Aleuts: An Outline of the Ethnic History

Roza G. Lyapunova

Translated by
Richard L. Bland

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2017

ISBN-13: 978-0-9965837-1-8

This book's publication and translations were funded by the National Park Service, Shared Beringian Heritage Program. The book is provided without charge by the National Park Service. To order additional copies, please contact the Shared Beringian Heritage Program (beringia@nps.gov).

National Park Service

Shared Beringian Heritage Program

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Программа Службы национальных парков Департамента внутренних ресурсов США «Общее наследие Берингии» является международной программой, которая способствует признанию и чествованию являющихся общими для США и России природных ресурсов и культурного наследия российской и американской территории по обеим сторонам Берингова пролива. Программа стремится обеспечить сохранение и изучение природных ресурсов и охраняемых территорий на местном, региональном и международном уровне, а также поддержку и развитие культурных традиций и традиционного образа жизни коренных народов района Берингии.

Алеуты. Очерки этнической истории

Автор: Роза Гавриловна Ляпунова

2017

ISBN-13: 978-0-9965837-1-8

Эта книга предоставлена бесплатно Служба национальных парков США. Чтобы заказать дополнительные экземпляры, обращайтесь пожалуйста в Программу «Общее наследие Берингии» (Shared Beringian Heritage Program) (beringia@nps.gov).

Служба национальных парков

Программа «Общее наследие Берингии»

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

This book was originally published as *Aleuty: ocherki ėtnicheskoi istorii,* a collection edited by Roza G. Lyapunova (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka" leningradskoe otdelenie, 1987).

For those interested in the prehistory and history of the Aleutian Islands, Roza Lyapunova's work on the Aleuts will present a different perspective. Published in 1987 it provides for the English-language reader two important viewpoints: a look at the Aleut people from the Soviet perspective and a discussion of the Aleuts in the Commander Islands. Dr. Lyapunova follows the Aleuts from the earliest written records, from their earliest Russian contacts up to the present (1987). In doing this she uses all sources available, many of which are in English. However, many of her numerous sources are in Russian—manuscripts gleaned from archives in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. Some of those have been translated into English, but most have not. Despite the fact that a book published in 1987 might seem antiquated, much of the information will be new and interesting for the scholar studying the Aleutian Islands. On the other hand, the photographs were taken during the Soviet era and are somewhat lacking in clarity.

Every translation, and particularly one from Russian to English, has the problem of finding a suitable form of transliteration. None of the three systems available (U.S. Board of Geographic Names [BGN], Library of Congress [LOC], or the "Linguistic" system [Ling]) was felt to be entirely adequate. I have therefore "created" my own system. In this I use some of the BGN system with a slightly modified version of the LOC. For example, the "ye" of BGN is written as "e" following LOC. The Russian "ё" is also written as "e" (not "yo"), following Ling. (In the ё/e problem, an exception is made for the name of the author of this book). The Russian "э" is written as "e," following BGN. Both the Russian "и" and "й" are transliterated as "i," unlike in any of the three systems. The Russian "ю" and "я" are written as "yu" and "ya," following the BGN. The Russian soft sign, which is often dropped in transliterations or replaced with an "i," is retained here as an apostrophe, following BGN. I have also settled on one ending for words, as the English language forces us to do, rather than providing the appropriate ending (masculine, feminine, neuter, plural/nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, prepositional) that can occur in Russian. And having twenty-four possible grammatical endings is not the end of it. In the masculine nominative, for a name ending in "-sky" there are at least five possible endings that can be found in English ("-sky," "-skiy," "-skij," "-skii," "-ski"). In addition, there are aberrant spellings that have been accepted in the literature; for example, Wrangell instead of the Russian Vrangel' (here the soft sign has been replaced by a second "l") has already been adopted in English. Some names are "semi" formalized in English. For names that do not have an accepted English form I have tried consistently to use my system for transliterating. On the other hand, I generally give a (Russian) "i" or "y" plural for plural words that are not translated. This is with the exception of ethnic names, which are given no ending in the plural (following one accepted form found in *Webster's 3rd International Dictionary*, 1965). All this in no way exhausts the problems the translator faces, but rather provides a notion of the difficulties attendant upon any translation project. Nonetheless, I hope the explanation of my method will aid the reader, especially if he or she should want to go back from English to Cyrillic, and I apologize to all whose names I have unintentionally "corrupted."

No original photographs were available to the translator. Therefore, the illustrations in the book had to be scanned. Soviet-quality photographs, the age of the Soviet-quality book, and the scanning leave much to be desired. Nevertheless, the photos in this translation are approximately as good as in the original book.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Anna Gokhman who proofread the translation, to Laura Eidam and Rachel Mason who edited the manuscript into more idiomatic English, to Terry Duffy who laid out the manuscript in book form, and to Julia Knowles who proofread the manuscript in final form for typos and other errors. I am also deeply indebted to Andrew Tremayne, director of the Shared Beringian Heritage Program, who shepherded me through the process and has endured my many questions. Finally, I am most indebted to Nan Coppock for much-needed editorial assistance. Without them this work could not have been done. Ultimately, we all are very deeply indebted to Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) Russian Academy of Sciences for permitting us to translate and publish Dr. Roza G. Lyapunova's valuable book into English.

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PREFACE

Modern Aleuts are inhabitants of a foreign and a Soviet north. Like their relatives, the Eskimos, they have a long history, populating and occupying frontier regions between Northeast Asia and northwestern America. From the earliest times the Aleuts have inhabited the Aleutian Islands and the southwestern tip of the Alaska Peninsula, including the Shumagin Islands located nearby, and they created there a distinctive, highly developed culture of northern sea mammal hunters, fishers, and gatherers.

In the middle of the 18th century a new stage appeared in the ethnic history of the Aleuts: they began to receive contact from the Western world. The history of Alaska (together with the Aleutian Islands) from this time is split up into two periods. The first (126 years) is connected with the discovery and economic occupation of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska by Russian researchers, navigators, merchants, and *promyshlenniki* [hunters/trappers/traders], and with the organized activity there in 1799 of the Russian-American Company. "Russian America"—such was then the name of Russia's colony in northwestern America; for the first period the name "Russian" was attached. After Russia's sale of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands in 1867 to the United States, for most Aleuts the American period of their history emerged.

In spite of the negative aspects of the process of the initial opening up of the lands inherent in the democratic character of their development by pre-revolutionary Russia, the first period was marked by some progress in the ethnocultural development of the Aleuts, just as it was in the history of the peoples of Siberia. In the following period, the rule of politics of national and social discrimination in capitalistic America led to complete impoverishment, physical degeneration of this people, and degradation of traditional culture. Only a small group of Aleuts had a different fate. These were those who were resettled in 1825 by the Russian-American Company to the previously uninhabited Commander Islands and who remained there after 1867 inside the boundaries of Russia after the victory of the October Revolution. The Commander Aleuts, one of the small populations of the Soviet north, are equal citizens in the large family of the peoples of the USSR.

From the very beginning of their acquaintance with them, scholars were interested in the origin of the Aleuts, and their ethnogenetic and cultural connections with the peoples of Asia and America in general and with their closer neighbors. At the present time many aspects of this huge problem have been researched and prove illuminating. But the question about the origin of the Aleuts, just as the closely connected question about the origin of the Eskimos, remains one of the most complex. Up to now many questions about timing and routes of the Aleuts populating the region of their habitation, the time and place of the division of Eskimos and Aleuts, and the Aleuts' ethnogenetic and cultural connections both with ancient and more recent Eskimo cultures, and with coastal cultures of Northeast Asia and Northwest America have been discussed. There are still debates about the reasons for the anthropological, linguistic, and cultural distinctions between the Aleuts of the eastern and western parts of the Aleutian archipelago, about origins of the various styles of rich art of the Aleuts, mythological subjects, the tradition of mummification, and other subjects. The most ancient history of the Aleuts (especially in its close connection with the history of the Eskimos) is a topic that in the last three decades has intensively occupied foreign scholars, especially American and Canadian. In working out the problem of the ethnogenesis of the

Aleuts, Soviet researchers actively participate as well, closely connecting them with the ethnogenesis of the peoples of Northeast Asia.

At the same time, on the contemporary stage foreign scholars and Alaskan communities manifest great interest in the ethnic history of the Aleuts and the ethnocultural change since the time of their initial contact with the Russians, and then with Americans, including the ethnic processes arising today among the Aleuts. All this forms part of the aggregate of problems connected with the native population of Alaska in general. Special interest in them was created by a new period in the development of northern peoples of the United States and Canada. The new era was summoned, on the one hand, by the economic development of Alaska beginning in the last two decades, and on the other hand, by the significant growth in the movements of the natives (including the Aleuts) for their political and socioeconomic rights, accompanied by a raised ethnic awareness. Soviet scholars have continually devoted more attention to the history and ethnography of the Commander Aleuts.

But in the existing, present-day literature the ethnic history of the Aleuts, since the time of their discovery by Europeans, is extremely fragmented. In foreign works the Russian Period of the history of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands is often treated in a biased manner, without complete and objective analysis (of the basic documentation of the ethnocultural and demographic processes), without consideration of the progressive events connected with the role of pre-revolutionary Russia in the development of its outer regions, influenced by the leading and democratic forces of the time.

In the present essay the ethnic history of the Aleuts is presented from the earliest period to the present. The earliest period is studied in this chapter, reflecting the present status of the study of the problem of the origin of the Aleuts and their prehistory, that is, their history up to their discovery by Europeans. A fundamental part of the work is devoted to the ethnic history of the Aleuts from the beginning of their contact with the Russians, and then with the Americans. It should be noted that the present work does not claim to unravel all questions connected with the ethnic history of the Aleuts. We will devote our main attention to the ethnic aspect of the socioeconomic and political processes and questions of cultural changes and therefore go into detail on the important problem, in this plan, of the correlation between the Aleuts and the Russians and later, the Americans. We will also examine the contemporary ethnocultural situation and ethnocultural processes among the Aleuts of the United States.

The ethnic history of the Commander Aleuts is conducted under a separate heading. Comparison of the contemporary ethnic fate of the American and Commander Aleuts permits a graphic display of the preference of the Leninist national politics of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and our government and its distinction from the attitude of the capitalistic governments toward the native peoples of the American north.

This work uses the newest Soviet and foreign literature as well as old publications and materials from the archives of the ethnographic museums of the USSR (which richly present the culture of the Aleuts of the Russian Period), historical texts, and ethnographic field observations.

CHAPTER I

PROBLEMS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ALEUTS AND THEIR EARLY HISTORY IN CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

The ethnogenesis and early ethnic history of the Aleuts calls forth onto the contemporary stage the liveliest scientific interest. And this is not an accident. The position of the Aleutian Islands—an oceanic arc in the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, uniting the Old World with the New—directly includes them in the problem of intercontinental connections between Eurasia and America, which is actively studied through paleogeography, biogeography, physical anthropology, archaeology, and ethnography. The question about populating the Aleutian Islands relates to the question of the ancient migration route of the people from Asia to America.

The Aleuts attract special attention of researchers in that they, like the Eskimos, mastered the extreme natural conditions of the circumpolar region as a place to live. The problem of their occupation of the Aleutian Islands and their adaptation to the conditions of that region is connected with the problem of adaptation and the biology of humans in Beringia and in all the northern Pacific Ocean area, of the establishment there of a particular economic-cultural mode of maritime hunters, fishers, and gatherers as part of the ecological system, and of the formation of specific complexes of cultures and physical peculiarities of the population.

The chain of the Aleutian Islands extends from west to east uniting extreme Northeast Asia with the northwestern part of North America and separating the Bering Sea from the Pacific Ocean. It consists of 110 large islands and a multitude of small islands. When they discovered these islands in the middle of the 18th century, Russian explorers, seafarers, and promyshlenniki divided the geographical and natural features into four groups. Near Kamchatka are the Near Islands (Attu, Agattu, and others); farther to the east are the Rat Islands (Kiska, Amchitka, Rat, Semisopochnoi, and others); and beyond the Rat Islands stretch the chain of Andreanof Islands (Tanaga, Atka—"Atkha" in the Russian Period, Adak—"Adakh," and others). The largest group is the Fox Islands, which include the largest islands of the chain (Umnak, Unalaska, and Unimak) and their associates (the Islands of the Four Mountains and Krenitsyn).

The natural conditions of the territory settled by the Aleuts were uniform in character throughout the whole extent. The islands are volcanic in origin; among the mountainous peaks are about 80 volcanos, of which 47 were active during the course of the last 200 years. On many of the islands there are hot springs. Forests are lacking, tundra being the dominant landscape. The coastline of the islands is most often irregular, not infrequently with reefs, numerous small islands, and isolated cliffs rising from the sea. In some inlets and bays black volcanic or other sand and gravel beaches are found, and some high coastal terraces fall steeply into the sea. There are also islands with valleys located above sea level and streams from which waterfalls hurl. The mean winter temperature here is 0° to +1° C; mean temperature in summer is 6.4° to 9.3° C. Strong winds, frequent storms, and continual fog add to the severe picture

of the nature of this subarctic archipelago, though with unfrozen coastal waters; only the northern shore of the Alaska Peninsula is covered by ice in winter. This frontier between the Pacific Ocean basin and the Bering Sea region is often called a land of wind and fog, or a cradle of wind and storms.

However, this apparently inhospitable region had favorable ecological conditions for people with a developed maritime economy. The water surrounding it abounded with fish, including salmonids entering the island streams to spawn, and sea mammals—whales, sea lions, fur seals, seals (*Phocidae*), sea otters (*Enhydra lutris*), and walruses (only along the northern coast of the Alaska Peninsula). Innumerable rocky islands served as places for bird colonies, where sea gulls, guillemots, cormorants, puffins, [Chimerina] ducks, and other sea birds nested. The intertidal zone was a wealth of sea invertebrates (echinoderms and mollusks) and seaweed. The sea currents cast on the shore trunks of trees—drift wood. The Aleuts settled this region long ago, creating here by the middle of the 18th century a highly developed and very specialized culture of northern sea hunters, fishers, and gatherers.

According to physical anthropological, linguistic, and ethnographic information the Aleuts were divided into two main groups by the time the Russians arrived: eastern and western. The eastern Aleuts inhabited the Fox Islands and southwestern tip of the Alaska Peninsula. The central Aleuts lived in the Andreanof Islands and formed a transitional group, their subdialect being a distinct linguistic subgroup of the western dialect. They are generally assigned to the western Aleuts.

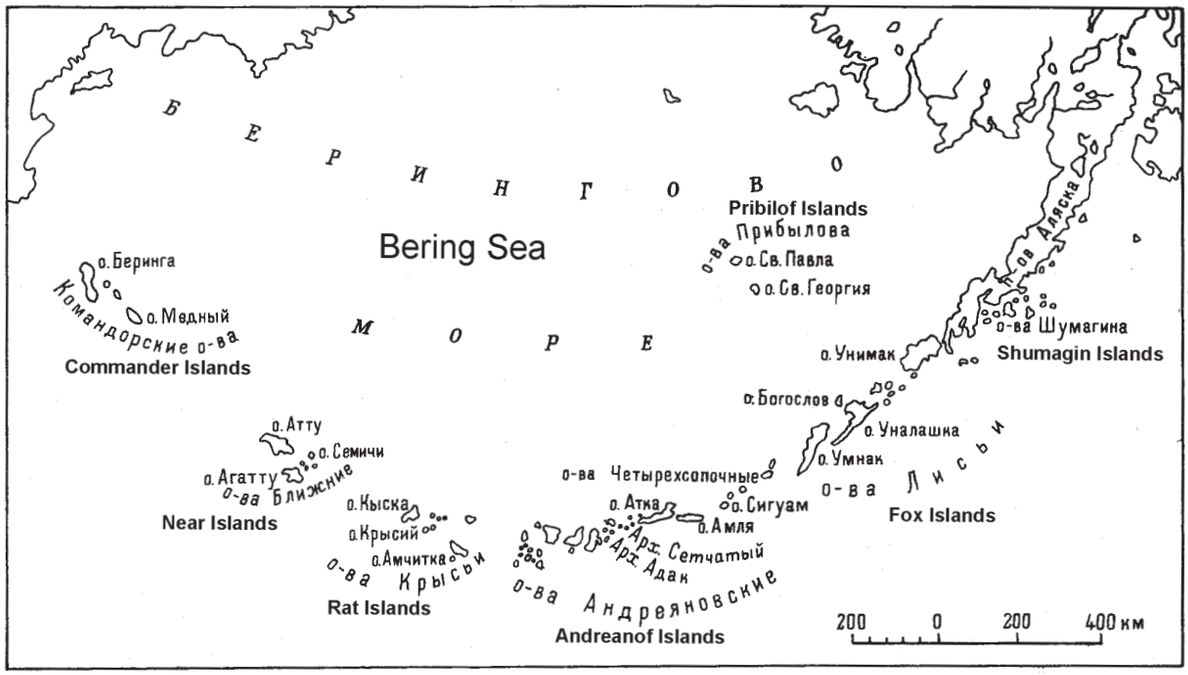

Figure 1. Map of the Aleutian Islands.

Besides these, there were small, named local groups that differed somewhat in cultural and linguistic features. So, according to the old Russian sources, in the Shumagin Islands and on the Alaska Peninsula lived the *Kagan Tayagungin*—"People of the East"; on Unimak Island the *Unimgin*; on the

northeast part of Unalaska and in the Krenitsyn Islands the *Kigigun*—"Northeasterners"; the rest of Unalaska and all the Umnak Islanders were called *Kaulyangin* (*Kagulingin*)—"Residents of the Region or Sons of the Sea Lions"; inhabitants of the Islands of the Four Mountains the *Akugun*—"Those of That Place"; of Atka the *Nigugin* (*Niyagungin*); of the Rat Islands the *Kagun*; and of the Near Islands the *Sasignan* (*Saskinan*)—"Those Banished from the Island." In general, all the inhabitants of the Andreanof Islands were called *Namigun*—"Westerners," as well as *Negbo*—"Prisoners of War" (Veniaminov 1840:II:2, 3; Lyapunova 1975a:122).

The name used by the Aleuts for themselves was *Unangan*, though it is possible that it originally referred only to the eastern Aleuts. K. Bergsland translates it as "coastal peoples" (Bergsland 1949:11). The name "Aleut," which became the name they called themselves, was given by the Russians in the middle of the 18th century, and the origin of this word is still the object of scientific discussion. By the second half of the 18th century the most varied propositions were advanced. The following and most convincing of the hypotheses was proposed by G. A. Menovshchikov (1980). According to it, the term comes from the word *allitkhukh* which designates, depending on the situation, such concepts as community, troop, detachment, or crew, and which Aleuts called themselves at first contact with the Russian seafarers and promyshlenniki.

By the time the Russians arrived the Aleuts had attained a rather high level of social development that was in a stage of dissolving the primitive communal form, experiencing an epoch of military democracy, and passing from a pre-class to a class society. But it is possible that this can be attributed only to the eastern Aleuts.

The origin of the Aleuts and their early history, which has interested scholars since the moment of acquaintance of Europeans with this people in the mid-eighteenth century, led researchers to a broader circle of questions about the settling of America in general, and about the relationship of the Aleuts with Asiatic populations, with the Eskimos, and with the Indians. And at the beginning of the 20th century the problem of the origin of the Aleuts, and the questions connected with it, became designated the "Aleut problem" in the work of the well-known Russian scholar W. I. Jochelson (1925).

On the contemporary stage the origin and history of the Aleuts at the beginning of their contact with the Europeans, as well as early and late prehistory, is actively studied and discussed by foreign (chiefly American) and Soviet scholars. The basic point is that new and contradictory opinions and conclusions on the question of the "Aleut problem" continue. These include the routes and time of settling the Aleutian Islands, as well as the ethnogenetic and cultural connections with Eskimos, Indians, and Asiatic coastal cultures of the North Pacific.

The first question that scholars ask is where the ancestors of the Aleuts came from and when. Early works speak predominantly about their migration either from the northeast coast of Asia or from Alaska approximately 3,000 years ago or later. Research of the recent decades has led to conclusions about the settling of this region in an earlier time and about the development of the Aleuts with all the distinctions of their physical type, language, and culture right in the Aleutian Islands. However, there are other points of view.

By which route did the settling of the Aleutian Islands occur? This question, as a rule, is associated with others about the settling of America by the Indians and Eskimos. Two theories were brought into discussion: the settling of the Aleutian Islands from the west, through Kamchatka and the Commander

Islands; and from the east, through Alaska. At the same time, since the end of the 19th century there has emerged the proposition of the existence in remote antiquity of a land bridge between Asia and America, by which the settlement of America occurred. The substantiation of the movement of the ancestors of the Aleuts along the coastal edge of the Bering Sea platform, constructed on present geological data and reinforced by materials from excavations of the earliest sites of people in the Aleutian Islands, and one of the early ones in Alaska in general—Anangula. This site, indicating a time suitable to the existence of the bridge (about 10,000 years ago), designates one of the presupposed maximal dates for the settlement of the Aleutian Islands.

The following question—Were the Aleuts the first inhabitants of these islands?—was summoned by the physical anthropological distinctions (dolichocephalic and brachycephalic) of the population of the westernmost and eastern parts of the chain. Theories exist about two or even three waves of settlement, or a single one. Also expressed are opinions about separate, much later, migrations into the archipelago from Northeast Asia and northwestern America.

The question of the relationship between the Eskimos and Aleuts is important. Here also there are various points of view: from the declaration of the Aleuts as a southern group of Eskimos to the designation of such a remote time of their divergence that it speaks in favor of an independent ethnic formation of the Aleuts.

The Aleuts are closely connected to Eskimos by an indisputable common origin. It is especially reliably confirmed by linguistic data. The Eskimo and Aleut languages form a single Eskimo-Aleut family of languages, although with evidence of a quite remote relationship. The conclusion that one Eskimo-Aleut language divided into Eskimo and Aleut in 2600–1000 B.C. was made on the basis of the method of glottochronology by M. Swadesh and D. Hirsch (Hirsch 1954:827; Swadesh 1958:672). This data was reviewed by K. Bergsland, who leaned toward the side of antiquity (Bergsland 1958:656). D. Dumond arrived at the same conclusion, comparing linguistic data and archaeological evidence. He determined that the most apparent time of divergence was the period from 6000 to 4000 B.C. (Dumond 1965:1250, 1251). This estimation is considered the most probable by other scholars (Fainberg 1980:231, 232).

Without doubt, the question of the location of divergence of the bearers of the named languages is very complex. Especially interesting in this regard are the conclusions of G. A. Menovshchikov regarding the basic distinctions of the Aleut and Eskimo languages related to the names of sea mammals and to objects of material culture accompanying a maritime culture that are common for all the Eskimo area. At the same time, terms connected with a continental way of life—terrestrial hunting and fishing—also coincide (Menovshchikov 1974:47). From these statements it follows that the divergence of Aleuts and Eskimos took place before their settlement of coastal territory. The ethnographic materials confirm this; the tools and techniques of maritime hunting of the Aleuts are quite distinct from that of the Eskimos (Lyapunova 1975a). Also important is Menovshchikov's indication regarding the influence of Paleo-Asiatic languages on the Aleut language (1974).

According to one of the contemporary theories, the location of development and center of further expansion of Eskimo culture is the region around the Bering Strait (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975). However the majority of foreign specialists consider this central location to be southwestern Alaska (Laughlin 1952a:66; 1963a:1, 12; Chard 1962:98, 99; Oswalt 1967:236; Bandi 1969:181, 182); Soviet researchers take a similar position (Fainberg 1964, 1980; Vasil'evskii 1973; Dikov 1979).

The concept that the coastal adaptation of the Aleuts occurred precisely in the Aleutian Islands is supported now by the majority of both Soviet and foreign scholars. There are differences in opinion only about the time of the appearance of the Aleuts, the relationship of the Aleuts with other peoples, and the features of their expansion within the archipelago.

Thus, along with a common historical past with the Eskimos, the Aleuts had their own lengthy ethnic history as well, which was associated with the separation of the two groups in remote antiquity.

The beginning of the study of the Aleuts is connected with the Russian Period in the history of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands (for the history of the study of the Aleuts, see Lyapunova 1975a, 1979a; of Aleuts and Eskimos, Fainberg 1964, 1971, 1980). The outstanding scientific achievement of this period was the work of I. Veniaminov (1840; 1846) on the ethnography and language of the Aleuts. The first American investigator of Aleut culture, as well as the first to begin excavations in the Aleutian Islands, was W. Dall (Dall 1872, 1873, 1877b). In 1910–1911 serious archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic investigations in the islands were organized by the Russian Geographic Society and conducted by W. I. Jochelson (1925, 1933). In 1936–1938, in connection with the substantiation of the theory of the settlement of the American continent from Asia, extensive archaeological work was conducted in the Aleutian Islands by the American physical anthropologist A. Hrdlička, who assumed there were successive shifts of population from east to west in the chain, and who named the early population "Pre-Aleuts," the later one "Aleuts" (Hrdlička 1945).

