.

Veniaminov, Ioann. *Sostoianoie Pravosalvnoi Tserkvi v Rossiskoi Amerike*, 1840. In Iakov Netsviētov, *The Journals of Iakov Netsvetov: The Atkha Years, 1828-1844*, edited and translated by Lydia Black. Kingston, Ont.: Limestone, 1980. This letter from Ioann Veniaminov (the archbishop of America) to his superior in Russia helped me understand religious life in the Aleutian Islands. This particular letter talks about how important it was to have Native priests in the church.

Secondary Sources

Alaska Humanities Forum. "More Russian Exploration in Alaska." Alaska History and Cultural Studies. Accessed 18 February 2016.

<http://www.akhistorycourse.org/articles/article.php?artID=130>

This is a education website on Alaskan history used in schools around Alaska. Alas, the faulty facts they peddle are indicators of how little credit Native Alaskans get when talking about their international exchanges and their history before colonial contact.

Anonymous. "About the Alutiiq People." *About the Alutiiq People*. Smithsonian Institute of Natural History, n.d. Web. Accessed 19 Feb. 2016.

<<http://www.mnh.si.edu/lookingbothways/data/pages/people.html>>.

This website by the Smithsonian institute gave me some good background on Alutiiq. It taught me about their language, culture and relationship with other Native people. This was also helpful, as I knew it would be credible as it's from the Smithsonian.

Anonymous. "Alaska Natives at Fort Ross." Fort Ross Conservancy. Accessed 28 Feb. 2016. <<http://www.fortross.org/native-alaskans.htm>>.

This article gives a brief overview of Native Alaskan Life at Fort Ross. It also gave me good information about Unangan/Alutiiq encounters with Kashaya Pomo and Miwok people.

Anonymous. "Alutiiq / Sugpiaq." Alaska Native Language Center. Accessed 19 Feb. 2016.
<https://www.uaf.edu/anlc/languages/as/>

This article talks about the language of Alutiiq people. This article taught me how important it is that their language is on the south end of one language chain, west of another, and north of a third. That helped me show how Native encounters existed before Russian contact.

Anonymous. "Fort Ross Chronology, including the Pacific Coast." Fort Ross State Park, Accessed 19 Feb. 2016. <http://www.fortrossstatepark.org/chronology.htm>.

This website is a great reference for facts in chronological order. I used it in my legacy section because I could visualize how the effects of Fort Ross reverberated throughout history.

Anonymous. "Northern Fur Seal." Seal Conservation Society 2011. Accessed 19 Feb. 2016.

<<http://www.pinnipeds.org/seal-information/species-information-pages/sea-lions-and-fur-seals/northern-fur-seal>>.

This website by the Seal Conservation Society told me about the natural habitat and human created decline of the northern fur seal. It was very helpful when learning about the reasons for the establishment of Fort Ross. It provided a solid backbone of information about the animal that sparked so much interest in North America.

Anonymous. "Short History Of Sitka. Runs Back to Discovery of Coast in 1741," *The Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), July, 26, 1899, p. 5.

This article helped me show how important Fort Ross was. It was interesting to see that even in the late 19th century, Fort Ross was seen as important economically and commercially to the Pacific Coast.

Anonymous. "Unangan and Alutiiq Cultures of Alaska." The Alaska Native Heritage Center. Accessed 19 Feb. 2016.

<<http://www.alaskanative.net/en/main-nav/education-and-programs/cultures-of-alaska/unangax-and-alutiiq/>>

This article provides a great basis for learning about Unangan and Alutiiq culture. It had great all-around information about Unangan and Alutiiq peoples' daily life and had great information about trade. It is sponsored by a large Indigenous history museum in Alaska.

Black, Lydia T. "Russia's American Adventure." *Natural History*, Dec. 198,: 46-58..

Dr. Black was a widely heralded historian on Unangan/Alutiiq people. This article in *Natural History* provides a brief overview of Unangan life before and after Russian rule. It was very helpful with more general historical information.

Farris, Glenn. "Life at Fort Ross as the Indians Saw It--Stories from the Kashaya." Fort Ross Conservancy. Accessed 11 May 2016. www.fortross.org.

This is a compilation of Kahaya oral history. It was really helpful to see Fort Ross from a native point of view. I used this source to talk about intercultural marriage at Fort Ross.

Hillinger, Charles. "Russian Rule: California's Ft. Ross Was Once Their Remotest Outpost." *Los Angeles Times*. 10 August 1990.

This article talks about renewed interest in Fort Ross. I used it to cite information on the nature of Native-Native relationships.

Istomin, Alexei A. *The Indians at the Ross Settlement, According to the Censuses by Kuskov, 1820-1821*. Fort Ross: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 1992.

This census provides some extremely important information about intermarriage and ethnicity at Fort Ross. This census contains data, taken by Ivan Kuskov, on Native marriage, descriptions of people and demographics. It really helped me see life at Fort Ross as vastly multicultural.

Ivanov, V. V. *The Russian Orthodox Church of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands and Its Relation to Native American Traditions: An Attempt at a Multicultural Society, 1794-1912*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1997.

This book was really helpful when looking at religion in the Aleutian and Kodiak islands. As the title clearly states, Mr. Ivanov explains the many details and complexities involved in the encounters and exchanges of religion in Alaska.