The American physical anthropologist W. Laughlin and a group of colleagues and students from the University of Connecticut, as well as scholars from a series of other universities in the United States, were actively occupied from the end of the 1940s with the investigation of questions of the origin and early history of the Aleuts. They conducted excavations in the Chaluka site on Umnak Island and established the historical sequence of the life of the Aleuts in the eastern part of the Aleutian Islands and later movements of population along the island chain to the west. Hrdlička's idea about two successive waves of settlement was superseded by theories about the evolutionary biological changes in a single population as a result of its divergence (genetic drift), and about the western and eastern Aleuts as two branches or isolates of this population. Therefore, it was considered expedient to rename the "Pre-Aleuts" of Hrdlička "Paleo-Aleut," and his "Aleuts" became "Neo-Aleuts" (Laughlin and Marsh 1951; Laughlin 1951a, 1952a, 1958, 1961, 1962a, 1962b, 1963a, 1963b).

A. Spaulding, after the excavation of the site at Krugloi Point on Agattu Island, concluded that the population (presumably Paleo-Aleut) reached the western part of the archipelago by A.D. 500. About A.D. 1000 this group was displaced in the western extremity of the chain by Neo-Aleuts who had diffused from the eastern part of the archipelago.

At the end of the 1940s, on the islands of Unalaska, Amaknak, Adak, Atka, and others, T. Bank conducted research. He expressed the idea of a single wave of population that was differentiated physically, culturally, and linguistically as a result of a protracted life in isolation in the islands (Bank 1953).

In the following years W. Laughlin continued excavations of the Anangula site on the island of the same name, which he and A. May had discovered in 1938 during their work as members of A. Hrdlička's expedition. This site was then assumed to be a workshop and not a place of settlement. They determined its distinctive features (a technology of blade and core), and dated it by radiocarbon to about 6000 B.C. Such ancient dates and technology, related to that of the earliest Alaskan mainland sites, is

completely absent in the lower levels of Chaluka. But Laughlin nevertheless assumed that this tradition could be ancestral to the Paleo-Aleut culture (Laughlin 1951a; Laughlin and Marsh 1954; Laughlin and Black 1964).

Investigations of the origin and early history of the Aleuts in the 1960s and 1970s produced especially good results. The investigations were conducted on materials from excavations of the most interesting and important sites in the Aleutian Islands—Chaluka and Anangula—by a broad complex program that included not only questions of archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and ethnography of the people, but ecology, biology, zoology, and quaternary geology of the Aleutian Islands as well.

The multilayered Chaluka site on the shore of Nikolski Bay on Umnak Island presented an illustration of the early history of the Aleuts, beginning about 4000 years ago, up to the 18th century A.D. In 1962 G. Denniston used the materials from the excavation of this site (Trench A) to divide it into seven layers and three cultural levels: lower Chaluka (layers VII–V), middle Chaluka (IV–III), and upper Chaluka (II–I). Based on analysis of excavated dwellings and the stone inventory, the author comes to the conclusion that the greatest cultural change in Chaluka was in the interval between layers III and II (between middle and upper Chaluka), while the remaining layers reveal a more stable development of the basic tradition of the stone industry (Denniston 1966). Based on materials of this same site J. Aigner separates Chaluka into not seven but four layers (Aigner 1966): layers I and II of Denniston correspond to Aigner's layer I (700 B.C.–A.D. 500); layers III and IV to layer II (1100–700 B.C.); layers V and VI to layer III (1200–1100 B.C.); and layer VII to layer IV. The upper layers of the remains of the ancient settlement form a direct continuation to the existing Nikolski village, where Aleuts still live.

The Anangula site is located on the island by that name in Nikolski Bay (7.2 km northwest of Chaluka), being separated from Umnak Island by the narrow and shallow Sividov (Seaweed) Strait.

Multifaceted study of the early history of the Aleuts provided a basis for decisions on a series of questions of problematic character: adaptation of the population in terms of Beringia; the significance of ecological factors; differentiation and isolated integration of human populations; and the establishment of direct connections between ancient American and Asiatic cultures.

W. Laughlin stresses that to a considerable degree the components of the population and fauna of the ecosystem of the Aleutian Islands show a relationship with ancient Beringia and a southwest continuation that includes the present eastern Aleutian Islands. Beringia, the Bering Land Bridge, was a vast region that united the northeastern extremity of Asia and Alaska, extending almost 1200 km from north to south. Most of it became flooded about 10,000 years ago, and the two continents were cut off by the Bering Strait. Approximately 9,000 years ago sea level was lower than at present by a mean of about 30 m, and the ancestors of the Aleuts and Eskimos moved on foot and in boats along the southern coastline of Beringia. Their early sites, always situated on the shore, are now covered with water; those preserved are only the isolated ones owing to particular conditions. In Nikolski Bay, these sites demonstrate the human occupation of this region ca. 8,700 years ago. Anangula Island during Bering Land Bridge times was a northwest continuation of Umnak Island and a cape of the bridge (later the supposition arose of the existence of a strait between them). The earliest site on Anangula—the Blade site—occupies its lower southern "tail"; the Aleut name of the island is "Whale Which Is Swimming North."

The Aleuts, thus, constitute the terminal population in a series of populations, which were adapted on the coast of the Bering Sea. Adaptation of the American Indians occurred in the interior parts of

the Bering Land Bridge and Alaska. Two essentially distinct ecological adaptations of the economies of these populations, the sea coast and interior territories, served as the basis and means of strengthening the morphological and genetic distance of the Bering Sea Mongoloids from the American Indians (Laughlin 1975; Laughlin and Wolf 1979; Laughlin et al. 1979).

Specialists from other countries are also engaged in direct participation in the interdisciplinary program of the American scholars in the study of the origin and early history of the Aleuts. Especially good results were produced by Soviet-American scientific contacts and joint research on Anangula Island.

Anangula not only provides the oldest known evidence of human occupation in the Aleutian Islands, but it is also one of the early sites of Alaska in general. The deeply buried and covered cultural layer, as well as its large dimensions (90 x 250 m), make this site one of the most important for the study of early Alaskans. About forty established radiocarbon dates earlier than 6000 B.C. allow the site to be considered very precisely chronologically determined. Having cultural layers only 20 cm thick suggests a comparatively brief time of occupation—probably 100 years or less. The site was probably abandoned as a result of the eruption of a volcano: it is covered by a thick layer of volcanic ash.

Many scholars agree with W. Laughlin that there existed a technological continuity that attributed to the approximately 8,000-year-old Anangula site and the Chaluka site, the lower cultural layers of which date to 4,000 years ago, while the upper layer runs into the Russian Period. Anangula, having greater similarity to ancient Asiatic cultures than to Alaskan cultures, directly indicates a coastal migration from Asia. Chaluka, though, begins with a well-developed maritime culture characteristic of other sites in the Aleutian Islands. Some artifacts from Anangula, excavated in 1960, such as stone vessels, ground stone, and stone for grinding ocher, were found at Chaluka and in other sites in the Aleutian Islands. Consequently, they are evidence of continuity (Laughlin 1967). However, the collection from Anangula consists primarily of small and large blades struck from multifaceted cores, wedges, and flakes and other blanks for making them; also discovered were characteristic transverse graver-scrapers. Although some of the above-mentioned categories of finds at the Anangula Blade site (named for its most characteristic feature) are similar to tools from later Aleut sites, in the latter the technique of core and blade preparation is entirely lacking, as are graver-scrapers with exclusively unifacially worked surfaces. Not one bifacially worked tool was encountered among 1,000 artifacts found on Anangula (McCartney and C. Turner 1966; Laughlin and Aigner 1966; Aigner 1970).

There is evidence that the period between the Blade site and the lower levels of Chaluka coincides completely with the termination of the glacial epoch and the beginning of Holocene times, though there existed a gap in time of almost 4,000 years. This circumstance, together with the noted substantial distinctions in the stone industry, gave (and gives) occasion for some researchers to attribute the archaeological culture of Anangula to ancestors not of the Aleuts but either of the Eskimos or of the Indians. The question of the character of the culture of Anangula and its correlations with the early cultures of Asia called forth additional expertise.

These questions were pursued in the work of the Soviet-American expedition of 1974, organized by the University of Connecticut through the initiative of W. Laughlin, leader of research on Anangula Island. Well-known Soviet scholars participated in the expedition, including specialists in the field of the early history of Siberia and Northeast Asia such as A. P. Okladnikov, A. P. Derevyanko, R. S. Vasil'evskii, V. E. Larichev, and A. K. Konopatskii (Laughlin and Okladnikov 1975; Okladnikov and Vasil'evskii 1976).

In the last three decades the question of the origin of the Aleuts has been viewed by Soviet scholars in the general context of the early history of the peoples of Asia, and the problem of the settlement of America as a component part of the problem of the origin and early history of northeast Paleo-Asiatics, Eskimos, and American Indians. It is reflected in the works of a problematic, theoretical character consisting of materials of the most recent archaeological and physical anthropological research in Northeast Asia, Kamchatka, Chukotka, the Okhotsk coast, and in Primor'e (Debets 1951, 1959; Levin 1958; Okladnikov 1971, 1979, 1983b; Fainberg 1964, 1971, 1980; Vasil'evskii 1973; Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975; Dikov 1977, 1979, 1985; Alexeev 1981, 1985; and others). Therefore, the opinions of the Soviet scholars on the expedition were very important.

Excavations were conducted initially at the Blade site. Soviet specialists noted the remarkable stratigraphy of this site in which cultural remains were connected with deposits of volcanic ash and dated by an extensive series of radiocarbon dates, forty-two samples. This constituted a rarity in richness and clarity of the occurrence of information not only in the archaeology of America but of the Old World as well. The stratigraphic data indicated that the first occupants of the island arrived there following the end of the glacial period, the remains of which were layers of light-gray silt with inclusions of pebbles and cobbles. Then Holocene times began, marked by a series of ash falls from nearby volcanos, particularly from the immense Akmak volcano. The stratigraphic section of the Blade site is clearly separated by five layers of volcanic ash (there were insignificant ash falls as well). The lower layer, the "key," of a white color, was deposited soon after the end of the glacial period, about 8,300–8,400 years ago. It has marked significance: the cultural remains lie under and over it. The age of the ash in layer III is 7,000–7,500 years old. Approximately 3,000 years ago the ash of layer IV fell. The activity of the people of the Anangula Blade site is noted by such chronological landmarks.

Because of the combined work of the Soviet and American scholars, the chief question—about the possibility of a correlation of the culture of the Anangula Blade site with cultures of Northeast Asia—was firmly substantiated.

If, for all of the American continent, the earliest single piece of important evidence on contact with Asia was the "Gobi core," then a whole series of new evidence was obtained from the Blade site: blades in traditional Levallois form, including one core of typical Levallois form; end cores ("Gobi" or "wedge-shaped"); pebble tools typical of Paleolithic Asia; "Mousterian points"; large "Siberian scrapers" with stepped spall removal; and corner or diagonal scrapers the same as in Japan ("Araya burins"), Mongolia (Khere-Ull hill in Khalkhin-Gole), Siberia (a site on the Angara near Irkutsk), and in the Soviet Far East (among them bipoints as well). All these finds confirm that the culture of the Anangula Blade site had genetic connections with the cultures of the Asiatic mainland that existed from approximately 17,000 to 10,000 years ago, and that the bearers of the Blade culture apparently went from Asia directly to the Aleutian Islands in separate waves, as distinct from those who diffused to the north into Alaska.

The next big question—the relation of the Blade culture to the latest, purely Aleut cultures, which begins in the lower levels of Chaluka—was reflected in the course of the work of the expedition. The latest cultures, as already noted, had one principal difference from the Blade culture: blades were lacking in them and the bifacial technique of tool preparation predominated, which is common to all the earliest cultures of the American continent, whereas the Blade culture is characterized exclusively by the unifacial technique of tool working. The question, therefore, is this: Were the bearers of the Anangula Blade culture the ancestors of the Aleuts, and were the Aleutian Islands settled by the latter continuously in the

course of 8,000–9,000 years, or did the Blade culture comprise a temporary and chance occurrence in the history of the named islands? Earlier, by means of indirect evidence, W. Laughlin and his colleagues gave a positive answer to this question. In the summer of 1974 on the basis of the cultural thickness of the second occupation on Anangula, the Village site, a transitional culture was identified, including both the blade technique and the bifacially worked tools. Here, besides unifacially worked blades, end cores, and "Siberian scrapers," were twenty-six bifacial points, including stemmed ones. One point was propeller-shaped or curved and was analogous to those known from excavations on Sakhalin, the Kuriles, and Hokkaido. So the connecting link between these cultures was found, establishing the amazing stability of the ancient culture of Anangula and its evolution into a new, purely Aleut form. Radiocarbon dates of 4,500 years ago and earlier confirm the conclusions (Laughlin and Okladnikov 1975).

However, not all researchers share W. Laughlin's ideas about the path of advancement of the ancestors of the Aleuts along the edge of the Bering Sea platform directly to the Aleutian Islands. Some American scholars more closely connect the early history of the Aleuts with the history of the Pacific Eskimos and the population of the Northwest Coast of America in general. In clarification of the prehistory of the Aleuts regarding their connection with cultures of the Pacific Coast of America, a noticeable contribution was made by the research of D. Clark on Kodiak Island (D. Clark 1966), W. Workman on Chirikov Island (Workman 1966), and R. Ackerman in Glacier Bay on the Northwest Coast (Ackerman 1979). Earlier, P. Drucker (1955:68) expressed a hypothesis about an Eskimo-Aleut base in the culture of the Indians of the Northwest Coast of North America, who, it was supposed, were later newcomers to this region, after the ancient Eskimo-Aleuts. This is confirmed by finds by K. Borden of an ancient Pre-Eskimo culture, similar to Eskimo, in the south of the Northwest Coast, on the lower course of the Fraser River (Borden 1962). In 1960–1970 on the Alaska Peninsula, D. Dumond conducted research. He calls this zone the critical border between the archaeological traditions of the Pacific Eskimos (among whom he distinguishes the Ocean Bay, Kodiak, and Aleut traditions) and those of the Bering Sea (Dumond 1969, 1977). On the northern side of the peninsula Dumond investigated sites he determined to be related to the northern Eskimo tradition, while he considered sites on the southern (Pacific) side—for example, Takli-Alder, dated to 4000 B.C.—to be ancestral in relationship to the ancient Aleut culture.

The acquired data have permitted the formulation of a somewhat different hypothesis of the origin of the Aleuts. According to this data the Pacific coast of northwestern America was settled 6000–5000 B.C. by related groups of peoples with a Subarctic culture oriented toward a coastal economy and characterized by a partial blade technology, one variant of which was found on Anangula, and others on Afognak (D. Clark 1979), at Ground Hog Bay near the city of Juneau (Ackerman 1973; Ackerman et al. 1979), at Hidden Falls near Sitka (Davis 1980), in the Queen Charlotte Islands (Fladmark 1971), and on the Canadian coast of the province of British Columbia (Carlson 1979). By 4000 B.C. the Proto-Aleut separated from this group and settled the eastern Aleutian Islands and southern shore of the Alaska Peninsula. In the course of the following two millennia Aleut culture developed in isolation, whereas the culture of the Eskimos of the Pacific coast and the island of Kodiak continued to undergo influence from the cultures of the coastal groups living as far away as British Columbia. After A.D. 1000 an increase was noted in cultural diffusion between the Bering Sea region and the Pacific coast, across the Alaska Peninsula (Dumond 1977). Such a generalized view of the early history of the region finds support with a number of scholars, but at the same time evokes questions and critical observations (Harp 1984; Dumond 1984).

Many American scholars completely reject a route of settlement of the Aleutian Islands through the Commanders. They consider (following Hrdlička) there to be no reliable archaeological evidence for

the assertion that these islands were settled by the Aleuts or other aboriginals until they were visited by the crew of the Bering Expedition at the discovery of the Aleutian Islands (Hrdlička 1945). The location of the Commander Islands between the Kamchatka Peninsula and the Aleutian Islands is not a sufficient basis for the assumption that the settlement of the Aleutian Islands passed by this route. In their opinion, there is also no data for the existence of commercial contacts between Asia and the Aleutian Islands before the arrival of the Russians, though ocean-going vessels of Asiatic origin perhaps drifted to the Aleutian Islands.

The similarity between the culture of the Aleuts and coastal cultures of the Pacific Rim of the Old World, such as the Okhotsk and Ancient Kurile, is explained by American archaeologists as convergent development based on a mode of life dependent on a sea adaptation (Befu and Chard 1964; McCartney 1974a, 1984; Ohyi 1975). A. McCartney maintains that this is a convergent line of cultural development of peoples of different origin who settled identical areas of a cold ocean and who lived by utilizing the same or similar sea animals, birds, fish, and invertebrates. Convergent development under conditions of a cold ocean may be demonstrable, he supposes, by the similarity between the cultures of the Aleuts and the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego (Dall 1877b:53, 64; McCartney 1975; 1984:135). It should be noted that in recent years there has been a tendency among American scholars to see cultures of the New World in the light of convergence and not as developing from cultures of the Old World.

The early history of the Aleuts reconstructed on the basis of archaeological and physical anthropological data is summed up by A. McCartney (1984). The period attested by the cultural remains (a culture of kitchen, or shell, middens) in the Aleutian Islands dates to a time of 2000 B.C. up to the 19th century. McCartney noted cultural continuity but at the same time divergence of physical anthropological features. Hrdlička's assumptions about the early long-headed and later broad-headed population was accepted by a number of contemporary physical anthropologists and found affirmation through studies in 1950–1970 of the stratigraphy in the Chaluka site (C. Turner et al. 1974).

The four-thousand-year history of the settlement of the Aleutian Islands recorded in the culture of shell middens is evident by the significant uniformity in the whole region during this time. Although inter-island comparison of archaeological materials was given little attention, almost all researchers of the Aleuts noted the lack of noticeable changes in the character of the tools by stratigraphic levels in the sites (Dall 1877b; Jochelson 1925; Laughlin and Marsh 1951; Bank 1953; Laughlin 1963b, 1967; McCartney 1974b; Aigner 1976b). The comparison of archaeological collections from individual islands and island groups shows a strong similarity among levels belonging to the same time periods ("horizontal relationship"). A. McCartney accounts for such cultural uniformity within the archipelago by pointing to analogous surrounding conditions in the islands; a common orientation toward a sea economy, that is, procurement from the sea of the same biological species with insignificant differences; the advancement of styles of artifacts along with the shift of population; the summoning of similar social, economic, and military goals; and geographic isolation of the chain from external cultural influences, excluding the easternmost part, which joins the edge of the Alaska Peninsula (McCartney 1974a, 1984).

It is noted that Aleut tools, being basically Eskimo in character, often have special styles that are encountered even in southwestern Alaska, though sometimes only in the archipelago itself.

In the layers of the shell middens slow temporal changes in the style of artifacts were noted, but very little is known of the horizontal markers for the separate cultural layers, with the exception of the

technique of ground slate, which was diffused in the course of the 1st millennium A.D., or the industry of long rod-like points with a socket for an end-blade, which appeared in the 2nd millennium A.D.

The archaeological phases determined for the Aleut area have not been revealed, except the Izembek at the end of the Alaska Peninsula (McCartney 1974b), this phase being similar to the subsequent archaeological phases at the base of the peninsula (Dumond 1971).

Concerning the correlation of the culture found on Anangula with later shell midden cultures of the Aleutian Islands, many scholars, including Soviet ones, share W. Laughlin's views, but at the same time other opinions are expressed. In particular, A. McCartney (1984) notes that the century of archaeological study of the Aleutian Islands has shown that the basic relationship of the cultures of the chain began about 4,000 years ago, but that questions of their relation to the Anangula culture are still being discussed and are far from resolved. There are three possible explanations for connection between the Anangula culture and those containing shell middens. The first theory is that the inhabitants of Anangula were the earliest settlers of the Aleutian Islands. Their cultural development arose in isolation, becoming the later Aleut culture; consequently, it is believed to have lasted over the course of 8,000 years. There was independent development, without external influence, of the culture of the Aleuts, their physical anthropological type, and the peculiarities of the language. This theory, as we indicated, was elaborated by W. Laughlin.

The second variant assumes the presence in Aleutian shell-midden cultures of a mixture of late Eskimo influence through the Alaska Peninsula and a more ancient Anangula substratum; meaning that there was both external influence and local development in isolation. This point of view is accepted in particular in the works of D. Dumond and A. McCartney (Dumond 1965, 1971, 1977; McCartney 1971, 1974b, 1984).

According to the third variant, the people who lived on Anangula died out. The Aleut culture, beginning about 4,500 years ago was the result of a second or even third or more settlement of the islands.

The first and second variants reflect models of cultural succession. The third variant proposes that the bearers of the Anangula culture were a people unrelated to the Aleuts inasmuch as the stone industry of the site is distinct from the stone industry of later Aleut cultures. The break between traditions is 3,500 years, a very large interval of time, and because of the lack of bone tools and skeletal remains at Anangula, it will never be possible to carry out comparisons with materials from later sites.

As already mentioned, in 1974 during the course of work by the Soviet-American expedition near the Anangula Blade site, the Village site was discovered, with a preliminary date of 6,000–5,000 years ago, offering finds of both unifacially and bifacially worked tools. Consequently, the typological base for determining a transition stage from the Anangula tradition to Aleut was found (Laughlin 1975, 1980). But in the opinion of some American archaeologists, this determination requires additional evidence. The points discovered are similar to points from the sites of Port Moller, Takli-Alder, and the coast along Shelikof Strait (G. Clark 1977; McCartney 1984).

However, all the scholars are unanimous that the Anangula tradition (apparently shorter in duration than the Aleut) is evidence of the existence of the isolated remains of the earliest Asiatic tradition that moved into the Arctic and Subarctic of the New World (McCartney and C. Turner 1966; Laughlin 1967, 1975). This tradition originated in the Upper Paleolithic tradition of Late Pleistocene times characteristic for Siberia about 15,000–20,000 years ago (Müller-Beck 1967; Chard 1974). In

the Old World it is called the Siberian Paleolithic tradition, whereas finds of cores and blades in several Alaskan sites are characterized as related to the Paleo-Arctic tradition (Anderson 1970; Dumond 1977). However, the latter term is understood by archaeologists in different ways and therefore Anangula is not always assigned to this tradition. As the Aleut tradition is distinct from the late Alaskan cultural traditions, so apparently will Anangula stand out among the traditions of earlier core and blade sites. When the collection from Anangula is compared with other Alaskan collections of cores and blades of 8500–5000 B.C. a basic similarity between them is noted, but differences are seen as well. The greatest difference between the materials of Anangula and other collections, such as the sites of Akmak, Gallager Flint Station, Ugashik, and Koggiung, is the lack in Anangula of bifacially worked tools, and at the other sites, of transverse burins of the Anangula type. Anangula also lacks a wide variety of blades made on multifaceted cores.

The hypothesis about an Amur-Hokkaido-Sakhlin area of origin for the ancestors of the Eskimo-Aleuts, together with the fact that two other branches of ancient populations—Paleo-Indians and groups of Na-Dene—developed in isolation and set out towards the New World by a more western route, has been substantiated in recent years by the American physical anthropologist C. Turner (1983, 1986). Based upon odontological studies he separates the Mongoloids into two types: the sundadontological (populations of Micronesia, Polynesia, and Japan of the Jomon period),[1] and sinodontological (populations of Siberia, American, and Japan after Jomon). Fifteen thousand years ago, C. Turner thinks, groups of sinodonts, moving from Northeast Asia, arrived in the Amur-Hokkaido-Sakhalin region, where they began to develop an Arctic technique for hunting sea mammals, becoming adapted to a coastal mode of life. Their route went along the southern shore of the Bering Land Bridge, which is attested to by the Anangula site. The region of the eastern Aleutian Islands should have been reached by the ancestors of the Eskimo-Aleuts before 12,000 years ago, when the bridge was flooded.

Thus, contemporary archaeologists separate the Aleutian Islands into two cultural traditions: the Anangula and the Aleut. The first, dating to about 6000 B.C., is known only by the Anangula site. This is a tradition of prismatic cores and blades, from small to large, with exclusively unifacial end-worked tools. The presence of strong influence from Northeast Asia on this tradition was determined by a technology of the preparation of cores and blades. In contrast to the Anangula, the Aleut tradition, dating approximately from 2500 B.C. to A.D. 1800, is known from sites throughout the archipelago. This tradition is one of irregular cores and flakes, which includes bifacially worked tools made from flakes, points with and without stems, knives, scrapers, and drills. Axes with flaked and ground edges and ulu knives were found, as well as bone artifacts. A strong influence of mainland Eskimos is present.

The Aleut tradition is represented by a whole series of investigated archaeological sites; an interesting survey of them was made by A. McCartney (1984). We will dwell on them briefly here, starting with sites in the eastern part of the Aleutian area.