Joy, Robin. "How the Sea Otter Hunt Began." Fort Ross State Park. Accessed 19 February 2016. <http://www.fortrossstatepark.org/seaotter.htm>

This article gave me a brief overview on the fur trade at Fort Ross. It was really helpful with finding data on the fur hunt and exchange at Fort Ross. This website is sponsored by Fort Ross State Park.

Kikuchi, Delores L. and William Kenji Kikuchi. "The Russian Forts on Kauai, Hawaiian Islands: A Brief Synthesis." Fort Ross Conservancy Library. Accessed 19 January 19 2016.

<http://www.fortross.org/lib.html>

This is publication by the Fort Ross Conservancy is on Russians and Native Alaskans in Hawaii. It has good information from the journals of Russians in Hawaii that I used to form a big picture of the Russian settlement in Hawaii.

Korsun, Sergei. *Herman: A Wilderness Saint*. Jordanville, NY: Holy Trinity Publications, 2012.

Herman of Alaska is the patron saint of North America. This book deals with his exploits in Alaska and it provided me some interesting information about advocacy for Unangan workers by Russian priests.

Lightfoot, Kent G., Thomas A. Wake and Ann M Schiff. "A Preliminary Investigation of Native Responses to the Russian Mercantile Colony of Ross in Northern California." Fort Ross Conservancy. Accessed May 8, 2016. www.fortross.org.

This contains the hypothesis and early conclusions by archaeologists digging at Fort Ross. This was really helpful in terms of learning about exchanges between cultures and the lifestyle and dwellings of Native people.

Lightfoot, Kent G., Thomas A. Wake, and Ann M. Schiff. *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Fort Ross, California*. Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, University of California at Berkeley, 1991.

This book contains the findings of an archeological exploration to Fort Ross in the 20th century. It was really good to learn more about Fort Ross' material exchange. It was also really helpful that, even though this is not a primary source, it still has reputable facts from the time and also good analysis.

People of the Seal. Prod. John Lindsay. Performed by Aquilina Lestenkof. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2009.

This movie by the NOAA is a modern-day perspective on the fur exchange. It was really helpful when looking at modern-day impacts of the fur seal hunt on Unangan and Alutiiq people.

Pierce, Richard A. *Russia's Hawaiian Adventure, 1815-1817*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976.

This book has many great reprinted primary sources on Russians in Hawaii. It taught me that this exchange even happened and also was very helpful when talking about artistic exchange across the Pacific.

Ramerini, Marco. "The Russians in America: Alaska and California." *Colonial Voyage*, Accessed February 12, 2016.

<http://www.colonialvoyage.com/russians-in-america-alaska-california/#>.

This site provided me a map to help understand the geography of my subject. That helped me show the reader the enormity and places that I talk about.

Starr, S. Frederick. *Russia's American Colony*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.

This book builds on a convention where Russian and American historians met. This book holds a large amount of extremely important info on Russians and their relations with Native people.

Turner, Lucien M., and Ray Hudson. *An Aleutian Ethnography*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008.

This is a book on the culture of Unangan people written by an ethnographer in the late 1800's, who lived in the Aleutian Islands. It is a primary account of Unangan life just after Alaska was sold to the U.S. It also has very helpful notes, written when the book was published in 2008, on how the colonial term Aleut is not how we should correctly refer to Unangan people.

Veltre, Douglas. *Russian Exploitation of Aleuts and Fur Seals: The Archaeology of Eighteenth- and Early- Nineteenth-Century Settlements in the Pribilof Islands, Alaska*. Rep. Society for Historical Archaeology. Accessed 19 Feb. 2016.

<[http://sha.org/wp-content/uploads/files/sha/Journals%201967-2005/2000-2004/Vol%2036%20\(2002\)/36-3/36-3-02.pdf](http://sha.org/wp-content/uploads/files/sha/Journals%201967-2005/2000-2004/Vol%2036%20(2002)/36-3/36-3-02.pdf)>.

This article is about Unangan people involved in the fur trade at the breeding ground of fur seals, the Pribilof Islands. I used the article for numbers on the harvest and trade of fur seal pelts in Alaska.

Veltre, Douglas.. "Perspectives on Aleut Cultural Change during the Russian Period."
Russian-America: The Forgotten Frontier. Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Society, 1990.

This article was really helpful in finding information on the exchanges in material objects during the fur trade. I used it to refer to the material exchanges going on in Aleutians during the fur trade.

Veltre, Douglas. *Unangax: Coastal People of Far Southwestern Alaska*. N.p., n.d. PDF.
Dr. Veltre is the preeminent historian of Unangan people. In personal communication with him, he sent me his lecture notes he used at University of Alaska Anchorage about Unangan people. These hold many insights into the life of Unangan people.

Veltre, Douglas. Telephone Interview by the Author. January 19, 2016.

I interviewed Professor Veltre on Unangan and Alutiiq encounters in Alaska. It was really helpful to hear from such a renowned historian about Unangan encounters and exchanges in Alaska. I used it for reference on Unangan encounters with Tlingit, Alutiiq and Inupiaq.

Watrous, Stephen. *Ivan Kuskov and the Founding of Fort Ross*. Fort Ross Conservancy.
Accessed 19 February 2016. www.fortross.org.

This article lays out the reasons for the founding and early history of Fort Ross. I referred back to this article on many occasions as it has information about the aspirations of Fort Ross and early Native history of Fort Ross. Fort Ross Conservancy is the main archive of Fort Ross related work.