The only sites excavated on the Alaska Peninsula are at Port Moller and Izembek Lagoon, both on the shores of the Bering Sea. The site at Port Moller (the Hot Springs site) is one of the largest in Southwest Alaska; here over 200 oval depressions of dwellings were discovered with the remains of internal fire pits and pits enclosed by clay or stone for storing food. Roofs were made of whale bone or wood. Entry into the dwelling was through the roof; an entrance tunnel was absent. Dates of the settlement are 1500–1000

[1] Jomon, the Neolithic culture of the Japanese Islands, which includes several periods, dates from 8,000 to 2,500 years ago and is named for the ornamentation on its clay vessels (*jomon* in translation means "rope design").

B.C. to A.D. 500–600 and 1000–1500. The inhabitants were determined from the skeletal remains to be Aleut and Eskimo (Laughlin 1951a, 1952a). A rich stone and bone industry at the Hot Springs site reflects its intermediate position between the Aleut tradition to the west and that of the mainland to the east (Workman 1966; McCartney 1969; Dumond et al. 1975). Such categories of artifacts that appeared were harpoon foreshafts, arrowheads, axes, blades, labrets, elongate points, knives, and scrapers.

At Izembek Lagoon over 100 dwellings were found that were similar to those discovered in the site at Port Moller, but all but one were apparently summer dwellings. It seems this was a summer camp. The majority of the flaked stone tools have a strong resemblance to collections from the Aleutian Islands.

The materials from the sites at Port Moller and Izembek Lagoon occupy an intermediate position between Aleut and mainland Eskimo cultures. No sharp cultural distinctions between the Aleuts and Eskimos of the Alaska Peninsula were noted for the later prehistoric period, though there is the possibility of a clear Eskimo-Aleut linguistic border somewhere on the peninsula. However, according to data from archaeological research, it is assumed that there was cultural continuity in the entire Aleutian archipelago and the Alaska Peninsula during the late prehistoric period (McCartney 1974a; Dumond 1974). This continuity could have had great time depth.

On Unga Island (Shumagin Islands), at Delarof Harbor, A. Pinart (1875), E. Lot-Falck (1957), and W. Dall (1875, 1880) collected in caves and described mummies and wooden artifacts that pertained to the late prehistoric and early historic periods (also see Veniaminov 1840:II).

Furthermore, painted masks, other items of wood, and wicker objects were found in caves and cliff niches on the islands of Kagamil and Unalaska. Similar specimens of the material culture were not preserved in the shell middens of the Aleutian Islands. Large shell middens, as on other islands in the Aleutians, were not found here.

Archaeological research on Tigalda (Krenitsyn Islands) revealed a site with shell middens dating from the first millennium A.D. to the Russian Period (McCartney 1984). There were several types of flaked stone tools very similar to collections from neighboring Akun Island and similar collections of the Izembek phase (C. Turner and J. Turner 1974). The Chulka site on Akun dates to A.D. 780–1870; in the upper layers objects of Russian and American origin were found. This prehistoric collection is typical for the other islands in the Fox group, but large proportions of polished slate ulu knives were found. The remaining artifacts include flaked scrapers, awls of bird bone, needles, bone wedges, and harpoon heads (C. Turner 1972). Dates of the Islelo site on this same island are earlier than 1155 B.C. Among the other ten sites excavated on Akun, Saa and Amatanan have the largest shell middens. C. Turner believes that the degree of variance of artifacts among the several Akun sites is greater than in other parts of the archipelago.

Archaeological research was undertaken on the island of Unalaska for the first time in the region of the bay by the same name, where the village of Illyulyuk [Iliuliuk] (present-day Unalaska) was located in the Russian Period. Work was also conducted on the island of Amaknak, situated in the same bay. Excavations in the 1940s, especially those by A. Kann, made this region the most studied in the archipelago. Here nineteen sites were discovered, dating to 1500–1000 B.C. Though the majority of the collected items do not have precise provenience to the layers of the site, the materials represent a broad series of styles of artifacts valuable for typological studies. Among the finds were bone tools; decorated pieces with representations of whales, sea lions, foxes, and birds; flaked stone points, knives, scrapers, all commonly made of basalt; and labrets (lip plugs) of *gagat* (jet), bone, and walrus tusk. Some Amaknak

bone implements were determined to be similar to those of Kodiak (Three Saints and Koniag phase [D. Clark 1966; McCartney 1984]).

After studying these collections G. Quimby concluded that there were two periods of prehistoric art among the Aleuts: early, similar to the art of the Dorset culture,[2] and late, resembling developed Punuk.[3] In addition, he noted a similarity to several decorated artifacts of all three periods of development of the Kachemak culture,[4] especially the second and third (Quimby 1945, 1948).

On a small island at Cape Sedanka on Unalaska, mummies were discovered (McCracken 1930; Weyer 1931). Similar burials in caves, cliff niches, and fissures were characteristic for the Unalaska region and date to the late prehistoric and early historic periods.

The Chaluka site, which was mentioned above, has been intensively excavated since 1909 (Jochelson 1925; Hrdlička 1945). The shell midden of this site (approximately 100 x 240 m and to 10 m deep) produced a huge quantity of finds—stone and bone artifacts, burials, and faunal remains—and is dated by radiocarbon better than any other site in the Aleutian Islands. Chaluka was occupied with only a small interruption from 2000 B.C. to the present day (Denniston 1966; C. Turner et al. 1974). A volcanic ash layer was found here mixed with the lower layers of the shell midden (Black 1976). It was situated higher than the four primary layers of ash in the stratigraphy of the Anangula Blade site. The layer with cores and blades at Anangula was located below the level of ash III (McCartney and C. Turner 1966). The time interval between the levels of ash III and ash IV is approximately 3,500–4,000 years. In the lower layers of Chaluka stone foundations of walls were found, which probably supported a roof of whale bone. Descriptions of the site, burials, and faunal remains are contained in many articles (see, for example: Laughlin 1961, 1974; Aigner 1966; Denniston 1966; Lippold 1966).

In the region of Nikolski Village on Umnak Island, the site at Sandy Beach Bay was found to be even more ancient than the lower layers of the Chaluka site (Aigner and Veltre 1976). The foundations of eight houses were excavated. Five radiocarbon dates indicate that the site could have been settled 500 years earlier than Chaluka, i.e., by 2500 B.C. The cultural horizon there is located right under ash IV (Black 1976). The stone artifacts found at the site bring McCartney to conclude that their technology was related to that of Chaluka, and not to the technology of the core and blade culture at Anangula (McCartney 1984). A second site at Sandy Beach Bay has a cultural layer right above the ash IV level, which dates to about 1000 B.C. Another site, discovered to the west of Sandy Beach Bay, at Idalyuk, was dated to 2200 B.C. (Black 1976).

Chaluka provided one of the most extensive series of human skeletons in the chain of islands (Jochelson 1925; Hrdlička 1945; Laughlin 1951a). On the whole, burials were made in a flexed position and covered with ocher; the preserved artifacts that accompanied them were of durable materials. No wooden covers were found or traces of wrapping of mat or skins, such as are characteristic of mummies from cliff niches or caves. Graves were also found on the slopes of hills in dug-out pits situated between drainage ditches in the form of a "V." Such burials are known as well on other islands in the central part

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[2] Dorset—a culture that existed in Canada and Greenland during the course of more than 1,500 years, approximately from the middle of the first millennium B.C. to the 8th–9th centuries A.D.

[3] Punuk—one of the Neo-Eskimo cultures of the Bering Sea, which existed approximately from the last centuries B.C. and which was replaced by Eskimo cultures in the 15th–19th centuries.

[4] Kachemak I–III—early Eskimo cultures of Southwest Alaska that existed from the 8th century B.C. (Kachemak I) to the 16th century A.D. (Kachemak III). The latter passed directly into the culture of the Chugach and Kodiak Eskimos. Kachemak I and II belong to the Paleo-Eskimo culture, Kachemak III to the Neo-Eskimo.

of the chain, including the islands of Kagamil and Atka. The cited construction is similar to pits for the storage of food supplies, which were subsequently used as graves. Together with these burials were found fragments of whale bone, just as in caves with mummies. This speaks in favor of some symbolic connection between whales and burials (Hrdlička 1945; May 1951; Aigner and Veltre 1976).

The single site excavated on the northeast end of Umnak Island is Ashishik Point. It dates from 200 B.C. to late prehistoric times, with a few breaks in the occupation. Though the collection of artifacts there is small, from the materials of this site G. Denniston (1974) succeeded in examining the diet of the Aleuts. She analyzed the faunal remains of the shell midden and ascertained the structure of the food resources, their seasonal alteration, and nutritional content. The following correlation of the food biomass being used was revealed: 1.0 part sea invertebrates, 1.8 parts birds, 35.9 parts fish, and 51.7 parts sea mammals. Sea and land plants in the shell middens were not determined, but it is supposed they provided only an insignificant quantity of food. Denniston's study of the Aleuts as part of the Aleut ecosystem is a model of contemporary research.

On the Islands of the Four Mountains there have been no excavations of shell middens. These islands are more well-known for the mummies collected from the caves of one of them, Kagamil (Dall 1875, 1880; Hrdlička 1945:238–242, 478, 479, 589–610). Similar burial caves were examined on Shiprock Island (between Unalaska and Umnak), in Chernofski Bay on Unalaska, and on Ilak (of the Delarof group of islands) (Hrdlička 1945:312–337, 412–417).

The Kagamil series of mummies is the largest, including sixty-three mummies, skeletons, thirty skulls, and other things. The mummies represent both sexes of all ages; a burial inventory of tools, dress, and equipment accompanied them. The Kagamil caves provided, in addition to biological finds and evidence of the technique of mummification, a better collection of organic materials that have not been preserved in shell middens. Wooden objects include combs, shields, armor made of slats, and kayak frames. Clothing and a variety of bags (of gut, hide, and bird skins) were found, as well as artifacts of vegetable fiber (wicker mats, baskets, bags, and nets), thread, cord, and rope of sinew and seaweed (Dall 1880; Hrdlička 1945:238–242, 478, 479, 589–610). Excellent preservation of the finds and folklore reports of the historic period about the burials on Kagamil compel the supposition that the mummies discovered there, just as on other islands of the archipelago, belong to the late prehistoric and early historic periods. W. Laughlin devoted interesting research to the Aleut mummies (1980, 1981).

The Andreanof Islands have been significantly less well examined archaeologically than the Fox Islands. Materials from excavations conducted during the last century on Amlia, Atka, Adak, Kanaga, and Tanaga have yet to be sufficiently examined and published (Dall 1877b; Jochelson 1925; Hrdlička 1945; Bank 1952a, 1952b). In the 1970s intensive excavations were conducted on Atka (Veltre 1979). The cultures of the shell middens here were dated to between A.D. 1000 and 1400 and underlie the settlements of the beginning of the 19th century. The prehistoric inventory of the Korovin site and others in the Andreanof group of islands were on the whole similar in style and material to artifacts of the eastern islands. These are basalt knives, scrapers, points, stone lamps, polishing and grinding stones, sinkers, bone harpoon foreshafts, fishhooks, awls, and wedges.

Amchitka is the only island of the Rat group to be studied archaeologically. Sites on Kiska and Little Kiska were originally examined by W. Dall and A. Hrdlička (Dall 1877b; Hrdlička 1945). At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, seventy-three sites were discovered (C. Turner 1970; McCartney 1977). About twenty shell middens were excavated, which produced almost 11,000 artifacts.

Some dates were established by radiocarbon, attesting to settlement of the island ca. 600 B.C. (Desautels et al 1970). Some styles of artifacts from Amchitka seem unique for this group of islands and for the more western Near Islands; others have cultural connections with the central and eastern islands. The remains of deep housepits with wooden upper construction were found as well. The only completely excavated house (6 x 7 m, 0.5 m deep) is dated to A.D. 1500. In its construction very few whale bones were used, whereas houses discovered at Izembek Lagoon were made entirely of whale bone. However, houses of Amchitka and Izembek were similar in size and they differed from the significantly large communal houses of the early Russian Period in the eastern part of the Aleutian Islands.

The Near Islands are the westernmost group and the smallest. In 1880–1881 the sites on these islands were examined by L. Turner (1886). Later, excavations were conducted by W. Dall, V. I. Jochelson, and A. Hrdlička on the islands of Attu and Agattu (Dall 1877b; Jochelson 1925; Hrdlička 1945). Small collections were made there during World War II (Hurt 1950; McCartney 1971). In 1949 A. Spaulding excavated a site at Krugloi Point on Agattu that dates to the middle of the first millennium B.C. (Spaulding 1962). On the basis of a poor assemblage of types of tools the researcher concluded that the reason for their archaic appearance and simplicity was isolation. However, based on studies of collections from Agattu, as well as from the nearby islands of Semichi and Attu, A. McCartney concluded that the tools in this island group are the same as those in the more eastern islands. In his opinion, isolation affected only the technology of manufacture of some stone and bone objects of different styles found only on islands of this group or on the nearby Rat Islands (McCartney 1971).

The question of the variability of Aleut culture with regard to the islands and their cultures was viewed earlier by T. Bank, W. Laughlin, and others (Laughlin 1952b, 1958; Bank 1953). It was noted that styles of stone tools in the eastern, central, and western groups of islands were not uniform. In contrast to A. Hrdlička's theory of two waves of settlement, these scholars accounted for differences in physical anthropological types and cultural styles by isolation of the population in the islands and island groups of the extended archipelago. This brought forth regional variations. Such variations from the late Anangula period might have formed physical anthropological, linguistic, and cultural traditions going from east to west with successive transmission from one to the other.

At the same time, even A. McCartney's basic conclusion from the comparative archaeological study of the whole Aleut area is that the collections of artifacts illustrate the cultural continuation from east to west. The collating of collections from only one island group and its neighbors produces the impression that the styles of a given island are not like those from any other group, though in part there are styles from nearby groups. Though, as McCartney confirms, there exist stylistic variations between island groups, on the whole there is a basic cultural complex throughout the whole chain. The commonality of the artifacts is found, in his opinion, in direct conformity with a unified coastal adaptation in similar coastal surroundings (McCartney 1974a, 1984).

Life in the islands made the Aleuts exclusively a maritime adapted people. Their dependence on the sea was total. The mixed waters of the Pacific Ocean and the Bering Sea in the region of the Aleuts are characterized by one of the highest percentages of concentration of nutrients in the world. Therefore, they were rich in sea mammals, fish, birds, and various mollusks. In addition, the migration routes of different sea mammals and birds passed across the archipelago. In the coastal shallows the Aleuts fished with nets and hooks from the shore; in the deep coastal waters they caught fish from boats, and hunted sea mammals; in the sea, river, and lake waters they took water fowl and fished.

Analysis of the faunal remains from shell middens along the entire chain of islands indicates which forms were the basis for food and materials for tools. Between the island sites there occurred small variations in the kinds of animals, fish, birds, and mollusks, and in the proportions of use of one or another food. The main animals used were sea otters, seals, northern fur seals and sea lions, large and small whales, dolphins (sea pigs), foxes, cormorants, ducks, geese, cod, halibut, salmonids, sea urchins, gastropod mollusks-chitons, sea combs, and others. The Aleuts to the west of Unimak depended entirely on such kinds of food obtained from the sea. The residents of Unimak itself and the end of the Alaska Peninsula added to that the meat of walrus and land animals, primarily caribou.

Sites were usually situated on low coasts where there was easy access to the sea. It is calculated that only from 5% to 10% of the coastline of all the Aleutian Islands were opportune for the founding of a settlement (McCartney 1975, 1977). Sites have a tendency toward cultural absence—that is, they were abandoned and settled again with an interval of as much as 1,000 years. Summer camps were settled near streams with salmon or cliffs with birds, where temporary dwellings of the semisubterranean type were constructed.

By the beginning of the Russian Period there existed large dwellings in the eastern part of the Aleutian Islands, deep in the ground and as much as 50 m long, which accommodated a large number of families. Dwellings of 2000 B.C. were significantly smaller, probably for one small family, and made of boulders, whale bones, and driftwood. The transition from small to large houses apparently occurred in the last 500 years (McCartney 1984:134).

The hunting tools of the Aleuts include harpoons, spears, darts, throwing boards, bows, arrows, and clubs. Two types of harpoon points are noted: toggling and non-toggling harpoons, the latter being more widespread. For fishing, both the fishhook (simple and compound) on lines with sinkers and nets with floats were used. Bone clubs, hoes, and shovels were employed as tools for collecting and digging. Wood and bone instruments are represented by wedges, axes, drills, knives with flaked stone blades, and scrapers. For working skins, a variety of knives were used, including ulus with polished slate blades, scrapers, bone awls, perforators, and needles. In the sites are such household utensils as vessels of whale vertebrae, bone and wooden spoons and scoops, hammers, stone lamps and cooking pots, slabs for grinding and pounding, and stones for grinding ocher. Objects of adornment include labrets of bone, walrus tusks, and *gagat*, small batons and pendants, carved bone chains, and representations of animals. Also encountered were beautifully made pieces of wood for an unknown purpose.

The raw material for making tools, clothing, boats, and other items was found throughout the entire archipelago, though with some variations. Bones, skins, driftwood, and basalt were accessible on the majority of islands, though they were sometimes obtained by means of trade with residents of nearby territories. For example, on Umnak all the essential materials for the production of stone tools and other objects (argillite, basalt, andesite, obsidian, scoria, pumice, and volcanic tuff) were found on the island (Black 1976). Obsidian is a comparatively rare material for points and scrapers, and it was spread by the exchange route from the eastern part of the Aleutian archipelago to the remaining islands (McCartney 1977:108–109).

The hypothesis expressed by contemporary Soviet scholars regarding the origin and early history of the Aleuts and Eskimos links them with the ancient history of Northeast Asia. In contrast, those hypotheses set forth in recent years by American scholars have a tendency to see the aboriginal cultures

of the New World, including the Eskimo-Aleuts, as the result of convergent development in complete isolation from cultures of the Old World after the original settling from Asia.

The hypotheses of Soviet scholars are based on materials of archaeological and physical anthropological research in Chukotka, Kamchatka, the Okhotsk coast, Sakhalin, the Amur area, and Primor'e. They primarily agree, differing only in a few instances. On the contemporary stage in Asia quests to find cultures related to the early American ones are intensively conducted. However, based on the accumulated data the picture of the historical development in the north of the Pacific Ocean basin becomes ever more complicated.

S. A. Arutyunov and D. A. Sergeev (1975), who conducted excavations of early Eskimo cultures in Chukotka, proposed the following hypothesis of the origin of the Eskimos and Aleuts, stressing particularly that the formation of the basic features of the Eskimo culture occurred in the region of the Bering Sea long before the Christian era. They proposed that the original place of settlement of the Eskimo-Aleut tribes, culturally and ethnically connected with tribes of coastal Okhotsk, Primor'e, early Japan, and Eastern Asia, were more southern territories—along the northern part of coastal Okhotsk. From there the above-mentioned tribes, under pressure from Paleo-Asiatics, pushed into the north and, moving across the narrow part of the Kamchatka Peninsula, went to the Bering Sea. Evidence for this route is provided by the contemporary geographic names in northern Kamchatka which have Eskimo origins. However, archaeological research in recent decades (Dikov 1977) indicates that Kamchatka was settled even before the arrival of the Eskimo-Aleut tribes. Some of the new arrivals were possibly assimilated, but the majority of them passed on to the north. Later the Eskimos crossed the Bering Strait in the region of St. Lawrence Island in the south and the Diomede Islands in the north. Their divergence from the Aleuts probably occurred when one of the Eskimo-Aleut groups either crossed to the Aleutian Islands through the Commanders, or came there, passing along the southwestern part of Alaska. In the opinion of Arutyunov and Sergeev, there was already a population in the Aleutian Islands—most probably Indian tribes which came from the east. The authors suggest that evidence of borrowing from the Indians, especially for the islands near the mainland, is present in the art, material culture, and language of the Aleuts. The archaeological and ethnographic materials emphatically point to cultural parallels between extreme Northeast Asia and the regions that are located at the juncture of the Okhotsk and Japan Seas. They note that the history of Hokkaido up to the first millennium B.C. was on the whole tightly connected with the early history of the Japanese archipelago with its Neolithic cultures: Proto-Jomon—6th to 5th millennium B.C. and Jomon—4th to 1st millennium B.C. The cultures belonged, in their opinion, to the ancestors of the Ainu—the Paleo-Ainu.

At a later time in Sakhalin, on the northern shores of Hokkaido, and in the Kurile Islands the Yuzhnookhotskaya [Southern Okhotsk] culture was diffused. Its largest sites were the Susuisk site on Sakhalin and the shell midden of Maioro on Hokkaido. The early stages of this culture have been dated to the beginning of the first millennium A.D., the later stages to the end of it. S. A. Arutyunov and D. A. Sergeev find similarities of construction in the bone inventory of the Yuzhnookhotskaya culture and Bering Sea-Okvik stage of Eskimo culture (harpoon heads, labret-like plugs for floats, bone hoes, small shovels, and others). They note that the bearers of the Maioro culture, even in paleoanthropological respect, are close to the Eskimos and Aleuts. The Yuzhnookhotskaya and Aleut cultures are especially close in their use of non-toggling harpoon points. Ornamentation of the Yuzhnookhotskaya points is most similar to Punuk. The authors conclude that elements of Old Bering Sea culture and cultures related to

it possibly diffused in the first centuries of the Christian era from north to south, where those elements formed a base on which the Yuzhnookhotskaya took shape.

The above-mentioned authors supposed that the earlier Eskaleut population of Kamchatka merged partially with Itel'men and Koryak who arrived there, and that contacts with the Eskaleut population of Kamchatka in turn contributed to the formation among the Koryak of an economic-cultural type of sea mammal hunting in the first centuries of the Christian era. The Paleo-Eskaleut culture of the latter was, upon the arrival of the Paleo-Asiatics, almost completely assimilated by them, but it formed the very foundation upon which the cultures of the Okhotsk Sea originated.

N. N. Dikov (1979:76, 180–182 ff) connects the source of Eskimo culture with the terminal Paleolithic culture of levels V–VI of the Ushki site on Kamchatka (age 8,000–10,000 years), which he examined . Labret-like objects, wedge-shaped cores, and other artifacts were revealed from investigation of the indicated culture, which confirm its membership to a Proto-Eskaleut population and which contain a number of features that, being then spread through Alaska, created a substrate for the Proto-Eskimo culture. In particular, this technique of flaking knife-like blades from wedge-shaped cores, along with bifacial pressure reworking of stone edges and points, is encountered in such 8,000–10,000-year-old complexes of Alaska as Campus, Healy Lake, Donnelly Ridge, and Teklanika (Bandi 1969:51; Anderson 1970). But in this regard Dikov stresses (1983:25; 1985:21–22) that the blade culture of Anangula did not derive directly from levels V–VI of Ushki, since it is more similar (but not with a direct linear connection) to the early Ushki Paleolithic site of level VII, which dates to 14,000–13,000 years ago. Taking into account the connections and analogies of the archaeological complexes of the Denali culture and in part the Akmak of Alaska, Dikov writes, the late Ushki Paleolithic culture can with complete confidence be considered to have spread at the end of the Pleistocene into Alaska and to have played there a definite role in the formation of the Proto-Eskimo-Aleuts: "The divergence of the Denali and Akmak cultures probably occurred in Beringia or in Alaska—on the one hand, in the Denby Proto-Eskimo complex, and on the other, in the Anangula Proto-Aleut" (Dikov 1983:24–25).

N. N. Dikov (1979:182; 2004:95) expresses the hypothesis that the ancestors of the Eskimos and Aleuts initially, as long ago as the end of the Pleistocene–beginning of the Holocene, spread across the Bering Land Bridge from Asia into northwestern America, and then under conditions of post-glacial isolation underwent ethnic differentiation in the territory of southern and southwestern Alaska and western Canada. As a result of this an Eskimo ethnocultural commonality, which had specialized in hunting with the toggling harpoon, was separated out by the second millennium B.C. Its noticeable ethnographic feature, as among the Aleuts, over a long time and throughout substantial territory, was labrets.

This hypothesis corresponds in significant degree to the hypothesis of locating the sources of Eskimo culture in the region of Bristol Bay in southwest Alaska, which divides most scholars. Dikov (1979:180) recognizes a strong southern influence from British Columbia in the formation of early western Alaskan Eskimo culture, maintaining the same proposition as F. Drucker (1955:68) about the early Eskimo substrate on the Northwest Coast of America.

R. S. Vasil'evskii, on the basis of materials from his own excavations on the Okhotsk coast, Sakhalin, and the Amur region, as well as comparative analysis of materials of archaeological complexes of the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene from the northwestern and northern districts of the Pacific basin, promotes the hypothesis of the existence of two centers of original development of the coastal type of economy: one on the shore of Northeast Asia, connected with the formation of the northeastern

Paleo-Asiatics; the other in southwestern Alaska, the place of formation of the earliest Eskimo cultures (1973, 1975, 1976). Distinct connections can be traced in the stone industry of the Anangula Blade site to cultures of the Far East; that is, the Anangula inventory has on the whole an Asiatic appearance. Because of this, Vasil'evskii believes (agreeing with W. Laughlin's point of view) that the peopling of the Aleutian Islands arose in the east: evidently about 10,000 years ago the first Aleuts passed along the southern coast of the Bering Sea platform and came down to the Umnak-Anangula point of land and laid the foundation of the Paleo-Aleut culture.

About 4,000 years ago the Paleo-Aleut culture evolved in the Aleutian Islands with a specialized coastal way of life. At this same time, or somewhat later, on the Okhotsk coast (possibly up to the Anadyr' River) a culture of northeastern Paleo-Asiatics with a coastal economic base was also formed. In the first millennium B.C. in Sakhalin, the Okhotsk (Yuzhnookhotskaya) culture of sea mammal hunters developed. These cultures, in distinction from Eskimos, were characterized by barbed harpoon points and original bifacially worked knives. R. S. Vasil'evskii believes that early cultures of this sphere—Okhotsk, Old Koryak, Aleut—were connected by a common initial historical base, and are significantly distinct from Eskimo cultures by primary, specific features.

The historical-cultural connections of northeastern Paleo-Asiatics, and particularly the Itel'men and Koryak of the eastern shore of Kamchatka, with Eskimos and Aleuts were investigated by I. S. Vdovin. He cites a whole series of ethnographic and linguistic materials, as well as historic information, which show common elements that the Koryak and Itel'men cultures share with the Aleuts. Comparing them with data from archaeological research of recent decades on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kamchatka, Sakhalin, and Hokkaido, the author concludes that the ancestors of the Aleuts were inhabitants of the western shore of Hokkaido many years ago, probably of the Kurile Islands, and undoubtedly of the eastern coast of Kamchatka, and he speaks of Aleut connections with this population, which continued even later (Vdovin 1972, 1973).

A generalized view of the ethnic history of the northwestern part of the Pacific Ocean was developed by the Soviet scholars T. I. Alexeeva, V. P. Alexeev, S. A. Arutyunov, and D. A. Sergeev (1983:16):

Neolithic sites of the northwestern part of the Pacific basin indicate that the northwestern Pacific Ocean was the place where a number of sea mammal hunting cultures were formed. These cultures played a significant role both in opening up the Arctic and in the ethnic history of the more southern regions, even as far as the Japanese archipelago.

And farther:

> On the basis of common ideas about changes in archaeological cultures in the North Pacific basin and comparison of the results of the research carried out on them through ethnographic observation, as well as from linguistic materials about the nearness of these or other languages to each other, it is possible to think that the most probable schema for change in ethnic membership of the population on the vast coast of the northwestern part of the Pacific Ocean is this: in the Paleolithic, that which refers in America to the Proto-Indians; later, to the ancestors of the Eskimos and their relatives the Aleuts (Proto-Eskaleuts); and still later, in the historic epoch under review, to early Paleo-Asiatics, ancestors of the present-day Chukchi, Koryak, and Itel'men (Alexeeva et al. 1983:17).

And further:

> Thus, it can be said that long before the Christian era the western shore of the Bering Sea was settled by Proto-Eskaleuts. Unfortunately, currently no sites are known in which it would be possible to follow the gradual formation of the highly developed specialized culture of maritime hunters characteristic for Eskimos and Aleuts. We arranged the material, which characterizes this culture in the later stages, in the form of numerous burial areas of Chukotka. These are the first centuries B.C. and the first millennium A.D., when this culture appears before us already completely developed (Alexeeva et al. 1983:18).

The place of the Aleuts in the framework of archaeological races, writes V. P. Alexeev, is sufficiently original that it is explained both by the factor of isolation and by adaptive processes. By this he believes that the Proto-Aleuts initially differed from the Proto-Eskimos, that after the division from the latter they inhabited Primor'e and the nearby islands, and that they absorbed a portion of southern Mongoloid and possibly even eastern Mongoloid elements (Alexeev 1981; Alexeev and Trubnikova 1984). These assumptions are confirmed by both the southern analogies of the archaeological inventory of Anangula and Chaluka and those found on the Asiatic coast of the Pacific Ocean and nearby islands (Vasil'evskii 1973, 1976; Okladnikov and Vasil'evskii 1976, 1980). Thus, evidence of dwellings of the ancestors of the Aleuts (and Eskimos) farther to the south attracts the attention of researchers all the more.

Analysis of ethnographic materials leads us to conclude that there was a long period of development in the culture of the Aleuts under the ecological conditions of the Aleutian Islands and permits determining its specific character and distinction from the Eskimo culture that is related to it (Lyapunova 1975a), as well as noting interesting evidence of a southern origin for a number of elements in this culture. Take, for example, the character of Aleut clothing—long parkas of bird skins or skins of sea (not land!) animals and *kamleiki* [gut raincoats] of intestines of sea mammals—which differ by their cut from the clothing of Eskimos and other circumpolar people. The lack of half-length clothing—that is, trousers and foot wear among the Aleuts—makes it appear these were introduced (and preserved by tradition) from more southern places of habitation. Further, the type of Aleut skin baidarka (Eskimo kayak) may be genetically connected with one of the variants of the Amur birch bark boats with a half-covered deck. In addition, one has to suppose that the curvilinear decoration of the Aleuts, consisting of combinations of curves and spirals, is not just chance similarity with analogous decoration of the peoples of the Lower Amur, which is encountered in the Neolithic cultures of Primor'e, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. Interesting in this respect are V. R. Kabo's indications of possible connections of Amur decoration with the characteristic ornamental style of the peoples of Oceania and Australia (1975). In this connection he relies on the conclusions of A. P. Okladnikov regarding the peculiarities of petroglyphs of the Lower Amur with spiral motifs predominating in them: "Ethnographic analogy of petroglyphs of the Amur lead us . . . to the southern seas of the Pacific Ocean" (Okladnikov 1971:92, 95–98, 106, 116–121). Very interesting as well are the assertions of H. Collins that Japanese cultural influence is quite distinct in the famous Aleut masks from the Shumagin Islands (Collins 1973:18).

Thus, there is even more marked evidence of the ancient ethnocultural commonality of all this broad area—"the large Pacific Ocean cultural community" (Okladnikov 1971:121).

A separate position among American scholars on the questions of the ethnogenesis and early history of the Aleuts has been occupied in recent years by L. Black. This researcher, in undertaking her

investigation of Aleut art, primarily bases her research on archaeological and ethnographic materials found in various museums of the world and employed for the first time to such a complete extent in research (Black 1982). Black designates the art of the Aleuts as "a rope of many strands," stressing its diversity and variability in time and space. Characterizing Aleut art of the prehistoric period, she notes that archaeological collections on this theme are extremely poor and fragmentary, and it is possible to rely only on a few materials from the eastern part of the Aleutian Islands. Black proposes the hypothesis that in the indicated region there were three art styles: the first similar to the Dorset tradition, the second to the Okvik tradition, and the third to a style developed from them, comparable to the Punuk style in the region of the Bering Strait. The sequence of the first two styles, located in different regions, was different, and for a certain period was characterized by their coexistence. She points out a striking parallel coincidence in development of the Punuk style in the eastern Aleutian Islands and in the region of the Bering Strait, assuming most probably mutual cultural influence.

Black assumes the existence of some separate isolated artistic traditions for the central part of the chain, and, for the most western prehistoric art in Attu, complete difference from the other artistic styles of the tradition. On the whole she comes to the conclusion, stipulating its preliminary character, that both in prehistoric and in historic times separate regional traditions characterized Aleut art. The latest, in her opinion, in a number of cases are related to other cultural traditions in the North Pacific basin. The researcher believes the art of the eastern Aleuts might have been connected not only with the prehistoric (Dorset and Okvik) styles indicated earlier but with the more recent prehistoric art of the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak Island, Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, and the Northwest Coast of North America. In particular, she notes parallels between Neo-Aleut traditions of the Alaska Peninsula and Kodiak and the art of the Aleuts of the Shumagin Islands.

Black distinguishes as separate the art style of the Islands of the Four Mountains, the most western of the group of the eastern Aleutian Islands, designating this style as having strong leanings toward the Koryak culture of Kamchatka and toward comparatively recent Eskimo whale-hunting cultures of the extreme north of the Bering Sea. For the central part of the Aleutian Islands (Andreanof Islands) of the historic period she suggests a line of connections with recent cultures of Norton Sound and the lower reaches of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers, and for prehistoric art of this region, a line of connection with the Okvik tradition.

Attu art, as already noted, stands apart. Black defines examples of its fine plastic arts as having similarities with sculpture of the Even (Tungus) of the Okhotsk coast and settlements on the Yenisei. She also shows that hints in mainland Asian influence might be distinguished in all regions, but their original, transitional foundation, and possible routes of transfer are not known.

Definite opinions have already been expressed in the literature concerning parallels in early Aleut art with the Dorset tradition. A whole series of scholars share the point of view that the art tradition of the Dorset (and Pre-Dorset) as ancestral lies at the base of the art tradition of the archaeological cultures in the regions of the Bering Sea, Southwest Alaska, the Northwest Coast of America, and the Aleutian Islands (Taylor and Swinton 1967). It has been noted that some Dorset-Aleut parallels look like part of Okvik, Old Bering Sea, and Ipiutak cultures, whereas others belonged only to cultures of the Aleutian Islands and the Dorset. Parallels of Aleut artifacts with Dorset were noted for Amaknak Island by G. Quimby (1945) and for Chaluka by W. Laughlin and G. Marsh (1951:82).

Dorset art of the eastern Aleutian Islands is characterized by moderate usage of geometric ornamentation with deeply cut lines and the presence of X-shaped designs on various tools and strongly stylized anthropomorphic representations. Inherent in the zoomorphic sculpture is the characteristic Dorset "skeletal" motif (cut lines along the surface denoting the bones of a skeleton). It also appears in some anthropomorphic representations. Other motifs of this style are the reproduction of faces of sea mammals with emphasized nostrils as well as two thick lines at intervals painted in black and red, some with a zigzag "toothed" motif. Also encountered in the eastern Aleutian Islands are miniature carved figures of birds, especially falcons and owls, and strongly stylized representations of human faces on various kinds of tools, both peculiar to Dorset. But the greatest agreement with Dorset, according to Black, are Aleut human figurines, even though only one such is known at present, from Chaluka, published by Laughlin and Marsh (1951:82).

Another "strand of the rope," in Black's opinion, is the Okvik tradition, which is closely interwoven with Dorset. Characteristic Okvik geometric ornamentation (substyle "C," according to Collins), consisting of combinations of straight lines with spurs and circles at the ends, are found on the bone foreshafts of Aleut harpoons. The Aleut-Okvik tradition in sculpture is illustrated by the author first and foremost in the example, published for the first time, of the figurine from site "D" on Amaknak Island, excavated in 1971 by T. Bank, which received the name "Jowly Man." It is very similar to the figurine discovered by F. Rainey at the Okvik site: this had the same amorphous body, short large head without neck, ears in low relief, face with uncommonly wide cheeks, and analogous study of the features (Rainey 1941:453–469). The find of this figurine permits Black to speak of documenting the presence of Okvik features in the prehistoric art of the eastern Aleuts. This Okvik tradition, in her view, is continued into historic times by human figurines on wooden head-gear. This abstract treatment of the human body includes male figurines of cubic form in the "hollow cube" style.

For the central Aleutian Islands, Black also suggests connections with the Okvik-Old Bering Sea tradition and as evidence cites masks from Atka Island, one of which, it appears, is very reminiscent of the mask of "the master of the underworld," excavated in the Ekven burial mound in Chukotka (Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975). Black connects discoveries at sites with the Okvik type of armless coarse torsos and oval heads to similar figurines from the burial cave on Kagamil Island. Concerning the population of the Islands of the Four Mountains, Black proposes that there was possibly a second wave from the Bering Strait region, genetically connected in antiquity with the early settlers of the eastern part of the Aleutian Islands, but separated from them by protracted independent development. In addition, this group had as its cultural base other features peculiar to peoples of northeastern Siberia and the Paleo-Asiatics.

The Punuk style, which is characterized by the appearance of naturalistic carved bone figurines, is illustrated for Black by a female figurine from Amaknak of walrus tusk in a high conical hat by the name "Lady Amaknak." The author speaks at the same time about the entire lack of a new vision of the world in this style of carving innovation. Sculptural representations—such as the figurine from Chaluka, "Jowly Man," and "Lady Amaknak," as with a variety of styles on the whole—could coexist, each reflecting its own definite function. For example, "Lady Amaknak" could illustrate a woman's shamanistic power or a mythological personage. In the contours of her torso is seen the Punuk style, while in her face is seen the Okvik (or Okvik-Dorset). The proportions of the large head in relation to the body is Okvik.

Black notes the amazing coexistence in the Aleutian Islands of elements of design of Dorset, Okvik, and Punuk styles and has a basis for speaking about the cultural process which never stopped and in

which many factors exerted influence, including different kinds of migration, trade, travel, and wars with the capture of prisoners. As in the striking example of the presence of a distinctive style uncharacteristic of the tradition for the region, she focuses on the materials from the burial caves in the Islands of the Four Mountains, settled in the past, in her opinion, by groups ethnically and culturally distinct from the inhabitants of the eastern Aleutian Islands. Black calls them "Whale Hunters of Kagamil." The mummified bodies of the latter were found in caves of the island, as well as in some places on the islands of Unalaska, Atka, Amlia, and Shiprock. The author summarizes the available historic and archaeological material and concludes that in the Aleut area only the occupants of the Islands of the Four Mountains in prehistoric times were hunters of whales and introduced the practice of mummification among the Aleuts. Culturally, possibly even ethnically, they were distinct from the Aleuts, and were late arrivals in the archipelago, but neither the time of their appearance there nor the boundaries of their former area of occupation or their distribution within the Aleutian Islands can be determined for lack of archaeological materials.

Black establishes her position above all in the manner of burial. Mummification preceded, in her opinion, cremation (based on the excavations of Hrdlička) and burial in graves (based on materials of Hrdlička and Bank). Equipment of the Kagamil people was generally Aleut, but this, Black believes, is a quickly disseminated element of culture, in distinction from burial rites.

Black recounts the evidence for distinctness from the Aleut traditions of the artifacts found in the Kagamil caves. Among them are examples of fur mosaics, characteristic for peoples of northeastern Siberia, and especially of the Koryak; large conical baskets of fir root and birch bark, materials evidently imported from mainland Alaska, which, in her opinion, were similar in form most of all to the conical grass baskets of the Koryak; and baskets sewn of skins, with a hoop on top, embellished by spirals of fur, probably the earliest known examples among the Aleuts of the spiral motif. The colors black, red, and white prevailed, and in Black's opinion, were unusual for the Aleuts. The sculptures also are very distinct from those mentioned above for the Aleuts (from Chaluka and Amaknak): they are wooden, coarse figurines of people with no arms or legs, only a head and torso. Some discovered figurines of animals are very coarse; some are adorned over the whole surface with black dots. Black also notes the historically known isolation of the population of the Islands of the Four Mountains and their hostility with their nearest neighbors. She writes in conclusion that "certain elements in the cultural inventory of the Kagamil people suggest parallels with the cultures of Kamchatka" (Black 1982:28).

It seems to us that Black's thesis on the polymorphism of the culture in the population of the Aleutian Islands sounds rather convincing when the discussion is on the variability of Aleut art in the region settled by them and in the period of occupation of the islands. However, when this variability is accounted for by the heterogeneity of the population of the islands and its successive change—that is, as if the unity of the Aleuts as a definite ethnos breaks up into several groups—then there emerges a contradiction with the already rather reliably established evidence of their unity through the data of linguistics, physical anthropology, and archaeology.

Black supported the hypothesis about polymorphism in the culture of the population of the Aleutian Islands in another work as well. This work is dedicated to a critical survey of contemporary interpretations of the origin and early history of the Aleuts (Black 1983). Black notes the principle distinction of the concepts of American and Soviet archaeologists on this question. American scholars, she stresses, view the Aleutian Islands as a dead-end area, where the ancestors of contemporary Aleuts became adapted to sea hunting on the open sea and developed their independent culture in isolation from other peoples.

And their opinions differ only in those questions concerning the time of the origin of the settlement and diffusion of the Aleuts into the different parts of the archipelago. Soviet scholars on the contrary, Black points out, suggest that the settlement of the Aleutian Islands occurred in different periods and with significant contacts with peoples of Asia (Vasil'evskii 1971, 1973; Vdovin 1972, 1973; Arutyunov and Sergeev 1975; Dikov 1977, 1979). They differ in their opinions only on specific dates and on the character of such contacts, believing that 6,000 years ago there existed intercontinental connections, sporadic and confined, which lasted from after the first millennium A.D. to the middle of the 18th century.

The conclusions of Soviet archaeologists, in Black's opinion, are in several respects more connected with the ethnographic and ethnohistoric evidence. On this basis she concludes that reconsideration of the prehistory of the Aleuts, which exists at present in American science, is possible, in accordance with recent archaeological finds in the USSR, as well as with folkloric, linguistic, and ethnographic data. The researcher stresses that the understanding of Aleut prehistory is decisive for clarification of basic cultural interaction in the North Pacific.

Black notes that the Soviet scheme is reminiscent in a general way of the proposals expressed in 1947 by F. de Laguna about a very early general cultural substrate of peoples of Asia and America; about the existence ca. 2,000 years ago and more along the coast of the Alaska area "of a northern Pacific Ocean continuum" together with "an Arctic cultural continuum"; and about the "final circumpolar drift" taking place after A.D. 1000, which signifies the possibility of sporadic intercontinental contacts and cultural transmission from Asia (de Laguna 1947). Though, as de Laguna herself acknowledges, her positions "deviated" under "pressure" of acquired radiocarbon dates, the ethnographic and linguistic evidence allows the probability of such a theory. A pioneer of Alaskan archaeology, H. Collins, also continues to adhere to the opinion that from a very remote time cultural impulses from Asia, including emanations from Japan and China, reached American shores. In particular, he saw Japanese influence in Aleut masks from the Shumagin Islands (Collins 1973:18). In recent years, writes Black, the prevailing theory, especially developed by W. Laughlin about the contemporary Aleuts as remnants of the population of the ancient Bering Sea bridge, was initiated.

Black cites the opinions of American and Soviet scholars as an illustration of the unsettledness of the question about whether the Aleutian archipelago was settled in remote antiquity from the east by a common ancestral population, contemporary to the Aleuts, which spread west to the Near Islands, or whether the archipelago was settled at various times in several places by groups of related or even unrelated populations. Aleut folklore, according to Black, suggests the latter hypothesis since various traditions indicate various origins both from the east and from the west, origins from a dog, and others. Black suggests this evidence corroborates the cultural polymorphism of the Aleuts by the time of the arrival of the Russians, though archaeologists explain the named differences as divergence occurring through isolation of one group from another, and with gradual settlement by one people of the island chain from east to west, all being confirmed by finds that archaeological sites become younger from east to west. But, according to Black, this point of view, firmly installed in the literature, does not satisfactorily explain the cultural differences in the chain. In her opinion, evolutionary models of biological divergence in a common population, such as the one worked out in the last decade chiefly by Laughlin, find no correspondence with cultural divergence in the region with variations through time: changes in construction of dwellings, particularly the location of the fire place (Denniston 1966), styles of art (Quimby 1945, 1948; Aigner 1966, 1970), and the presence of flexed and extended burial and cremation (Pinart 1875; Dall 1880; Jochelson 1925; Weyer 1931; Hrdlička 1945; Bank 1953; Laughlin 1962a 1980; Workman 1966).

The researcher especially insists that there was cultural originality, along with a specialness of physical characteristics, of the population of the Islands of the Four Mountains, referred to by Bank, who asserted that the burials of Kagamil together with the cultural remains accompanying them are distinct from others in the chain. We must remember that in contrast to this Laughlin believes that the antiquity of Kagamil is recent and that the skeletal remains found in the caves are characterized as intermediate in a sequence between the physical anthropological materials of the Chaluka site and the contemporary ones (Laughlin 1980, 1981).

Viewing the thesis of American scholars about the isolation of the Aleuts from Asia in the post-Anangula period, Black cites the opinion of Soviet scholars about the existence of contact between the Aleuts and populations of Kamchatka, Chukotka, the Okhotsk coast, the Kuril Islands, and possibly the Amur region, from which follows her conclusion of indirect and even direct transmission from the regions of Japan and China. As historic evidence of this contact, she refers to chance visits to the islands, evidently by the Japanese and Chinese, as well as to the existence of traces of shipwrecks.

Black suggests that the available information about contacts, that is, noted parallels between the culture of the Aleuts and historic cultures of Kamchatka and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk as well as archaeological and linguistic data, will be a sufficient basis for revision of the thesis of isolation.

The lack of archaeological evidence for settlement of the Commander Islands, Black stresses, permitted American archaeologists to speak of isolation from Asia. At the same time, the majority of Soviet scholars believe that there was a population in the Commanders in antiquity, though not continuous (there were long breaks), and they suggest that these islands served as a travelling stop in intercontinental movement up to recent times. These scholars, notes Black, are in accord that 6,000 years ago a hypothetical population—Proto-Eskaleuts—lived in a vast region from the Bering Strait to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk or even to the Lower Amur, and that Paleo-Indians came to this region in the earliest times. Traditions of the latter, in N. N. Dikov's opinion, which are distinct in the early culture of the Kerek, were probably the same traditions in the culture of the Aleutian Islands (1979:255–260). These traditions can testify to the origin of some cultural elements from a very early common base.

L. Black refers to all the Soviet scholars mentioned by her, except N. N. Dikov, who are unanimous in affirming that the creators of the Old Bering Sea and Okvik traditions were Eskaleut or Proto-Eskaleut. Dikov, looking chiefly at the lack in Old Bering Sea sites of labrets, suggests that only Okvik is associated with Proto-Eskaleuts, whereas the Old Bering Sea tradition leans more toward the Paleo-Asiatic (1979). But in spite of this, Soviet scholars are in accord with the position that the nearest known parallels to Old Bering Sea and Okvik cultures are located in the Aleutian Islands.

Old Kamchatka-Aleut parallels extend, notes Black, citing the opinion of Soviet scholars, from Krugloi Point on Agattu to Kamchatka. These parallels are based primarily on the Tar'ina variant of Old Kamchadal culture of southern Kamchatka, which N. N. Dikov considers earlier, possibly Proto-Kamchadal. This Kamchatka cultural complex is connected as well with complexes of the lower Amur-Primor'e region of the USSR and northern Japan. The Old Koryak culture of northern Kamchatka and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk are considered comparable to level VI of Chaluka and, thus, are recognized as close to Aleut. At the same time the Old Koryak culture became an important component part of the Yuzhnookhotskaya.

Black stresses that the process of invasion, absorption, assimilation, acculturation, and migration is viewed by Soviet scholars as a lengthy development with periods of intensification. Beginning 6,000 years ago, these processes were continued even into historic times. And the Aleutian Islands, in the opinion of the author, were evidently an integral part of this multifaceted mosaic, taking part in cultural changes among various interacting ethnic groups.

L. Black notes that R. S. Vasil'evskii supported W. Laughlin's idea about "a population explosion," which took place in the eastern part of the Aleutian Islands ca. A.D. 1000, and a quick advance of population continued into the western Aleutian Islands, and from there, through the Commanders to Kamchatka. From Kamchatka it gradually spread to the south by two routes: the first through the narrow isthmus of Kamchatka to the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, through the region of the Koryak to Sakhalin, Hokkaido, and the Kuril Islands; the second along the Kamchatka coast to the northern Kuril Islands (Vasil'evskii 1973:201–202). In short, some of the initiators of the Yuzhnookhotskaya culture were the Aleuts. It is interesting that the hypothesis of Vasil'evskii was anticipated by researchers of Amchitka Island, who commented upon such a route as an example of the return of a cultural pattern to the probable region of its most vague beginnings (Desautels et al 1971:351).

Concluding her work, L. Black writes of the incompatibility and irreconcilability of contemporary theories of Soviet and American researchers of the prehistory of the Aleuts, excluding the position of a common Asiatic origin of Aleuts and Eskimos. She believes that the view of Soviet scholars on the "Aleut problem" seems more suitable to the available historic, ethnographic, and folkloric evidence, and in this regard repeats the words of F. de Laguna: "I thus conceive of the Aleutian chain, not as a cul-de-sac on which the Aleuts were isolated, but as a port from which, and to which, intrepid voyagers have sailed across the North Pacific, mingling the cultural achievements of two continents" (qtd. in Black 1983:66).

It is interesting to note that in expressing gratitude to her reviewers (D. Anderson, A. McCartney, W. Workman), the author comments that all were not in accord with her opinions and conclusions, but their critical observations improved the work.

The comparison of hypotheses of contemporary Soviet and American archaeologists carried out by L. Black will certainly be very useful for further elaboration of the problems connected with the ethnogenesis and early history of the Aleuts. But, it seems, primary in examination are the views and positions of the same author on those questions that are based on archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric materials. It seems to us that Black somewhat exaggerates the significance of the evidence of cultural polymorphism of the population of the Aleutian Islands. Cultural differentiation could entirely take place within the limits of one ethnos, subgroups of which were divided along the islands by large watery spaces seldom favorable for ocean navigation. The physical anthropological, linguistic, and cultural unity of the Aleuts on the whole has been sufficiently documented by work in recent years; it is also the fact that they were an isolated population. Thus, in the opinion of Soviet physical anthropologists, there was physical anthropological isolation, the morphological and genetic characteristics of the Aleuts, in distinction from the Eskimos, Alaskan and Asiatic, and Koryak and Itel'men (Alexeev 1981; Alexeeva et al 1983:49 ff). The American researcher E. Szathermary (1978) also arrived at this same conclusion. As it is presented to us, the Aleuts, in isolation by island groups, developed cultural traditions possessing common roots with the traditions of the populations of Northeast Asia and northwestern America. At present there is no documentary evidence for migrations or of groups of populations changing to different regions, though

Black is evidently correct, that isolation was not absolute. Additionally, this could be reflected in the cultural peculiarities of individual groups of Aleuts.

As the survey of contemporary research on the origin and early history of the Aleuts presented in this chapter rather clearly shows, the "Aleut problem" remains an object of heated discussion in spite of great achievements in the study of questions connected with it regarding the early ethnic history of the Northern Pacific Ocean region and the Aleutian Islands directly. Elaboration of the problem continues, as it becomes all the more extensive.

CHAPTER II

ALEUTS OF RUSSIAN AMERICA (1740s–1867)

A new stage began in the ethnic history of the Aleuts, a stage of contact with the western world, ushered in by the period of Russian geographic discoveries in northwestern America, and due to, in particular, the subsequent Russian exploration of the whole chain of Aleutian Islands and Alaska Peninsula in the 1740s.

Russian exploration of northwestern America—that is, the discovery of America from the Asian side—was a direct result of explorers and seafarers setting out at the beginning of the 18th century to the shores of the Pacific Ocean and Northeast Asia after the discovery and exploration in the 16th and 17th centuries of huge areas of Siberia from the Urals to the Pacific Ocean, including the coast of the Arctic Ocean. All these events comprised the epoch of Russia's great geographic discoveries (Efimov 1971). They set the foundations for the formation of the territory of Russian America and the opening up of its lands.

The questions connected with geographic discoveries of Russian seafarers and researchers of northwestern America and economic development of new territories are illustrated largely by a range of Russian literature (Okun 1939; *Russkie otkrytiya* . . ., 1944, 1948; Berg 1946; Efimov 1948, 1971; Bolkhovitinov 1966, 1975; Makarova 1968; Divin 1971; Fedorova 1971, 1973; Alexeev 1975, 1976, 1982; *Russkaya tikhookeanskaya Epopeya*, 1979; *Russkie ekspeditsii* . . ., 1984, and others). Repeatedly noted in the literature is the position that Russian America was a logistical continuation and conclusion of the process of exploration of Russian Siberia and the Far East and is, in spite of its sale in 1867, one of the bright pages in the history of the formation of Russian territory in the 18th and 19th centuries. The history of Russian America is an inalienable part of the history of Russia. It is natural in that the Russian exploration of northwestern America (together with the Aleutian Islands) had much in common with the exploration of Siberia and the Far East, though it had its specific character as well. The latter especially deals with the process of the settlement of northwestern America by Russian peoples. These questions are given detailed elucidation in the works of S. G. Fedorova (1971, 1973).

Following the conclusion of the First Kamchatka Expedition (1728–1729) under the direction of Captain-Commander V. Bering and Lieutenant A. I. Chirikov, who discovered the strait between Asia and America (later named the "Bering Strait"), the Russian government outfitted in 1741 the Second Kamchatka Expedition, which discovered the northwestern coast of America at 58° 14' and 55° 20' north latitude. On the return trip its ships passed along the southern side of the Aleutian chain. After this expedition's return to Kamchatka a spontaneous movement by Russians to the east, across the ocean, became one of the immediate factors in the origin of Russian America, that is, Russia's possessions in the Aleutian Islands and in northwestern America.

V. Bering's ship *Svyatoi Petr* [St. Peter], upon returning, was shipwrecked at an unknown island near the shores of Kamchatka, where Bering died on the 8th of December 1741. (Later the island was given his name, and the group of islands as a whole, the Commanders). Those members of the crew who

remained alive built a new vessel from the remains of the packet boat and driftwood and returned to the port of Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka with a large load of especially valuable skins of sea beavers (that is, sea otters), as well as fur seals and Arctic foxes, and with information about the uncommon wealth in furs of the newly discovered islands. A. I. Chirikov's ship *Svyatoi Pavel* [St. Paul] returned safely to Petropavlovsk, having on board 900 skins of sea otters.

The first to go after the valuable "soft goods" along the Bering-Chirikov route, in 1743, were enterprising Russian merchants, seafarers, and promyshlenniki, who set up "warehouse" companies in the ports of Okhotsk or Kamchatka (or even Bolsheretsk or Nizhne Kamchatsk) for just one voyage and outfitted ships from there (fragile *shitiki*, held together by withes, thongs, or baleen, and with "nailed" boats or barks, held together with wooden fasteners, which began to be used in 1754). During trading voyages in search of "unknown lands" for "bringing their inhabitants into Russian citizenship," as well as for the traders' own benefit, in the course of two and one half decades one after another the Aleutian Islands, the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak, and then the Pribilof Islands, Afognak, and the shores nearest North America—Kenai (Cook Inlet) and Chugach (Prince William Sound) Bays—were discovered and initially explored. There were over 100 such voyages in the second half of the 18th century (Makarova 1968:113). Seafarers, merchants, and promyshlenniki brought information about newly discovered lands and about the people who lived there, as well as maps of the lands.

In 1764 the Admiralty College directed a hydrographic expedition under the command of Captain P. K. Krenitsyn and Lieutenant M. D. Levashev to investigate the islands of the Eastern Ocean (as the Pacific Ocean was then called), to examine the data obtained as a result of voyages by promyshlenniki and to bring the Aleuts into citizenship. The expedition had instructions to reinforce as far as possible the right of Russia for lands discovered by Russian seafarers. The ships arrived in the Aleutian Islands in the fall of 1768. After wintering there the expedition took to St. Petersburg valuable and, properly speaking, the first scientific materials on hydrography and the nature of these islands, as well as new information about the Aleuts and their way of life and customs (Sokolov 1852; Lyapunova 1971; Glushankov 1972).

A government expedition organized in 1785–1793 for investigation of the Bering Strait and the northwestern coast of North America under the direction of Captain I. I. Billings and G. A. Sarychev obtained remarkable success in the investigation of the Aleutian Islands. It was also assigned the problem of strengthening Russian rights to the newly discovered lands and bringing the population into citizenship. A commission of the members of the expedition was established "for the placement of *yasak* [tribute] on the islanders" (Sarychev 1802, 1952; TsGAVMF, f. 214, op. 1, d. 29). By means of this, a detailed account of the existing settlements and inhabitants was produced. Twenty-four *toyons* [leaders or chiefs] of the settlements and the islands were rewarded with gold, silver, and copper medals for "merit and zeal." In accordance with the instructions obtained from the government to "treat the islanders kindly," gifts were distributed. A lot of attention was devoted to the regulation of relations between the local population and the promyshlenniki and to the protection of this population from the excesses of individual companies.

With the activity of the enterprising Rylsk merchant G. I. Shelikhov, in the 1780s a new approach to the exploration of the newly discovered lands was essentially begun, which provided a firm establishment of Russians in the region and the creation of their permanent colonies. The head of the largest trading company, Shelikhov arrived in 1784 with a command of promyshlenniki on the ships *Tri svyatitelya* [Three Saints] and *Simeon i Anna* [Simeon and Anna] in Three Saints Bay (so named after the main ship) on Kodiak Island and founded there the first Russian colony, also establishing the foundations for the systematic exploration of the territory.

In the following years, with the amalgamation of the companies of G. I. Shelikhov, I. I. and M. S. Golikov, and N. Myl'nikov, the single Russian-American Company, which obtained from Paul I a monopoly on commercial trade activity in the northwestern part of North America, as well as the right to administer Russia's American territories, was created in 1798 and formalized in 1799. So a new stage began in the exploration of the recently discovered lands, strengthened by Russian governmental authority set down in decrees issued 8 July 1799. The main administration of the company, which had several directors, was set up in 1800 in St. Petersburg. Management of the Russian-American Company, by the decree of Paul I on 2 December 1799, proceeded to the son-in-law of G. I. Shelikhov, N. P. Rezanov, who was a Counsellor of State and Chamberlain of the Imperial Court—Shelikhov having unexpectedly died in 1795 in Irkutsk. Shelikhov's successor, who became the first chief administrator of the Russian possessions in America, was the Kargopol' merchant A. A. Baranov, asked by Shelikhov in 1790 to manage the Northeastern American Company. Baranov significantly expanded the possessions of the company, increased the sphere of its activity, and set up extensive commercial connections. Baranov, who was chief administrator of the Russian-American Company until 1818, became legendary in the history of Alaska (Khlebnikov 1835; Chevigny 1942).

Figure 2. Woman of Unalaska. Illustration by the artist L. Voronin of the I. I. Billings-G. A. Sarychev expedition.

Figure 3. Man of Unalaska. Illustration by the artist G. Webber of the J. Cook expedition.

Even while G. I. Shelikhov and A. A. Baranov were in Russian America there were challenges in the overall development of the economy: settlements were established, and along with the procurement of furs, shipbuilding and leather and brick production began, necessary occupations were developed, the breeding of domestic livestock and fowl began, gardening and farming (though in limited scale because of unfavorable natural conditions) were introduced, and active geographic investigations were conducted of unknown regions in the area, of its natural resources, and of the population.

From 1792 to 1808 the center of Russian America was Pavlov Harbor on Kodiak Island, a settlement created by Baranov when he transferred the settlement from Three Saints Bay, declaring it a more convenient location. In 1808 the capitol of Russian America became Novoarkhangel'sk [New Archangel], founded in 1804 by Baranov on Sitkha Island of the Alexander Archipelago (the present city of Sitka on Baranof Island), to which Russian colonies spread with the advancement to the south.

Extensive geographic, oceanographic, and natural sciences research was carried out during Russian circumnavigation expeditions in war ships at the beginning of the 19th century, which had been organized by the Russian-American Company for the purpose of more comfortable and cheaper communication with their possessions in America. The participants of these expeditions also supported the needed political approval of the possessions of the Russian-American Company in a situation of threatening Anglo-American commercial expansion. The first round-the-world voyage was completed in 1803–1806 on the ships *Nadezhda* [Hope] and *Neva* [the river in St. Petersburg] under the command of I. F. Krusenstern (1950) and Yu. F. Lisyanskii (1947). Among the materials collected was valuable historic and ethnographic information about Russian America and the people occupying it, as well as ethnographic collections. A total of twenty-six voyages of circumnavigation were organized by the company, leaving a vast historical legacy (Ivashintsov 1872; Efimov 1948, 1971; *Russkie moreplavateli*, 1953; Zubov 1954; Alexeev 1970, 1976; Lebedev and Esakov 1971, and others). V. N. Berkh, a member of the first Russian round-the-world expedition, who sailed as a warrant officer on the sloop *Neva* and was later a well-known historian of the Russian fleet, composed a valuable work about the voyages of the merchant trading companies in the Aleutian Islands. Berkh (1823) personally inquired about the events of those years in Russian America and Kamchatka by talking to "old voyagers"—that is, participants of the voyages up to the formation of the Russian-American Company—and collected all the accessible archival materials.

Apart from the participants of the circumnavigation expeditions, investigations of the coastal waters, the territory of Alaska, and its populations began to occupy the military seamen in the service of the company, those who sailed its ships from Okhotsk and Kamchatka ports to the possessions of the company and to all parts of the colonies. (From 1799 on, this travel was calculated in the length of active service.) They conducted hydrographic and cartographic works, put together descriptions of the inhabitants of explored territories (either independently or following the instructions of the chief administrator), and often made ethnographic collections. The earliest of these descriptions, which hold extensive information about Russian America but also sharp criticism of the politics of the company in relation to natives of the region, was *Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku morskikh ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova . . .* [*The Twofold Voyage to America by the Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov . . .*]. Davydov commanded ships of the company in 1802–1803 and 1805–1807 (Davydov 1810, 1812).

Information about the geography and history and about domestic life in Russian America and the populations who settled it were also dealt with by other individuals who were in the service of the company. Of especially great merit is the "old dweller and chronicler of Russian America" K. T. Khlebnikov, who was in the service as manager of the main Novoarkhangel'sk office for fifteen years (from 1817 to 1832), then becoming one of the directors of the company. His principle work *Zapiski o koloniyakh v Amerike* [*Notes on the Colonies in America*] is an encyclopedic description of Russian America in six parts, corresponding to the six districts of the colonies existing during these years: Sitka, Kodiak, Unalaska, Atka, Northern (the Pribilofs), and Ft. Ross (in California). It was partially published in 1861 (republished as Khlebnikov 1985); Parts II–V were published only in recent years (Khlebnikov 1979).

Among the chief administrators of Russian America, a special role belongs to F. P. Wrangell in the study of its territories. He was a distinguished polar researcher, seafarer, and scholar, and subsequently one of the organizers of the Russian Geographic Society and director of the Russian-American Company. Being located in Russian America in 1830–1835,[5] he energetically promoted a multifaceted study of Alaska, most actively took part in it, and contributed to the improvement of the prosperity of the colony and the situation of the local population and its education. A summary work and various articles on the history of Russian America, as well as on contemporary conditions, belong to the pen of Wrangell (1835, 1839a, 1839b).

The Russian missionary I. Veniaminov (I. E. Popov) lived among the Aleuts on Unalaska Island for ten years (1824–1834). He was the creator of the primary scholarly work *Zapiski ob ostrovakh Unalashkinskogo otdela* [Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District] (1840), in which he gave a multifaceted description of the Aleutian Islands and its population. With the help of the Aleuts, Veniaminov composed a dictionary and grammar of their language (1846), which provided a literature to the native language and valuable linguistic materials for the scholarly world. In the very first years of his stay on Unalaska he founded a school. From 1834 to 1838 Veniaminov served as archpriest at Sitka, from 1840 to 1850 he was bishop of Kamchatka, the Kurils, and the Aleutians, and at the end of his life, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolominsk. Veniaminov's educational and scientific work left a bright trail both in the history of Alaska and in the world of science (Stepanova 1947; Okladnikov 1976, 1983a; Arsen'ev 1979). Veniaminov's pioneering work spread elements of more progressive Russian culture among the natives, promoting the progress of Aleut culture.

A contemporary and brother-in-arms of I. Veniaminov in the education of the Aleuts, though less well known, was Ya. Netsvetov, son of a Russian and an Aleut, who finished seminary in Yakutsk and served as priest on Atka from 1828 to 1844.

The Russian Period in the history of Alaska is characterized by a remarkable demonstration of great interest in the culture of the newly discovered people, and by the assembly of ethnographic collections. A great number of the latter are preserved today in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography [MAE], in other museums of the country, and in foreign ones as well. It is impossible not to mention the especially significant role in the assembly of the collection played by I. G. Voznesenskii, assistant in the Zoological Museum, who remained in Russian America on assignment from the Academy of Science from 1840 to 1845. During this time he collected a wealth of materials on zoology, botany, mineralogy, and ethnography. As a result of all the entries from Russian America, the MAE is today the guardian of the largest and earliest ethnographic collection on the Aleuts (Gil'zen 1916; Stepanova 1944; Lyapunova 1967c).

The historic-ethnographic materials acquired during the indicated period serve as a valuable source for the study of the ethnic history of the Aleuts and characteristics of the ethnocultural changes that arose. Of special significance are the materials about the relationship of the native population with the Russians as well the mutual influence of the cultures. They permit one to speak of progressive features in the Russian exploration of Alaska. Correct illumination of its role in the ethnic history of the Aleuts is especially important since in a number of Russian works of previous years the complex and contradictory process of the interrelations of the Alaskan native population with the Russians, including the influence on the culture of the latter as well, has obtained a one-sided explanation with regard to its part in the

[5] After 1818 the chief administrators of Russian America were appointed from among meritorious naval officers for a term of five years.

process of colonization (Okun' 1939; Shirokii 1942). These works did not note the progressive sides of the development of Alaska by the Russians, and especially the interrelations with the native population; rather, they permit the assessment of F. Engels, which he sent to K. Marx in a letter in 1851, that it was again confirmed that Russia actively played a "civilizing," "progressive role with regard to the East."[6]

However, as indicated by V. I. Lenin in the work *Razvitie kapitalizma v Rossii* [*The Development of Capitalism in Russia*], characterizing the historic role of capitalism in the economic development of Russia: "Recognition of the progressiveness of this role is entirely compatible . . . with full recognition of the negative and dark sides of capitalism."[7] The tendency to treat the Russian Period of the history of the Aleuts as a period of rapaciousness, violence, and cruelty in regard to the native population and its history at that time—as a process of physical degradation and extinction of the culture of this people—did not allow the possibility of speaking about its positive ethnic development. This tendency was dominant in many works of foreign authors (Bartz 1950; Manning 1953; Milan 1974, and others). At the same time, some objective American historians and anthropologists note that such a position is in need of correction (see, for example: Chevigny 1942:268, 1965; Black 1984) and that the underestimation of the role of the Russians in the investigation and exploration of Alaska is peculiar to foreign literature (VanStone 1967). In other words, the solution to the question of ethnocultural changes among the Aleuts, and especially ethnocultural development, is connected primarily with a complex and unbiased appraisal of the character of the exploration by the Russians of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska on the whole, and of their work there. In particular, we find such an appraisal in the works of A. V. Efimov (1964), M. B. Chernenko (1956), G. A. Agranat (1971b), N. N. Bolkhovitinov (1966, 1975), and S. G. Fedorova (1971, 1973).

G. A. Agranat, for example, correctly noted the presence of a series of progressive (for his time) features of the exploration of Alaska by the Russians: consolidation in new places of historically more progressive methods of work activity, farming, livestock management, and the tendency toward the development of a multi-faceted economy; measures for the protection of fur-bearing animals from extermination and regulation of its procurement; and the democratic character of the exploration, similar to the exploration by the Russians of Siberia and the Far East (education of the natives and establishment friendly relations with them). S. G. Fedorova (1971, 1973) writes about the significance of the Russians' contribution not only to domestic-economic development but also to the creation of stable centers of Russian culture in Alaska.

Though G. A. Agranat notes that it should not stand as a question of whose colonizers were better—since the decisive factors are the historic conditions of colonization and class composition of the settlers (1971b:190)—he correctly believes that the relationship of the Russians to the native population of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska differed from the extremely harsh politics of the Spanish, as well as that of the Anglo-French colonizers of America, in that the Russians never strived toward genocide, but rather relied on trust in the relationship for a joint working life founded on a lack of racial prejudice. K. T. Khlebnikov noted this in his time (see below). It was to precisely such a relationship between the Russians and natives of Alaska that the English seafarers J. Cook and G. Vancouver turned their attention (see below).

The Russian government officially ordered that the peoples of newly discovered lands be humanely treated, but in reality of course it has been shown that private trading companies, and even

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[6] Marx, K., and Engels, F. *Works*. 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 241.

[7] Lenin, V. I. *Complete Collected Works*. Vol. 3, p. 597.

the Russian-American Company, exploited not only the natural resources of the explored territories, but in significant measure their population as well. This aspect of the relationship certainly played an important role.

The relationship of the Russians to the native inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands developed in different ways during two stages of the Russian Period in the history of Alaska. The first stage was from the beginning of voyages in the 1740s to the Aleutian Islands of private trading companies and up to the formation of the Russian-American Company; the second occurred during the time the company was active. Each stage brought its own ethnocultural changes.

THE EPOCH OF THE VOYAGES OF THE MERCHANT COMPANIES (1745–1798)

The first reports of contact with inhabitants of the newly discovered lands are contained in tales, accounts, and reports received in the Okhotsk and Kamchatka offices about the participants of trading voyages to the Aleutian Islands. As is well-known, these reports were at that time testimony to the Russian geographic discoveries in northwestern America, while nowadays they are valuable historical and ethnographic sources. But unfortunately up to the present very few of them have been preserved (for a review of the sources and literature about Russian discoveries in the Pacific Ocean in the 18th century see *Russkie otkrytiya* . . ., 1944:5–22; 1948:5–75; Berg 1946:285–292; Makarova 1968:6–36; *Russkaya tikhookeanskaya epopeya*, 1979:285–295; L. Black 1984:1–13).

Among the features of the first stage of the Russian Period in Alaska was the spontaneous character of the organization of private voyages. The government, as is well-known, encouraged the enterprise of the merchants and promyshlenniki who, even from the time of the union of Siberia to Russia, brought to the treasury a large income in the form of customs (one-tenth part of procured furs). At the same time, individual voyages extended the boundaries of the empire and allowed the collection of yasak (as well for the treasury) from the inhabitants of the newly acquired regions. Even in the *ukaz* [decree] of Anna Ioannovna of 20 September 1733 to the Siberian governor, Pleshcheev, promotion of the fur trade was ordered, "because it is easier, without loss to the treasury, for merchants and promyshlenniki themselves to search out remote areas, such as Kamchatka and other formerly unknown places which have been found by these merchants and promyshlenniki" (see: Makarova 1968:43–44). During the administration of Catherine II merchants and navigators obtained monetary loans and recompense, received medals, and were elevated in courtly merit for the discovery of new lands. On the other hand, notice was given that they should "affectionately without the least oppression and deceit deal with the new brothers, the inhabitants of those islands" (PSZ, t. XVII, No. 1289, l. 603–604) in order that they might not bring the new lands to ruin. But control could be carried out, of course, only by sending out expeditions. In this connection it is appropriate to remember the observation of G. A. Agranat, that American scholars, only biasedly elucidating the history of Russian America, attribute all its complicated problems to the expansionist politics of tsarism (1971b:180).

The organizers of the trading companies preparing to "find unknown islands and bring the people living there into Russian citizenship, and to trade for every kind of sea and land animal, as well as for affectionate and friendly bargaining with them," were merchants from various cities of Russia. But they themselves did not always set off the long distance on "the voyage." The promyshlenniki usually went on the voyage, that is, enlisted peasants of various cities in Siberia and in Kamchatka (often fugitives, on quit rent, or exiled to hard labor or the colony), *raznochintsi* (non-gentry intellectuals of the 19th century), tradespeople, and the idle (that is, not attached to any kind of class) who sought their fortune on the edge of the world. Kamchadal enlisted as well, sometimes sent away by the toyons themselves (Makarova 1968:43–44). At the head of command stood a navigator and a *peredovshchik* [foreman or leader], who were responsible for the equipment of the ship and its economic welfare, organization of business,

and conduct of the hunters. The Bolsherets, Nizhne Kamchatsk, and Okhotsk secretariats assigned to the ship one or two Cossacks with instructions to call the inhabitants into citizenship and to collect yasak from them, as well as to deliver information to the leadership about places visited. The companies, having sent ships on the trading missions and having several owners depending on the number of shareholders on the ship, were identified by the name of the chief shareholders and existed only temporarily, for one voyage, until the return of the ship to port. The situation changed only with the beginning of the activity of G. I. Shelikhov. In 1783 the Northeastern Company consisted of the merchants I. I. Golikov, M. S. Golikov, and G. I. Shelikhov; in 1797 it was changed to the United American Company, and in 1799 transformed into the Russian-American Company, "which functioned not from a ship, but from the permanent continuous approval to conduct trade in that place, and the ship served only as transport" (AGO, p. 60, op. 1, no. 2, l. 174).

As V. A. Divin correctly notes, the voyages of the promyshlenniki indeed have attracted the attention of Soviet and foreign scholars for more than 200 years. "But nevertheless it should be recognized," he writes, "that this chapter in the history of Russian sea voyages on the Pacific Ocean is illuminated quite insufficiently" (*Russkaya tikhookeanskaya epopeya*, 1979:285). In counterbalance to the assertions of many researchers who have considered the trade in valuable fur as the chief motive, the author speaks about the incomplete disclosure of complex and contradictory motives that induced the promyshlenniki into dangerous cruises. He sets forth the opinion of Admiral D. M. Afanas'ev who called the unquenchable thirst for knowledge and new discoveries the main strength and motivating force of the promyshlenniki, who "became infected with the irrepressible passion for distant voyages . . . and after a short rest set out again and again into the ocean, until an unmanageable wave somewhere lulled them to sleep or until they died of scurvy on a distant desert island" (Ibid.:286; see as well: Afanas'ev 1864:15). Divin also notes the excessive over-emphasis on negative moments in the activities of the promyshlenniki—especially characteristic in the works of A. S. Polonskii. In general this was done in detail in the history of the exploration of the Aleutian Islands set forth in presently lost materials of the Siberian archives (see *Russkaya tikhookeanskaya epopeya*, 1979:286).

Without doubt, among the navigators, peredovshchiki, and promyshlenniki there were more than a few truly valiant and even talented investigators, honest and disinterested, who were moved by a sincere thirst for the discovery of unknown lands and the desire to serve the glory of the Fatherland through their deeds. M. Nevodchikov, A. Tolstykh, S. Cherepanov, and many others, are now known in Russian history as valiant first discoverers. Obviously, those manning the ships were desperately courageous people who were not frightened by the dangers lying in wait for them (shipwreck on the ocean, hunger, scurvy, or the attack of "savages"). They set out on their own to unknown lands in small, poorly constructed ships, the majority of them without skills as seafarers, and often almost without any provisions, obtaining them only by hunting and fishing during the winter in the Commander Islands or even in the Aleutians.

They also formed relations with the native population in different ways: they were both friendly and hostile. Without denying that there was a negative side of the relations that took place, which were characteristic for a period of primary accumulation, it is impossible not to see a positive side, that is, its historic-cultural significance for the development of the ethnic processes in the native population, which resulted from the interaction of the culture of the Russian people and the natives.

The Aleuts themselves conducted constant internecine wars. The Fox Island Aleuts went on war campaigns to the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak, Cook Inlet, Prince William Sound, and even the Alexander

Archipelago; they accordingly ran the greatest risk of being attacked. The Aleuts viewed the promyshlenniki who arrived in the islands as enemies who invaded their possessions, and therefore the native inhabitants met almost every detachment of Russians "bearing arms." The promyshlenniki went ashore from the ships, broke up into hunting parties, and procured furs in different places on the islands or in adjoining territories. They had to provide themselves with provisions from local, often extremely limited resources, mainly fish and sea mammals. At the same time the Aleuts, especially the western Aleuts, easily turned to peaceful relations after the presentation of gifts as a demonstration of friendliness. However, goods destined for gifts and exchange were in extremely small quantity among the promyshlenniki, and friendliness often collided with mutual misunderstanding, turning into conflicts and aggression. Thus the first contact began.

The reflections of K. T. Khlebnikov are interesting concerning the initial history of relations between the Russians and the "Americans," with whom we become acquainted in the pages of one of his manuscripts:

> Having pondered what I have read and heard, I found the occurrences in the occupation of the Aleutian Islands by the few people of the fur trade extraordinary, without any assistance from the government, being encouraged by the hope of self-interest, and am astonished by their unusual bravery. How can one consider without surprise the courage of those who started out by sea into the unknown on ships, poorly equipped and managed by people having none of the knowledge necessary for a sea voyage, inexperienced and illiterate? Attempting to make discoveries, they did not know either the number or the strength or the character of the peoples who lived in the islands, which were also unknown. Cortez, who unexpectedly and suddenly conquered a significant part of Mexico, set foot on the shore with people experienced in the arts of war, with equipment at the command of the leader, well-armed, supplied with all necessities, and craving only gold. He won for himself the glory of a valiant conqueror. But Nevodchikov, the first to occupy of the Aleutian Islands in 1746, and afterwards the Andreanofs by Tolstykh, represent the fact that they can never be deprived of glory, which though perhaps not equal to that of the Spanish conqueror, is not very far removed from it. . . . Nevodchikov had only forty men, recruited hastily in Kamchatka, unbridled, half-starved, not knowing how to handle weapons, and undisciplined. Besides encounters with savages—peoples entirely unknown to them, whom they were ordered to subjugate and bring into citizenship—with his first step onto the shore he had the most important concern: seeking a livelihood for his command. They were not able to provide themselves with anything in Kamchatka and they undertook the voyage with a few bags of rye flour, *yukola* [dried fish], and wild garlic [*Allium ursinum*]. Going to new islands they, hungry, plunged out into the tundra in search of nutritious roots, and on the shores of the sea gnawed the fragments of whales and other animals cast up by the current. Such was the essential position of our promyshlenniki, replenished by this climate: thick fogs, rain, cold; and they deserve preference to the Spanish conquerors who discovered one delightful place after the other, covered with splendid fruit. . . . In the presupposed history [that is, in the following text.—*R. L.*] some cases are encountered that revive the dispute and struggle: but they, as parts of the whole, because of their insignificance are scarcely noted. On the contrary, in the occupation of the Aleutian Islands and the Northwest Coast of America viewed as a whole, we do not

> see these examples of bitterness and rapaciousness with which, unfortunately, history marked the Spanish conquerors in the New World.
>
> Perhaps only in the Aleutian Islands and on the shores of the mainland, which lie in the possession of Russia, do we see the primeval inhabitants of America as they were; whereas on the islands of the Antilles there does not remain even a trace of them, and on the mainland of Spanish America in the cities and villages only a mixture of changed aboriginals is seen, and they themselves, if they still exist, have hid themselves in the inaccessible heights of the mountains. This small footnote reveals the characteristics of the conquerors. Valiant but cruel Spaniards, with a cross in the hand, extirpated the inhabitants, idolaters, in the name of God. Coarse and strong Russians with the cross on the chest decided it was a sin to ruin the savages for nothing. They killed them only when it was necessary to defend themselves (LOOAN, f. II, op. 1. d. 275, l. 26–27).

Undoubtedly, K. T. Khlebnikov was correct in saying that due precisely to the peculiarity of the exploration of Alaska by the Russians, the native population was entirely preserved in this critical period of its history. Even its ethnic development continued under the new conditions.

The first voyages of the promyshlenniki to the islands are interesting to us in that it is during these that the foundations of the socioeconomic and cultural relations of the Russians with the native populations began to form, and later became even stronger. The Russians used traditional Aleut knowledge regarding information on economics, especially of hunting sea otters. They managed indirectly through the institution of toyons, and had direct contact with Aleuts without racial prejudices or disdain for their traditional mode of life and culture. Their marriages with the Aleuts created the first Creole (Mestizo) population.

At first those of the promyshlenniki detachment who arrived in the Aleutian Islands conducted procurement of furs primarily on their own. T. I. Shmalev wrote about those who served in Kamchatka in the 1760s in this way:

> Formerly, up to the arrival of the promyshlenniki, the people of that place hunted sea otters with arrows, however not from bows but by throwing them from a little board, by which they can kill or wound an otter at fifteen *sazhen* [32 m]. And therefore, a hunting party consists of very few hunters. But the custom of Russian promyshlenniki was, first, to fire a shot from a gun when the otter had gone up on the shore, and thus they obtained incomparably more than the people of that place. Nowadays it is even more profitable since they employ nets of thick cord attached to a stone and the otter, often diving, becomes tangled in the net and quickly dies (TsGADA, f. 119, d. 528, ch. 2, l. 10–10 ob.).

But hunting with the aid of nets, and especially with guns, began to frighten the otters away (as had happened in Kamchatka), and only traditional Aleut hunting in *baidarki* [Aleut kayaks] with harpoons (a skill Europeans were not able to learn) remained the reliable method of obtaining the valuable skins. In addition, the non-peaceful relations with the local population made the promyshlenniki fear breaking up into small hunting parties. And further, the more they strived to use the great skills of the Aleuts (as well as those of the Pacific Eskimos) in the hunt for sea otters, the more they were forced to

increase the intensity of the hunt. The methods of compulsion were economical and sometimes, frankly, even violent. In the journal of M. D. Levashov we find a description of this regarding the operations of the first promyshlenniki in the Fox Islands, where they obtained, in addition to the sea otters, the black, silver, and red foxes that were also abundant there. Those who set off on the hunt wintered their ships on Bering or Copper Island, where they provided themselves with sea lion hides, which served as coverings for *baidary* [large skin boats] and baidarki and soles for boots, skins of fur seals that were sewn into blankets and parkas, and sea lion throats that went into the construction of kamleiki and the tops of boots. Those promyshlenniki who landed in the Aleutian Islands "distributed among these inhabitants their traps with which they caught foxes, but primarily they gave them the above-mentioned fur seal and sea lion skins, called *laftaki* . . . various kinds of beads, goat's wool, and some copper kettles and so they ran these inhabitants into debt." In answer, the Aleuts "endeavored to feed with fish and roots all those who were on the island, and regardless of where they obtained an animal, on the shore or in the water, they handed it over . . . . The promyshlenniki themselves also endeavored to hunt these animals, but sending out a small number of people to various places on this hunt was dangerous . . . and for this reason the promyshlenniki, by their own efforts, were unable to increase the harvest if the inhabitants did not hunt" (TsGAVMF, f. 179, op. 1, d. 131, l. 333–334 ob.).

As animals were exterminated in one area the promyshlenniki set off with Aleuts, or they sent some of them, to other islands. And in the course of time the number of Aleuts being moved increased, and the distances became longer.

Members of the I. I. Billings and G. A. Sarychev Expedition, in the Aleutian Islands for the collection of yasak from the population, found that Aleuts were used for hunts by the promyshlenniki. Concerning the report of the Admiralty College, it is noted that "not only does the treasury lose what belongs to it, but the Aleuts as well have to feel themselves in a more severe form of bondage, since otherwise the company ships should take upon themselves the service of the Aleuts by first obtaining permission from their toyons; second, with their consent promising an agreeable payment for the whole time; third, and more important, the company recognizes that those employed by the company are not required to pay the tax, but rather the company should permanently pay their tax each year" (Ibid., f. 214, op. 1, d. 29, l. 90).

K. G. Merck, naturalist of the above-mentioned expedition, pointing to the use by promyshlenniki of Aleuts as work hands, noted as well the means of payment—the products of their own work. Further the Russian-American Company began to widely employ such a system. "In the Aleut villages on Unalaska— Iliuliuk, Agamgik, Uchuyug," writes Merck, "I encountered, besides women, only old and sick men, though some young men, but the company of Russian promyshlenniki there used the latter for rowing baidary of sea lion skins. The other able men were taken in part, sometimes with their wives since Aleuts affirmed that they needed them, onto uninhabited islands with various detachments of promyshlenniki and were partially sent to other islands for catching guillemots. The Russians distributed the parkas prepared from the skins of guillemots as if their own property" (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978:68).

In the reports of the voyages of the promyshlenniki, one encounters repeated mention of the appointment of toyons by the Russians with the aim of spreading and strengthening their connections with the ordinary Aleuts, as well as of their attempts to establish friendly contacts with toyons. Efforts were made to establish such connections in the Aleutian Islands even when the main toyon had been selected by the Aleuts from among themselves, though there was no similar centralized management among the

Aleuts in the pre-contact period. A written document concerning the selection of the main toyon was necessary so that it might be presented to the leader of the hunting district, who either directed it to the Irkutsk provincial government, from where he received the ukazi in the name of the toyon who was to administer or created such ukazi himself (see below). An analogous system of administration—through managers (princelings)—was produced by the czarist administration in Siberia for administering and collecting yasak from the natives everywhere. This institution was the "native" link of the Siberian administration (Taksami and Tugolukov 1975; Zebarev 1986).

However, the period of the Russians' first contact with the Aleuts was the time of the most massive, close mutual intercourse and influence between Russian and Aleut cultures. Each year several ships, sometimes as many as five or six, were sent into the Aleutian Islands with a detachment on each of forty to seventy men. Subsequent parties of Russians, sometimes the crews of two or more ships, wintered or lived there four to six years. In some cases they built dwellings near an Aleut village or at a distance, but most often they arranged to live in the yurts of the natives in small parties. They adopted their food, dress, and some domestic skills, as well as Aleut wives for themselves—that is, they "entered" into the life of the native population. W. Laughlin believes that the first thirty to forty years was the time of the "most effective acculturation" at the village level between large groups of Russians and Aleuts (Laughlin 1980:126–130).

The good relationship of the Russians with the natives was observed at this time by the English seafarers J. Cook and G. Vancouver. After a visit to Unalaska in 1778 Cook noted that "now it is possible to see pictures of the greatest harmony, which can only exist in the communication of two different nations. On each island among the Indians [as Cook called the Aleuts.—*R. L.*] there is their own chief, and they apparently have freedom and no one troubles them" (Cook 1971:397). In the writings of Vancouver we read about Russian promyshlenniki, who were settled in Cook Inlet at the beginning of the 1790s:

> I, with a feeling of pleasant surprise, saw the tranquil and kind harmony in which they live among these coarse sons of nature. Having power over them, they keep their influence over them not by frightening them but with favorable treatment. It was seen in all their acts . . . Russians very easily adopt the habits of the natives, many of whom becoming extremely close to their customs. They accepted completely their food and dress, and in outward appearance are very little distinguished from the native inhabitants. . . . The participation that the natives apparently share in the successes and prosperities of the Russians is based on solid principles. Their attachment and respect for them cannot be easily destroyed by the influence of foreigners, who might desire to damage the trade of the Russians. On the contrary, it can be assumed that their attachment will be more firmly maintained . . . all of them in the colonies take for themselves young native children and maintain them in a house built especially for this, where they are taught the Russian Language. There is no doubt that at the same time they strive to inculcate in them such principles as later are necessary to serve favorably both peoples (Vancouver 1833:369–372).

From the very beginning the Russians widely used as guarantees for their own safety the system of taking *amanaty*—hostages, predominantly children of toyons from eight to fourteen years of age. This system was very convenient for the education of the Aleuts in the Russian language and for teaching them

Russian cultural traditions in general. In particular, G. I. Shelikhov wrote of the importance of the introduction on Kodiak of teaching the amanaty reading, writing, arithmetic, "manners," and "skills diverse" through the school organized for them (Andreev 1948:211, 288, 289).

From the very first voyages the promyshlenniki tried to attach themselves to talented Aleut youth, usually from the number of amanaty. They taught them the Russian language, reading and writing, baptized them, gave them Russian names, and sent them for short periods to Kamchatka and Okhotsk in order to show them Russia. These youths became good translators, which was fortunate since to natives of Kamchatka the Aleut language was completely incomprehensible, and the first voyages took place with the complete impossibility of communicating with the Aleuts. The first such youth—Temnak—was brought to Kamchatka in 1747 by M. Nevodchikov from his voyage to the Near Islands. He was baptized and given the name Paul. In 1750 the youth Khalyunasan was taken from Atka for training by the crew of the shitik Petr. He first served as translator on the island of Attu, then was taken to Kamchatka, baptized, and named Ilya. These two youths suffered as a result of the change of conditions of life and both died within a year. During the voyage of 1756–1758 on the ship *Petr i Pavel* another youth, Ivan Cherepanov, was taken to Kamchatka and baptized. He participated in several expeditions as a translator and later became a Cossack. During the stay of the crew of the ship *Andreyan i Nataliya* (1760–1764) in the Andreanof Islands the fifteen-year-old Aleut orphan Foma and the twelve-year-old Aleut Stefan lived among the promyshlenniki. Further, similar practices were more widely adopted, and they began to take the youths to Kamchatka and Okhotsk more often. Thus, there appeared among the Aleuts pupils of the Russians who not only knew their language but learned reading and writing and the elements of Christian religious principles and cultural traditions as well. Some of the pupils then became toyons, many serving the promyshlenniki as translators.

Evidence preserved in the records of the voyages of the merchant trading companies, about relations formed by the Russian promyshlenniki with the native population, is definitely interesting regarding our theme. Since this history is obviously insufficiently or tendentiously illuminated in the available literature, with emphasis on the negative aspects, we present them here in a greater range.

In the archives of the Soviet Geographic Society are now preserved two manuscripts of A. S. Polonskii, *Promyshlenniki na Aleutskikh ostrovakh, 1743–1800* [Promyshlenniki in the Aleutian Islands] and *Perechen' puteshestvii russkikh promyshlennikov v Vostochnom okeane s 1743 po 1800 g.* [A List of Voyages of Russian Promyshlenniki in the Eastern Ocean from 1743 to 1800]. The author was a member of the council of the chief administration of Eastern Siberia in Irkutsk, who also served about twenty years in Okhotsk and Yakutsk. His manuscripts were written based on materials in the Kamchatka and Irkutsk archives, which later perished in a fire (Andreev 1948:27–29). Polonskii does not identify his sources, but as A. I. Andreev correctly writes, "when Polonskii's sources were located, it was found that he used them quite accurately and correctly" (Andreev 1948:8). At the same time, the well-known historian of the Russian navy A. P. Sokolov noted Polonskii's inclusion in his works of incorrect historical data together with precise documentary evidence (1851). L. Black also believes that Polonskii was not documentarily precise in all cases. In particular, she points to his characterization of the promyshlenniki's deliberate animosity and to his exaggeration of the negative sides of their relationship with the Aleuts. As evidence, she quotes a passage by Polonskii concerning the second voyage of P. Bashmakov with the Cossack M. Lazarev (see below), with descriptions of examples of dreadful treatment of the native inhabitants. These accounts are not confirmed either by other early reports (J.L.S. 1776) or by the fact that the voyage of A. Tolstykh, which followed a year later to the same Aleuts with the participation of

the same Cossack Lazarev, began and continued with entirely peaceful relations. However, it is precisely these negative sides of relations of the promyshlenniki with the Aleuts that are quoted by W. I. Jochelson (1933) and L. S. Berg (1946), and mentioned in a whole series of other works (see L. Black 1984:10–12). A comparison of Polonskii's information about the contacts with the native population during the voyage of Tolstykh agrees with the data preserved in the archives, as will be mentioned below. Therefore, we believe it expedient to use materials from Polonskii's manuscripts for our theme. In addition, we will refer to the work of V. N. Berkh (1823).

During the voyage in 1745–1747 of the ship *Evdokim* of the merchant Chebaevskii, with navigator Nevodchikov and peredovshchik Ya. Chuprov, the Near Islands of the Aleutian chain were discovered. The translator, Cossack S. Shevyrin, who knew the Koryak and Kamchadal languages, was apparently totally unable to understand the Aleuts. V. N. Berkh describes the first skirmish with islanders (on Agattu) in this way: "He [Chuprov.—*R. L.*] encountered in various places savage inhabitants of this island, gave them gifts and received in exchange a club, the end of which bore the representation of a seal's head. The savages who gave him this weapon began to demand the gun he had in his hand [which the Aleuts did not know how to use.—*R. L.*]; but as Chuprov, not agreeing to this, went to the rowboat, they, pursuing him, seized the rope by which it was secured to the shore. The unexpected insolence of this forced Chuprov to fire his gun . . ." (Berkh 1823:8). Then the relatives of the promyshlenniki (led by A. Belyaev), who had crossed to Attu, put things in order with the Aleuts, until they clashed each other over women (Berkh 1823:9). Events of this voyage were set forth in detail (according to Polonskii) by L. S. Berg (1946). On returning to Okhotsk the promyshlenniki were prosecuted "for murder and wanton theft," since the Cossack who had been on the voyage for the collection of yasak reported the violent treatment of the islanders by the crew to the authorities. Belyaev and his comrades received punishment, though Nevodchikov, Chuprov, and the rest were acquitted (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 13 ob.).

The shitik Petr of the company of E. Basov and N. Trapeznikov, on a voyage in 1750–1752 with navigator D. Nakvasin and peredovshchik Belyaev, landed on Atka Island. The inhabitants were presented with "copper kettles supplied for this from the treasury and sewn camisoles from coarse cloth for giving furs as payment of yasak, and since they could not explain anything to them through ignorance of language, the crew agreed to take a native by the name of Khalyunasan for instruction in the Russian language." Then the ship returned to Attu where in bad weather it was "smashed to pieces." The crew remained there two years, "having agreed to hunt and trap together with those who had been lured there on the ship *Boris i Gleb*, and returned to Kamchatka in this ship in 1752—except three Kamchadals who ran off just before departure." The translator with the promyshlenniki was Khalyunasan, "who already somewhat understood the Russian language. . . . From the natives eleven otters were taken for yasak" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 9–10 ob.).

The ship *Ieremiya* of the merchant I. Rybinskii, with navigator P. Bashmakov and peredovshchik A. Serebrennikov, on the voyage of 1752–1755 was stranded on Adak Island and the crew was killed:

> Early in the morning the natives saw the Russians on the shore and met them hostilely; they killed one, another they wounded, and only by gun fire were they driven away. . . . The islanders did not become reconciled, and then they made an attack on the promyshlenniki who had been occupied with hunting, and therefore Bashmakov, in order to secure himself, made on the natives an armed quest and carried out sufficient killing. Only

> by such treatment was peace brought about on the inhospitable island, which continued now until the departure in July 1754 of the promyshlenniki from Adag [Adak?]. Having been earlier sustained by shellfish and roots, they began to obtain from the islanders meat of sea lions, seals, whale oil, and also sea otter skins and the clothing sewn from them. Through ignorance of language the Russians made the natives understand by signs, and therefore it was not possible to learn even the name of the island. As the islanders continued their repeated attacks with great fury, the Russians feared to request yasak from them or to take it by force, in order not to give them occasion to quarrel (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 20–22).

During its voyage of 1753–1755, the ship *Ioann* of the company of F. Kholodilov, with navigator and peredovshchik F. Zhukov, during the voyage of 1753–1755 spent the winter of 1754–1755 on Attu. As part of the command were the Koryak S. Serebrennikov and the Kamchadal Pribylov, who had left the company of E. Basov and N. Trapeznikov in 1752. The former became an interpreter and helped obtain yasak from the islanders, with whom good contacts were made (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 22–23).

The ship *Nikolai* of the merchant N. Trapeznikov, with the collector of yasak S. Shevyrin and his scribe the Cossack R. Durnev, rated as peredovshchik and navigator, went on a voyage in 1754–1757. "Remaining during the course of two years in the Near Islands, they lived in harmony with the natives owing to the management of Durnev" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 23–33).

In 1756–1759, on the ship *Andreyan i Nataliya* of the company of the merchants F. Kholodilov and A. Tolstykh, Tolstykh himself was navigator and peredovshchik; the translator was S. Serebrennikov. On 24 June 1757 Tolstykh made a stop on Attu "where he met Trapeznikov's ship *Nikolai*, which was ready to depart for Kamchatka. Durnev was accompanied by toyons from Attu, Agattu, and the toyon of Semiya [Shemya] who had arrived especially for this. Using this occasion, Tolstykh presented the toyon of Semiya and his countrymen with clothing, whereupon they agreed to pay yasak. The toyon promised and, returning home, left with the company a youth, for the study of the Russian language and customs, along with his mother and two women, who by chance were able to show the way to their island." After relatively prosperous living and hunting, having collected yasak for 1758–1759 from the inhabitants of the islands of Attu and Agattu, and "having given the Aleuts otter nets, two baidary, and some clothing," Tolstykh set off for Kamchatka. He related that the Aleuts wear Russian dress with pleasure, are willingly baptized, while the youth Mit'ka, having lived with the company up to the departure of the ship, already understood the Russian language (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 25 ob.–26 ob.).

During the voyage in 1756–1758 on the ship *Petr i Pavel* of the company of the merchants I. Rybinskii and A. Serebrennikov, with the navigator P. Bashmakov, peredovshchik P. Vsevidov, and yasak collector Cossack M. Lazarev, some of the Andreanof Islands were discovered. A. S. Polonskii commented that because of the lack of a translator they were not able to communicate with the inhabitants, who

> threatened them with spears, but did no harm. . . . The islanders [on Tanaga Island.—*R. L.*] lived at first in peace and accord with the promyshlenniki, accepted the Russians gladly among themselves and even went to Bashmakov on the ship and took fish, *sarana* [*Lilium kamtschaticum*], and animal skins to exchange. Arbitrariness and robberies then broke the peace with the natives and settled unpleasantly among the crew itself. . . . In the

> absence of Vsevidov and Lazarev who were on other islands with part of the command . . . the islanders attacked from the land and from the sea those who remained at the anchorage. The promyshlenniki escaped onto the ship, which was lodged at shore and drove the Aleuts away with gunfire. . . . On the return trip Bashmakov came to Tanaga . . . the workers he sent ashore carried out terrible slaughter, and then robbed and burned the village. . . . Vsevidov and Lazarev for all their effort were unable to persuade the inhabitants to pay yasak, and it is no wonder (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 26 ob.–28).

During the voyage of 1758–1763 by the ship *Nikolai* of the merchant N. Trapeznikov, with navigator L. Nasedkin, the promyshlennik Mukhachev was sent onto the shore of an unknown island in the Near Islands with a command and there encountered hostile Aleuts, "but, when the Russians showed them spears and guns and then placed them on the ground, the unpleasant aggression of the islanders stopped. They, as well, lay their darts on the ground and some old men approached the promyshlenniki unarmed, who presented them with needles and . . . wool cloth." But they still did not succeed in preserving friendly relations (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 31 ob.).

During the voyage of 1758–1763 to the island of Attu by the ship *Ioann Predtecha* [Ioann the Precursor] of the merchant Cherbaevskii, under the peredovshchik R. Durnev, the latter was "appointed to collect yasak because of his experience in the islands, since he knew the Aleut language and was liked by the Aleuts. Because of this the Bolsheretsk secretariat entrusted him with the delivery of an ukaz to the toyon of Attu, which affirmed to the toyon the knowledge that he was a citizen of Russia and that he knew how to take charge of his countrymen, about which the toyon had inquired of Durnev during his stay on Attu earlier" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 32–32 ob.).

During the voyage of 1758–1763 by the ship *Vladimir* of the merchant S. Krasil'nikov, under the peredovshchik S. Polev and navigator S. Shevyrin, the Russians found themselves at Atka and then at Amlia. The islanders at first had good relations with the promyshlenniki, helping them in the procurement of animals and "other business." However, when the promyshlenniki divided themselves into three artels, one of them under the leadership of Polev and Shevyrin, the islanders completely overcame them. The boat *Gavriil* of the merchant I. Bechevin, having arrived at this time to winter over, saved the remaining members of the crew from the siege of the islanders. At the same time the self-employed Tarsk merchant Tolstykh wrote a letter of denunciation about the new peredovshchik Druzhinin, navigator Sharypov, and promyshlennik Skolkov regarding the violence they produced on the islands, after which their "services were no longer required." D. Pankov was selected as navigator and took the boat to the Kamchatka River (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 30 ob.–31 ob.).

During the voyage of 1760–1762 by the ship *Gavriil* of the merchant I. Bechevin, with navigator Cossack G. Pushkarev, the outrages of the promyshlenniki in their relations with the Aleuts were especially numerous, just as were the aggressive acts on the part of the latter. Pushkarev "landed on Attu and took on Aleuts there for showing the way to the distant Aleutian Islands, and took on Cherepanov, the Aleut interpreter, from the ship of Rybinskii." Then Pushkarev set off in search of unknown islands and "took with him from Atka and Amlia four Aleuts with two of their women and two of their children for catching fish, and from neighboring islands he took twenty-five women for digging sarana for food and one boy for training in the Russian language. . . . They set up a winter camp on Unimak. . . . At first they lived at peace with the natives, but quickly the conduct of the promyshlenniki changed their former relationship." Upon the return of the ship, "through the grievance of Gorelin of Suzdal and Popov of

Tot'ma" forty promyshlenniki were tried and as punishment left in Kamchatka as farmers (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 34–36).

During the voyage of 1759–1762 by the ship *Zakharii i Elizaveta* of the company of F. Kul'kov and V. Kul'kov, with navigator S. Cherepanov, the stay on the Near Islands passed with perfectly peaceful relations with the Aleuts, as the "report" of S. Cherepanov and the "transactions" of Kul'kov attest (Andreev 1948:113–120; Lyapunova 1979b). Cherepanov writes: "And the above-mentioned people extremely love and are fond of provisions such even as Russian clothing, a few bundles of which were bestowed as gifts from our company. And provisions, for lack of them, though not distributed, when we stop to eat we give them to the Aleuts, never leaving them out, which is why the special friendship and why they supply the goods." In the "report" of Cherepanov it is noted that the Aleuts "very much accepted the Orthodox Christian faith and did not doubt our truthfulness, and here an event followed to prove it." This case consisted of the fact that the seriously ill son of the Aleut Makuzhan requested to be baptized with the hope of recovery. After baptism the youth, called Leontiem, looked better and was taken to Okhotsk (Andreev 1948:117, 118).

During the voyage in 1760–1763 by the ship *Prokopii i Ioann* of the company of merchants V. Popov and T. Chebaevskii, with navigator Cossack A. Vorob'ev and peredovshchik Shoshin, the peredovshchik forcefully demanded otters and food supplies from the Aleuts in the Rat Islands, knowing that on Attu five promyshlenniki had died of hunger. He created such terror among the Aleuts that upon his arrival they submitted and deposited on the shore otters, yukola, and other items, and then hid themselves (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 36–37 ob.).

The group of Andreanof Islands was explored and inspected in detail in 1760–1764 during the voyage of navigator Andreyan Tolstykh on the ship *Andreyan i Nataliya* of the merchant F. Kholodilov. To the praise of Tolstykh, a gifted explorer, it can be added that his voyages were always accompanied by peaceful relations with the islanders. On 6 August the ship approached Attu. Here Tolstykh met Aleuts of his acquaintance from the first voyage and presented them with goods: to the toyon Bakutan "with a detachment of seven men" were given a cast-iron kettle weighing 8 pounds, 15 pounds of rye flour, to each a shirt of *daba* [a Chinese cotton fabric] and linen, linen for shirts, needles, four warm camisoles, a lined astrakhan, to each a pair of warm suede gloves, to each a pair of cold ones and to each a sash; in addition, to Toyon Bakutan were given goat-skin boots. All this was done "without any demands from them," only with signs of friendship. For the fulfillment of duties of pilot and interpreter Tolstykh took from Bakutan two Aleuts "partially knowing Russian conversation" (Berg 1924:118, 120; TsGADA, f. 24, d. 34, l. 65). The members of Tolsykh's crew treated the Aleuts just as benevolently. On the island of Adak, returning in four baidary with supplies of whale meat from two whales cast upon the shore, the Cossack M. Lazarev met Aleuts in baidarki and recognizing one of them as an acquaintance, the son-in-law of the toyon of Kanaga Island, fed them, gave them whale meat, supplied them, and let them go, promising to go to their island. Tolstykh approved of his intentions. Having arrived after the voyage of Lazarev the toyon of Kanaga was met by Tolstykh, and both an "affectionate meeting, with great honor," and gifts—twenty laftaki, shirts, daba, needles, thread, whale meat—persuaded him to pay yasak and to receive artels in winter (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 37 ob.–40; TsGADA, f. 24, d. 34, l. 66). Before returning to Kamchatka Tolstykh invited to the harbor the toyons of all six islands on which hunting was conducted and asked them if any Aleut had been offended by Russians. In this the toyons "unanimously in the presence of all the people located there declared that both the toyons and the rest felt no kind of offence was made, rendering only one feeling toward him, all of favorable benefit and goodwill." The

Aleuts brought in gifts of cod yukola. In their turn the Russians gave them kettles and laftak. The toyons "presented 100 skins of female and yearling otters as yasak for two years for their people and promised to persuade the inhabitants of neighboring islands to pay yasak" (AGO, p. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 61–62). With the promyshlenniki lived a fifteen-year-old "orphan" [relationless] from Atka, called Foma, who was taught the Russian language. The toyon of Atka did not prevent him from going to Kamchatka. In addition, a twelve-year-old youth, apparently from the Near Islands and called Sofron, was taken on the boat: his relatives had been killed "by an unknown people in a deadly war" (that is, by inhabitants of the Andreanof Islands), while he and his sister were taken prisoner. The captured boy was taken by baidara to the island of Adak, where the Russians were located, and there he ran to them, giving himself over "for protection" (Berg 1924:121–122). Tolstykh left both youths on Attu on his return trip, where they stayed to await the next arrival of the Russians.

The Cossacks M. Lazarev and P. Vasyutinskii characterized the Aleuts as "in appearance rough, while by speech and manners affectionate and friendly, that is, intelligent" (Andreev 1944:33).

The honor of the discovery of the Fox Islands belongs to the navigator S. Glotov with the peredovshchik I. Solov'ev and the yasak collector S. Ponomarev, who arrived there on the ship *Yulyan* during the voyage of 1758–1762. As is described in the "reports" of Ponomarev and Glotov, at first the inhabitants of Umnak Island met them with armed aggression:

> they greeted them with their projectiles . . . and making an assault, they [the Aleuts] being reinforced, all [the Russians] were beaten down, and they wounded Ponomarev in the right shoulder, Glotov in the chest as well as in the left shoulder, the Kamchadal Ignat'ya Uvarovskii in the right leg, Stefan Uvarovskii was killed, and the rest the Lord saved—they only took from them the baidara with the food, clothing, and remaining goods, and two axes—who, scarcely defending themselves by fortifications made on the ship from clothing and belongings and planks which remained, were saved (Andreev 1944:25).

But then, "seeing no vengeance from them for their attack, other than affection, they came to them in the ship for a second time without any quarrel and aggression and met as usual and bringing with them meat and fish, dried cod for the Russians' livelihood. On the contrary, even they, Ponomarev and Glotov with his comrades, gave them what trinkets they could find, that is needles, awls, and other things" (Andreev 1944:25). The nephew (by the name of Mushkal') of one of the two toyons of Umnak Island, Shushak, they baptized, named Ivan, and took to Kamchatka. Ivan, instructed in grammar and the Russian language, and having received the family name of his godfather—Glotov—afterwards was designated chief toyon of the Aleutian Islands. The translators serving with Glotov were the Aleuts Kashmak and Ivan who was already somewhat capable in the Russian language. Glotov and his crew peacefully spent three years among the Aleuts of the Fox Islands. Twenty-eight Aleuts contributed yasak. "The people go from these islands voluntarily, and Ponomarev and Glotov and comrades being affectionate and hospitable to them, they wished to retain citizenship and wished that the Russian people might always come to them in ships" (Andreev 1944:27).

But relations did not always develop so happily. On the whole they were more warlike, and numerous groups of eastern (Fox Island) Aleuts became more actively opposed to the invasion of promyshlenniki than the Aleuts of the western half of the chain of islands. Since these events are poorly

illustrated in the literature and at the same time are often explained distortedly, we will dwell on them in somewhat more detail.

The ship *Ioann* of the merchant Ya. Protasov, with navigator and peredovshchik D. Medvedev, arrived in 1763 on the northern side of Umnak in a bay that was given the name Protasovskaya.[8]

> Medvedev took amanaty from the natives and occupied himself with hunting. During the fall he exchanged letters about the prosperity of the company with the navigator of the *Troitsa* [Trinity], Korovin, who had remained on Unalaska. The Aleuts were peaceful, and therefore the promyshlenniki went without any caution in small groups along the trails and visited the natives' yurts without fear. The vigilance of the Russians having been thus diverted, the islanders over a long time developed a plan, through which they executed on 4 December 1763 an attack and initially killed twenty-eight men in the artels, and then went to Medvedev in the harbor. They took with them whale oil, yukola, and otters, and when the promyshlenniki began to examine the items brought, the Aleuts attacked them by surprise and wherever someone was they chopped him down, in all twenty men, because many Aleuts came, while the Russians, not foreseeing the attack, were not prepared to defend themselves. Ya. Zakharov, well-known as an athlete, was intentionally attacked by five men, but he, pierced in many places by long knives, succeeded in killing several Aleuts, ran toward the ship and in the road fell dead. The Aleuts took the bodies of all killed to the bathhouse . . . . The ship was taken from its place and burned by the Aleuts in order to extract the iron. Thus, of forty-nine men, those who formed the crew of the boat, not one was saved (AGO, p. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 40–40 ob.).[9]

A similar fate overtook the crew of the ship *Svyataya Troitsa* of the merchant N. Trapeznikov, which on 15 April 1763 arrived in Makushin Bay on Unalaska. The navigator I. Korovin also took amanaty from among the Aleuts. One of them, Aleksei, having been an amanat for S. Glotov, already knew the Russian language somewhat. Groups of promyshlenniki set off on the hunt to various parts of the island, while Korovin with a few people remained in the harbor and occupied themselves with catching fish from a lake. The wife of one of the toyons, having come to visit her amanat son, reported to Korovin, at the request of her husband, that "against him marches a multitude of Aleuts." Seventy Aleuts quickly arrived, so Korovin gave orders to allow only ten men at a time to cross the stream. Thus they left, not receiving gifts for the furs that had been brought. In the evening of this day the Kamchadals from the Kul'kov ship appeared (see below) and reported that P. Druzhinin and the members of his crew had been killed, and their ship broken up. On the following day the Aleuts attacked Korovin, but were forced to withdraw. However, the entire month they kept the promyshlenniki under siege in a yurt. The latter, finally electing the right moment, ran to the ship where they remained in a state of desperation until 26 April, waiting in vain for the people of the artel (already killed by the Aleuts). Learning that all the crew of the ship were "scurvy-ridden," the Aleuts decided to attack again. Two Aleuts, who arrived at a meeting with their brothers—the translator Kashmak and one of the amanaty, Aleksei—notified Korovin of

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[8] Orth identifies a "Protassof Bay," but it is on the end of the Alaska Peninsula, just east of Unimak Island (Orth, Donald J. *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.—*Trans*.)

[9] The burial of the Medvedev party (thirteen Russians and one Aleut), W. Laughlin supposes, was found and investigated by American archaeologists in 1970 during archaeological excavations of the ancient Chaluka site at Nikolski village on Umnak Island (Laughlin 1970, 1980).

this. The attack of the Aleuts was repelled, but they killed the two of their tribesmen who were returning from the ship.

Then I. Korovin set off for Umnak in hope of connecting with Medvedev, but near Umnak the ship ran aground. The crew succeeded in getting ashore, where they built a *barabara* from a baidara and laftak, surrounding it with casks washed ashore from the ship. During the night Aleuts appeared. Fearing being killed, Kashmak ran off. Two promyshlenniki were killed, the rest were wounded. During this night the ship was broken up by a storm. Continually repelling the attacks of the Aleuts, who were now shooting with guns taken from the Russians, the promyshlenniki nevertheless built a baidara by 21 July and sent it off with six Russians and six Kamchadals to Medvedev. However, there they found only the remains of the burned ship and the bodies in the bathhouse. They buried the dead. Here as well Korovin was met by promyshlenniki led by S. Glotov, who had arrived from the *Andreyan i Nataliya*, which was anchored on the other side of the island. Korovin's people united themselves with Glotov's crew (AGO, p. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 43–45; Andreev 1948:120–146).

The ship *Zakharii i Elizaveta* of the merchants Kul'kov, with navigator P. Druzhinin and peredovshchik A. Myasnykh, arrived on Umnak Island in the first part of September 1763. On the same day they received letters through the Aleuts from D. Medvedev on Umnak and I. Korovin on Unalaska. Answers were sent back with the same Aleuts. On 13 September the boat arrived on Unalaska and was taken into the harbor in Captain's Bay (called Kul'kovskaya). In October three artels of promyshlenniki were dispatched to various sides of the island—the navigator and the peredovshchik staying at the harbor. Druzhinin settled down on "the small island of Inalak . . . built a small fort as a precaution and maintained continuous guard in it" (Berkh 1823:59). On 4 December Aleuts attacked the artel, which was located in the settlement of Kalekhta and killed everyone there, killing also those who had been away hunting. Of the other artel in the village of Ikalok, that is, Petryakovsk, only six men were saved. These made their way secretly into the harbor where they found the remains of a burned ship and the bodies of their comrades on the shore. Pursued by Aleuts the promyshlenniki hid in the mountains from 9 December 1763 to 2 February 1764. Having built a baidara from leather bags for provisions secretly collected from the shore, they set off in it to Makushin Bay, enduring along the way skirmishes with the Aleuts, hiding by day in rocky crags. These six remaining men of a forty-nine-member crew (three Russians and three Kamchadals) returned in 1766 on the ship *Andreyan i Nataliya* to Kamchatka (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 40 ob.–42 ob.).

The navigator of the ship *Petr i Pavel*, I. Solov'ev, in 1764 on Unalaska, learned of the same unfortunate fate which had overtaken the whole crew of the ship *Nikolai* of the merchant N. Trapeznikov, with navigator L. Nasedkin, which had arrived at the island of Umnak and anchored in Protasovskaya Bay in 1763 (see below) (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 45 ob.–46).

The crews of four ships that were exposed to the attacks of the Aleuts consisted of 136 Russian promyshlenniki and thirty-nine Kamchadals. Of this number 125 Russians and thirty-three Kamchadals were killed by Aleuts, six Russians died of illness or drowned, five Russians and six Kamchadals returned to Kamchatka. Three ships were burned, one broken up (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 45 ob.–46).

S. Glotov's voyage in 1762–1766 on the ship *Andreyan i Nataliya* was when he discovered Kodiak Island. Because of non-peaceful relations with the inhabitants (Koniag Eskimos), he decided to win-

ter on Umnak, the inhabitants of which had retained good relations with him from a previous voyage.[10] On 3 June 1764 Glotov arrived there. Those sent ashore found a yurt and in it—the slain promyshlenniki, icons, and a church calendar. On the other side of the island Glotov found the burned ship, sacred books, and broken icons scattered along the shore, and in the bathhouse—the bodies of the promyshlenniki from the *Ioann*. On 7 June seven Aleuts in baidarki arrived. The Russians succeeded in getting one of them on board the ship. He told of the destruction of the ships and the killing of the promyshlenniki, as well as the fact that I. Korovin was located on Umnak. Glotov set off in search of Korovin. Groups of Aleuts met the promyshlenniki with gunfire and bows, and several skirmishes took place. Once he had taken Korovin and the remaining members of his crew under his care, Glotov set out on the hunt. Korovin himself led a group of twenty men in two baidary to search Umnak and Unalaska for people and property from the lost ships. "Along the way a sizeable number of Aleuts paid with their lives for the robbery and murder of the promyshlenniki, and several villages were destroyed." Then Korovin engaged in hunting, "but revenge still boiled within him." "Glotov, having learned about the circumspect behavior of Korovin with the Aleuts," writes that A. S. Polonskii, "not only did not approve of his conduct but prohibited him and his comrades from going on the hunt with his workers, Glotov giving them their share of animals." On 24 June 1765 Korovin and his comrades transferred to the ship *Petr i Pavel* with I. Solov'ev as navigator, "who appeared worthy of his companion in the matter of reconciliation of those Aleuts who had quarreled with the promyshlenniki." Glotov himself set out for an examination of the island and its "friendly inhabitants," but the frightened Aleuts, as soon as they saw the approaching promyshlenniki, fled from their dwelling and disappeared. Finally, little by little the Aleuts began to come to Glotov with otters and foxes for exchange. The remaining time Glotov occupied himself with hunting and the acquisition of furs among the Aleuts in the harbor. He returned to Kamchatka in August 1766 (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 46 ob.–51).

The ship *Petr i Pavel* of the merchant Ya. F. Ulednikov, with navigator and peredovshchik I. Solov'ev and a crew of 45 men (one of them died on the trip), entered the bay on the northwest side of Unalaska on 17 September 1764. The people, sent out for reconnaissance, found the empty collapsed yurt of the natives and in it—"the cursively written life of St. Nikolai and a broken stock (of a gun)." They moved the ship into the Chikanok River and unloaded. It remained here over the winter. On 22 September there came to Solov'ev in the harbor Aleuts with whom he was acquainted: Agayak, who had been an interpreter on a previous voyage, and Kashmak, who had lived with the crew of the ship *Yulyan* of S. Glotov and had served as interpreter for I. Korovin on *Svyataya Troitsa*. They told him about the tragic events of the previous year. Solov'ev, because of such news, took precautionary measures against a surprise attack from the Aleuts, and then "according to his legal position began to make very careful effort to bring them into obedience."

We noted that it is precisely I. Solov'ev who is called the main "destroyer of Aleuts," and he is mentioned in the *Zapiskakh* . . . of I. Veniaminov. But, judging by the manuscript of A. S. Polonskii, which has not mitigated the negative sides of the activities of the promyshlenniki, it is scarcely possible to verify that Solov'ev, with the forces available at his command, could have, under the extremely unfavorable conditions, committed the massacre of the Aleuts ascribed to him. It seems that Veniaminov had heard legends about these events that had been condensed into a form worse than what had actually happened.

[10] The name "Koniag" is no longer used. The residents of this region are now known as Alutiiq people.—*Trans*.

On 29 September 1764 I. Solov'ev set off in three baidary with thirty-three Russians and two interpreters to the western cape of Unalaska. In the Aleut village of Umshalak they found the remains of ten murdered promyshlenniki from the ship *Svyataya Troitsa*. When they saw the promyshlenniki all the inhabitants fled to the sea. In an attempt "to take from them amanaty" the Aleuts defended themselves with spears, and four of them were killed, while the toyon Sedan and seven of his "countrymen" were seized and kept under guard. The Aleuts returned five guns and other things, which they had gotten after the massacre of the Russians. "In search of property looted from the ships by the Aleuts and in order to suppress them," on 28 October Solov'ev set off to the northern cape. He reached the cape where the village of Agulok was located. The occupants returned things belonging to the two promyshlenniki killed there. Further, he passed by Uchuchloka in Makushin Bay where the *Svyataya Troitsa* wintered. There he found two toyons of Makushin, who had arrived there with their relatives (seventy men and 180 women and children) to hunt fur seals. By invitation of the toyons, Solov'ev visited their dwelling, where he remained because of the storms that had begun on 6 December. Then he set off to the village of Tachikala, where, according to a Makushin toyon and interpreters, the Aleuts had killed nine men from the Kul'kov ship and did not wish to be friendly with the Russians. The toyon sent as a negotiator persuaded a few Aleuts to remain and receive Solov'ev. The latter upon arrival found among them about 300 spears and ten bows with arrows and ordered that all be broken. Little by little even the Aleuts who had run away began to gather. However, ill feelings remained. On 17 December the Aleuts attacked the promyshlenniki, but nineteen of their own men were killed. As a result they handed over six amanaty and returned the ship's property of the Kul'kov company. Solov'ev returned home to the harbor on 11 February 1765, and on the 16th went to the western cape: he visited the villages of Umshalok, Ikalga, and Takamitka. Returning to the ship on 15 March, he found almost all the crew "in scurvy," from which 21 men died between March and May. Many were sick. Only 13 men remained healthy. From the reports of Aleuts amicably disposed to the Russians Solov'ev learned that their fellow tribesmen intended to destroy the ship's crew, seeing it in a miserable state. The Makushin toyon, who was being held prisoner and kept under guard, confirmed this as well. The toyon, after being "remonstrated for a long time about being shaky" in his allegiance, was freed. Soon the whole crew recovered, and on 30 June I. Korovin with five promyshlenniki arrived, invited "by the thin population" in the crew. On 22 July Solov'ev with half of his crew (that is, no more than twelve men) set off to the eastern cape. Solov'ev in his account does not say, writes A. S. Polonskii, how many Aleuts were his victims, "but, according to legend, it is known that the fearful Aleuts hid where they could, but they were found and destroyed, and that along the path of Korovin and Solov'ev there remained only destroyed yurts." On 11 August Solov'ev and Korovin set off for Umnak to S. Glotov for the remaining property of the crew of the merchant N. Trapeznikov and met him on the way. Together they went to the northern side of Umnak where, according to information from Korovin, the toyons had company property. The Aleuts hid, but when by chance they were found in a cave, they rushed with knives at the promyshlenniki and again hid themselves. The promyshlenniki killed only one of them and took captive a toyon whom they released at Glotov's command, since his children were amanaty of Glotov. On 19 October Solov'ev sent twenty men on a hunting trip to the northern cape and farther, while he with the remaining people hunted animals in the harbor from November to January. The people who had gone hunting were exposed to the attacks of Aleuts; attempts to force the latter to hunt foxes with the aid of traps distributed to them had no success.

Of I. Solov'ev's crew, 28 men died at various times, and of the remaining, many became incapable of work because of illness. Therefore, he decided to return to Kamchatka. Setting off on 1 June 1766

from Unalaska, the ship reached Kamchatka on 4 July. Five men arrived on the boat there from the lost ships *Svyataya Troitsa* and *Zakharii i Elizaveta*.

I. Solov'ev wrote in a report about his relations with the Aleuts:

> According to the receipt of information from interpreters on the treason of the people of that place and the killing of Russians, he through his position made every effort to lead them into citizenship by persuasion and indulgent treatment; he exhorted in the harbor and treated them with food and drink in their huts, while he gave gifts to the toyons, as well as to the good fellows; in the case of their attacks, though he set up resistance, this was done only through necessity, while always trying to persuade them to give up their evil designs and live in friendship with the Russian people. He undertook all measures to lead them into citizenship with such zeal as his legal position required; and though the people of that place turned out to be inclined toward the arrangement, and some had already brought yasak, but there is no hope because they are fickle; when they see that the Russians are cautious they show signs of friendship in words, while in deeds they always watch for the best way to carry out an attack (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 51–55 ob.; Andreev 1948:146–170).

In almost all subsequent literature—beginning with the *Dvukratnoe puteshestvie* . . . of G. I. Davydov (1812:108) and including the *Zapiski* . . . of I. Veniaminov (1840 II:188–190)—the assertions that I. Solov'ev "in vengeance" destroyed more than 3,000 Aleuts are repeated. V. N. Berkh (1823:74, 75) maintains that Solov'ev and his companions did not kill more than 300 men, taking exception to Davydov, and being guided by materials in the Central Siberian Archives and local government offices concerning the voyages of the promyshlenniki, as well as the results of personal inquiries of "old voyagers," eyewitnesses to these events. Rather it can be supposed that commanding small forces and being located in unfavorable conditions Solov'ev just "exhorted," "entertained," and "gave them presents" in order to win the favor of the Aleuts who, being good warriors and commanding an incommensurably large number, could have destroyed his crew. And clearly not all the Aleuts came out against the Russians, as there already were Aleuts loyal to them, who had even helped them.

K. T. Khlebnikov cites the story in 1826 about events of sixty years before, of one old Aleut, an inhabitant of Unalaska, who found himself in those days as an amanat to the Russians. He describes in detail how the Aleuts benevolently met the first ship of Russians, having then safely departed (the *Yulyan* with navigator S. Glotov in 1758), and the second as well (the *Svyataya Troitsa* with navigator I. Korovin in 1762), and how they gave the new arrivals amanaty in pledge of sincere friendship, following their own customs, and showed them every kind of favor. The Russians wintered over, having constructed a "sod barracks" by the stream. For hunting animals and laying in stores they split up into several parties: one baidara was sent where afterwards the village of Veselovskoe sprang up, and the second—to the island of Bor'ku in Unalga Strait; other promyshlenniki (groups of few men) settled in nearby "zhilakh" [dwellings] of the Aleuts, while the remainder stayed with the commander on the ship. Visiting their amanat children one day, the Aleuts learned that one of them had been beaten with a birch rod. Such punishment, to which by Aleut custom only *kalgi* (slaves) could be subjected, they considered an unheard-of insult and great dishonor. And this led them to the decision to get rid of the new arrivals. Of the three

crews then located on ships in Unalaska and Umnak only six men were saved, having hidden themselves in caves on Unalaska. Knowing of their whereabouts, one Aleut secretly took them food, later receiving baptism and being named Ivan Shudrov (he died in 1820). He himself informed them of the arrival of I. Solov'ev's ship (Khlebnikov 1979:89, 90).

According to the data of G. Davydov: "The Aleuts agreed to kill the promyshlenniki; and since it was necessary to carry this out suddenly in various places at the same time so that the promyshlenniki, upon learning of the destruction of their countrymen, would not be able to take precautionary measures, they divided among themselves an equal number of sticks, throwing one each day into the fire. When the last had been thrown on the fire, they attacked from everywhere all the promyshlenniki and killed them." With this Davydov (1812:107–108) notes the great inclination of the people of northwestern America for war, as well as the fact that they "never conduct an open maneuver, rather they try to attack the enemy when it is at a disadvantage."

In 1766 promyshlenniki from the ship *Prokopii i Ioann* of the company of the merchants T. Chebaevskii and I. Popov, with the navigator V. Shoshin and peredovshchik V. Sof'in (the voyage of 1764–1768) landed on Umnak. The Aleuts assured the promyshlenniki that they had given up their evil intentions and had decided to live with the Russians in peace and concord. Soon Shoshin went over to Unalaska, into Koshiga Bay, "because of the inconvenience of hunting on Umnak with two crews," since the ship *Pavel* had arrived. The promyshlenniki of the ship *Prokopii i Ioann*, located on Unalaska from the 5th of September 1766 to the 19th of June 1768, lost only two people during this time and put down one attack from the Aleuts, which a toyon had told them about. Shoshin, having taken two interpreters onboard in the Near Islands, was unable to land there on the return trip because of storms, so he took the Aleuts to Kamchatka (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 56–57).

The ship *Pavel* of the company of the merchants V. Shilov, I. Lapin, and A. Orekhov, with navigator A. Ocheredin and peredovshchik Vologzhaninov, went into winter quarters in Protasovskaya Bay on Umnak in the fall of 1766 (during the voyage of 1765–1770). The crew consisted of 64 men; among them were two Aleuts who had been taken from Kamchatka as interpreters. "The natives met the promyshlenniki peacefully, but they soon stirred up trouble by their own actions. The natives' dislike was such that the workers did not dare leave the harbor." A shortage of fresh food led to scurvy, from which six men died. With the beginning of warm weather the people revived and artels were sent around Umnak and to the islands of Unalaska, Akutan, Akun, Avatanok, and Kigalga. The toyon from the Islands of the Four Mountains, having arrived in the harbor, expressed repentance for participation in the killing of promyshlenniki in 1763 and, as a sign of genuine loyalty, sent amanaty. However, the rest of the inhabitants of the Islands of the Four Mountains not only refused to give amanaty, but even "tyrannically killed a toyon who had agreed to reaccept citizenship." Two baidary with twenty-four promyshlenniki sent to suppress them encountered an attack by the islanders on the island of Uliaga. An artel of promyshlenniki with fifteen workers that had arrived there had all been killed. The Aleuts of Unalaska, Akutan, and Akun, having at first accepted the promyshlenniki amicably, unified and on 12 December attacked the main party led by M. Polozkov. One interpreter ran away to the Aleuts. Also, an artel of promyshlenniki with eleven men was destroyed. On 16 January 1767 the Aleuts again attacked Polozkov: "The guard having hid, they jumped onto the yurt and, throwing off the hatch, began to launch into the interior arrows that killed four and wounded three." Not until the 10th of March, after the recovery of the wounded, could Polozkov return to the harbor. Ocheredin decided to punish the intractable Aleuts and set out on 12 June in two baidary with twenty armed workers to the eastern cape of Unalaska. But, having learned that

there were waiting Aleuts who had gathered from the islands of Akutan, Akun, as well as local Aleuts, he turned back from Veselovsk village.

In July 1768 the ship *Andreyan i Nataliya* of the company of the merchants I. Popov and I. Lapin arrived (during the voyage of 1767–1772) at Umnak with peredovshchik Ya. Smolin and navigator L. Vtorushin. Those who had arrived agreed with the crew of the *Pavel* to conduct joint hunting. On 24 June 1770 the *Pavel* returned to Okhotsk (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 59, ob.–61). In August 1768 Vtorushin sailed to Unalaska and Akutan for amanaty. But from quittances, given to the Aleuts by the ship *Prokopii i Ioann*, he learned of the murder of two Kamchadals from this ship by a toyon from a small island located between Unalaska and Akutan, and therefore sent to this toyon a special messenger with a proposal for peace. Having received in answer a promise to kill all Russians in the islands, Vtorushin on 14 September set off to the toyon in four baidary, also taking with him Aleuts "who had expressed the desire to persuade the toyon to submit." It appeared that the discontented from other islands had gathered there as well. A skirmish broke out, a few Aleuts were wounded, and the remainder ran off. With the departure of the ship in 1772, five Kamchadals and "merchant Koryaks of a sort" fled. "A newly baptized Aleut, Gur'ev, and his companions found them in a cave in the mountains about 20 *verst* [~20 km] from the harbor." They told him that they had learned from those promyshlenniki who had arrived on Akun in the ship *Pavel* of the deaths of all their countrymen in Kamchatka from "pox infection" and decided to remain here in order not to die "upon return." Gur'ev took upon himself the responsibility of protecting them "from being overcome by Aleuts until the arrival of some ship" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 62–63 ob.).

During the voyage of 1767–1770 the ship *Petr i Pavel*, with navigator I. Korovin and peredovshchik G. Korenev, arrived in the northern harbor of the island of Attu, where the ship *Vladimir* of the merchant S. Krasil'nikov stood. There they took on interpreters and set out farther. The company hunted in the Andreanof Islands. Amanaty were taken for security of conducting hunts, but no complication in the relations with the Aleuts arose (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 61 ob.–62).

The ship *Nikolai* of the company of the merchants I. Mukhin and I. Zasypkin, with navigator and peredovshchik S. Cherepanov, arrived in July 1769 on Attu (the voyage of 1768–1773). Since few otters now remained there, the ship left after a year for the Andreanof Islands where the interpreters had been picked up. Having brought the ship into the harbor on Adak and taken amanaty from the Aleuts, the promyshlenniki separated into artels for hunting all along the Aleutian chain. "Ushenin and Cherepanov, by violent conduct and even murder, strongly stirred up the Aleuts against them." The only one injured from this was the merchant A. Lygachev, who was killed by an Aleut who had arrived on Adak and was living with the local toyon and who fled in a baidarka; he also killed an Aleut woman who began to "rebuke" him for his deed. This man had earlier reproached the local inhabitants for obeying the Russians, who wanted to kill all of them. Ushenin calmed the Aleuts who were afraid of punishment from the Russians (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 63 ob.–65).

On the voyage of 1770–1774 the ship *Aleksandr Nevskii* of the merchant V. Serebrennikov, with navigator and peredovshchik D. Pan'kov, was occupied with hunting in the Andreanof Islands (Atka, Amlia, Amchitka, Kanaga, and Tanaga). "Six baptized Aleuts" arrived on the boat in Kamchatka "for anointing" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 70–71).

During the voyage of 1770–1775 the ship *Pavel* of the company of merchants V. Shilov, I. Lapin, and A. Orekhov, with navigator and peredovshchik I. Solov'ev, was located the entire time on Unalaska,

from where the artels were sent for the hunt on Akun and the other nearest islands. There are no reports of conflicts between the promyshlenniki and the Aleuts (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 71–71 ob.).

On the voyage of 1772–1776 the ship *Petr i Pavel* of the company of the merchants Panov, with peredovshchik and navigator I. Korovin, stood in the bay on the northern side of Atka, the bay and cape of which has been called "Korovin" since then. The hunting around the various islands of the Andreanof group was conducted without hindrance (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 71 ob.–72).

In 1772–1778 hunts in the Fox Islands group occupied the promyshlenniki of the ship *Mikhail* of the merchant A. Kholodilov, with navigator D. Polutov. They kept good relations with the Aleuts (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 66 ob.–67 ob.).

During the voyage of 1772–1779 the ship *Vladimir* of the company of the merchants A. Orekhov, I. Lapin, and V. Shilov, with peredovshchik V. Shoshin and navigator P. Zaikov, wintered over one year on Attu. An artel of ten men was left there, after which the ship went on to Umnak and Unimak, where for three years its crew was occupied with hunting together with the promyshlenniki newly arrived on the ship *Evpl* of the merchant F. Burenin, with peredovshchik M. Sapozhnikov and navigator E. Delarov. "The company was in agreement with the Fox Island Aleuts and the Alaskans [of the Alaska Peninsula] and therefore could impose yasak upon a few natives and get from them information about the islands lying beyond Unimak—Sanak, Unga, and others, as well as the Alaska Peninsula" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 72–73).

On the voyage of 1777–1781 the ship *Varfolomei i Varnava* of the company of the merchants Panov and G. Shelikhov, with peredovshchik P. Vsevidov and navigator S. Korelin, arrived on Amlia where Korelin "conducted himself deprecatingly with the islanders," then wintered on Atka (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 75 ob.–76).

The ship *Izosim i Savvatii* of the merchants Kiselev, with navigator Dolzhantov and peredovshchik M. Polozkov, arrived in 1778 on Atka (during the voyage of 1777–1781). Having left Polozkov with half the crew in Bechevin Bay, Dolzhantov went back to Copper Island, with the thirty Aleuts taken from there, where he remained for two years.

It should also be noted that in previous years the crews of various ships and companies that met on the hunt sometimes entered into conflict, and this became more frequent with the diminishing number of otters in the islands. Each company tried to draw the Aleuts into its influence by starting more friendly contacts with them, in order to use them as promyshlenniki, allies, and even for intrigue against a hostile company. A. S. Polonskii considers the killing of M. Polozkov and his crew by Aleuts on Atka to be a result of conflicts between the crews of these last two ships (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 76).

Eleven newly baptized Andreanof Aleuts were sent out on the ship *Izosim i Savvatii* to Kamchatka, of which six were taken from the ship *Aleksandr Nevskii* that had broken up on Copper Island (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 77–78).

In his "Zapiski . . ." K. T. Khlebnikov cites an ukaz that he saw in the archive of Toyon Golodov on Attu Island, of 20 August 1781, that was from the office of the Port of Okhotsk and signed by the office assessor Bensing to Toyon A. Tyutrin. It states that the furs taken by him as yasak to the ship *Izosim i Savvatii* were eighteen otter skins. "And for encouragement to a better payment in the future, gifts were given to him from the treasury: 1 cutlass, 356 korol'ki of various colors—122 white, 158 blue, 76 clear;

beads—1 lb. red, 1/2 lb. blue, 1 lb. yellow, and 1/2 lb. green; plates of tin—5; needles—57; tobacco—20 lbs." And further: "You should take the indicated things, in order that you always feel kindness and deal with your relatives honestly and not show any insult to them and so on." The ukaz of 20 August 1782 to this same Tyutrin, sent by the Irkutsk governor, General-Major F. N. Klichka, reports that a kaftan of red cloth "with gold trim" was sent to him in exchange for the gifts of otter received from him in 1781 (Khlebnikov 1979:174).

The boat *Kliment* of the merchants Panov, with navigator and peredovshchik A. Ocheredin, on the voyage of 1778–1785, spent the winter of 1778/1779 on Unalaska. From there it went in July of 1779 to Kodiak with sixty Aleuts taken for the hunt. But hostile relations with the Koniag did not permit them even to leave the ship. Having wintered over on Kodiak, the *Kliment* returned for the hunt in the Fox Islands (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 78 ob.–79).

The boat *Nikolai* of the merchants Panov, with navigator and peredovshchik D. Polutov, on the voyage of 1778–1785, remained during the winter of 1778/1779 with the ship *Kliment* at Unalaska, and in the following year at Unimak. In January 1781 Polutov set out in baidary (with Aleuts in baidarki) to Unga and farther along the southern shore of the Alaska Peninsula. In August of this same year he returned. After the arrival there in September of the ship *Evpl*, with navigator D. Pan'kov, both companies agreed to joint hunting. Polutov proposed the settlement of artels with Aleuts on Unga, near the Alaska Peninsula, and the Semidi Islands, where there were many otters, though he knew that the Alaskan Koniag bore an ancient animosity against the Aleuts and that fighting was unavoidable. The role in this allotted to the Russians was that of guarding the Aleuts while they hunted; in addition, it was necessary to visit the settlements of the Koniag and draw them into Russian citizenship. However, the meeting with the Koniag of Katmai turned into a lengthy battle with an unsuccessful siege. Polutov and Pan'kov went back on 19 July. Polutov remained to winter in Kolyugida Bay of Kenai Bay [Cook Inlet], and in the following year he returned with his party to the harbor at Unalaska (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 79–82 ob.).

The ship *Evpl* of the merchants Panov, with navigator and peredovshchik D. Pan'kov, on 3 September 1781 approached Unimak (during the voyage of 1780–1786). Having agreed with D. Polutov to a communal hunt, Pan'kov took the ship into the same harbor where Polutov's boat *Nikolai* stood (Krenitsyn Harbor). From May to 24 July 1782 Pan'kov, together with Polutov, visited the Koniag of the Alaska Peninsula. From there he started in two baidary for Unalaska where he found the ship *Aleksei* of the merchants Panov. In 1783 Polutov, Pan'kov, and Delarov agreed to conduct a hunt together. Thus, several villages on the islands of Unalaska, Akun, and Akutan were occupied by the three united companies of the Panovs, while Pan'kov remained their leader. Polutov and Delarov set out with a party of promyshlenniki and Aleuts to the coast of America searching for new places to hunt. On the way to Kamchatka, at the island of Amlia where the artel left there earlier was gathered to be picked up, the *Evpl* was wrecked. Thirty–seven men of the crew and eight Aleuts arrived in 1786 in Kamchatka on the ship *Izosim i Savvatii* (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 83 ob.–84 ob.).

The crew of the ship *Aleksei* of the company of the merchants Panov, with peredovshchik and navigator E. Delarov, upon arrival in 1782 at Unalaska (during the voyage of 1781–1789) united (as was indicated) for communal hunts with the crews of two other ships of the company of the Panovs. In 1783 Delarov together with Polutov and a party of Aleuts set off for Chugach Bay [Prince William Sound]. Because of the lack of provisions there and the loss of people due to attacks by Chugach Eskimos, he returned in April 1784 to Unga, and from there went to Akun.

In 1786, Delarov returned to Okhotsk with part of the people, the remaining promyshlenniki being left in the Fox Islands (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 87 ob.).

The ship *Ioann Predtecha* of the merchants I. I. Golikov and G. I. Shelikhov, with peredovshchik P. Lisenko and navigator A. Sapozhnikov, during the voyage of 1779–1785, was located the whole time in the Near and Andreanof Islands. In 1785 the ship returned to Okhotsk, and "in it arrived, with the curiosity of becoming acquainted with Russian customs, the toyon of Atka and fifteen Aleuts from Atka, Amlia, Chugul, Kanaga, and Amchitka" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 82 ob.–83).

The ship *Mikhail* of the merchant A. Kholodilov, with peredovshchik L. Nagaev and navigator F. Mukhoplev, in the fall of 1782 arrived on Umnak (during the voyage of 1780–1786), and in the following year set off with the ship *Aleksandr Nevskii* (navigator P. Zaikov) to America. In 1784 the *Mikhail* returned from there to Sanak, and his crew was united with the people of the company of the merchants Orekhov and Panov for the execution of hunts in the Fox group and in islands lying on the southern side of the Alaska Peninsula.

"In September 1784," writes A. S. Polonskii,

> nine ships were located in the Fox group and on Unga; large parties of Aleuts of both sexes were with each company, and it is difficult to imagine that even one Aleut in the entire area remained in his village unoccupied; in addition, Aleuts were taken there from the Near, Rat, and Andreanof Islands. On Unga the company took away entire settlements of Aleuts, and as a result produced a continuous quarrel between them over hunting areas, which reached the point of shooting at each other, there being one killed and three wounded in the company of Lebedev [-Lastochkin] (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 85 ob.).

The galiot *Georgii* of the merchant P. S. Lebedev-Lastochkin, with peredovshchik E. Popov and navigator G. Pribylov, having left an artel in the Commander Islands, arrived in August 1783 on Umnak (during the voyage of 1781–1789). In 1784 the people of the company of Lebedev-Lastochkin were located for hunting on Unalaska, but since quarrels between the companies over hunting areas became more frequent there in 1785, Pribylov set off in 1786 to the north of Unalaska and discovered an island that was rich in sea otters and fur seals (St. George Island). Having left on the island an artel of promyshlenniki, he went to Unalaska. The peredovshchik Popov in 1787 discovered another island nearby which he named St. Paul. This group of islands was called Kotovie [Fur Seal] (because of the large number of fur seals), then—Zubovskie (in honor of Count Zubov), but soon the name Pribylov [Pribilof] Islands (the name of their original discoverer) became attached to them (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 85 ob.–86 ob.).

The ship *Pavel* (or *Petr i Pavel*) of the merchant L. Alin, with peredovshchik Ya. Nevidimov and navigator Cossack T. Sapozhnikov, made a voyage in 1781–1787. The navigator was entrusted with "the coat of arms of the Russian Empire for distribution to toyons of the most notable islands as certification to the foreigners that they are Russian subjects." The ship stopped for hunting at Amchitka, but it spent three years on Copper Island. On 29 August 1785, having set off for Kamchatka, the *Pavel* wrecked on Amchitka. From the collected remains of wrecked ships (this one and Japanese ships that had wrecked there) as well as from driftwood, the promyshlenniki built a small ship by 1 July 1787 and in this year

returned in it to Kamchatka. They took with them nine Japanese. The Japanese ship, having been stripped of its rudder and mast during a storm, was driven along in the sea for eight months and finally, in August 1783, arrived on the southern side of Amchitka. Of the seventeen members of its crew one died while at sea and seven from scurvy during the four-year stay on Amchitka (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 86 ob.–87 ob.). One of the Japanese, D. Kodayu, was taken to Petersburg, was twice admitted to see Catherine II, and later, with two of his traveling companions, returned to his country. Two Japanese remained in Irkutsk and became teachers of the Japanese language in the school. The history and significance of these first contacts of the Russians with the Japanese are well illuminated in the literature (see, for example, Katsuragava 1978; Inoue 1977, 1984).

The ship *Aleksandr Nevskii* of the merchant I. Orekhov, with peredovshchik V. Shishev and navigator P. Zaikov went, during the voyage of 1781–1791, to Unalaska and from there in 1783, together with the ship *Mikhail* of the merchant A. Kholodilov, set off for the southern side of Alaska in search of hunting areas. They wintered on Sukli Island in Chugach Bay. Fearing the warlike Chugach, they occupied themselves little with hunting. On 15 July 1784 the ship arrived at Unalaska. There its crew united to be communally directed in hunting with the crews of the boats *Mikhail* and *Varfolomei i Varnava*; "the large parties of Aleuts they were accustomed to were located for this in villages in the Fox Islands." Upon returning, Ensign Belokopytov reported the collected yasak: 127 otters, 149 silver foxes, 281 cross foxes, and 92 red foxes (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 87 ob.–88).

The ship *Izosim i Savvatii*, of the company of the merchants Kiselev, with peredovshchik I. Lukanin and navigator P. Savel'ev, during the voyage of 1782–1791, stopped on Atka to conduct hunting in the Andreanof group. In 1786 it went to Kamchatka with the crew of the wrecked ship *Evpl*, and in 1788 from Atka it arrived at Unalaska. In 1789 the crew hunted on the island of St. George, and in 1790 on St. Paul. On the *Iz. i S.* the toyon of Atka, Ovechkin, elected by the others, arrived in Okhotsk with the yasak collected by them in the Andreanof Islands: forty-one otters, twenty-nine females, and two yearlings. For his zeal he was given a certificate of praise and, as the oldest and most respected of the Aleuts of the Andreanof group, awarded a parka of the Aleut type, trimmed with crimson cloth, gold-covered brocade and broad fringe, a blue velvet hat, also trimmed, and red goat-skin boots. The toyon died in Okhotsk, and at his request his gifts were sent to his oldest son on Amlia (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 88–88 ob.). According to the information of K. T. Khlebnikov, on this same ship in 1786 the toyon of the Andreanof Islands, S. Pan'kov, went to Nizhne Kamchatsk, having received on 10 June 1787 from the commandant of the Okhotsk Province, G. Kozlova-Ugrenina, a "certificate" of substitution "according to the antiquity of his practices and customs [he received] the place of his late brother Taiyagul Aiyagitku, who had governed his people with a life of leadership." Also, on the ship *Izosim i Savvatii* in 1791 "going to Okhotsk was Kasnis Kanglas, toyon of Amlia Island, who presented in Okhotsk the entire yasak collected from the Aleuts of the Andreanof Islands, and there he died, having accepted before his death the Christian faith" (Khlebnikov 1979:189). According to the document of 27 August 1792 from the Okhotsk collegiate assessor and commandant, I. G. Koch, through the Irkutsk general-governor, I. A. Pil', the sovereign "awarded the Toyon Sergei Dmitrievich Pan'kov a parka of thin crimson cloth, lined with blue taffeta and trimmed with gold fringe and braid, [awarded] a hat of blue velvet, lined with taffeta and trimmed with the same fringe and braid, crimson goat-skin boots, trimmed with gold fringe" (Khlebnikov 1979:190).

The ship *Varfolomei i Varnava* of the merchants Panov, with peredovshchik S. Cherepanov and navigator S. Korelin, arrived on Unalaska from Okhotsk in August 1783 (during the voyage of 1782–1791). Its crew was united for communal hunts with the companies of the ships *Mikhail* and *Aleksandr*

Nevskii, conducting them in the Fox Islands. To the collector of yasak was presented 90 otters, 63 females, 39 yearlings, 30 silver foxes, 67 cross foxes, and 65 red foxes (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 88 ob.–89).

The crews of the Kamchatka merchants Kozitsyn and others was occupied predominantly with hunting in the Commanders and was sent on the ship *Nikolai* from there to the Near Islands in 1798. "Upon arrival of the ship at the island of Attu a baidara containing a toyon and twelve Aleuts came to meet it in order to show a good route of entry into the harbor. The Aleuts climbed onto the ship, leaving the baidara alongside, but a wind that had become strong broke the baidara loose, and the ship itself was driven to the Kamchatka shores, and, against their will, entered the Kamchatka River." The repaired ship again went to Attu for hunting and for "returning the toyon and his countrymen," but at Copper Island it was again damaged and returned to Kamchatka. Since at this time the privilege to fit out a ship for the Aleutian Islands belonged only to the Russian-American Company, the Aleuts were sent from Okhotsk to Attu on its ship (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 92–92 ob.).

The ship *Izosim i Savvatii* of the company of the merchants Kiselev, with peredovshchik I. Svin'in and navigator D. Bocharov, during the voyage of 1792–1802, called at the Andreanof Islands for delivery to the Toyons Svin'in and Pan'kov of "the highest awarded certificates and gifts." But this company was forced by every means out of the islands by the company of the merchants G. I. Shelikhov and I. I. Golikov, which had actively developed its business in northwestern America and had sent out during these years a number of its ships (*Mikhail*, *Feniks*, *Aleksandr*, *Georgii*, *Severo-Vostochnyi Orel*, and *Simeon i Anna*). In particular, Merkul'ev, peredovshchik of the ship *Simeon i Anna*, in spite of "restraining" the promyshlenniki of the ship *Izosim i Savvatii* from carrying out hunts and securing provisions, appointed other chief toyons "throughout the whole chain." These were his followers, the Aleuts A. G. Shelikhov and P. F. Mukhoplev. But Svin'in, in his turn, had followers among the Aleuts, "having sought with him defense against the willful Toyon Shelikhov." Thus, the Aleuts found themselves caught up in the competitive struggle of the companies. At this time, a member of the first American spiritual mission for baptism of the Aleuts in the islands, Hieromonk Makarii, who arrived on Kodiak in 1794, who put together a report to the Synod about the abuses of the Shelikhov-Golikov company. On 25 July 1796 Svin'in set out from Unalaska to Okhotsk, taking with him Hieromonk Makarii. "With Svin'in went yasak under the protection of three toyons who under this pretext took secret complaints [to Petersburg.—*R. L.*] about the company of Golikov and Shelikhov" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 93–94).

As is well known, G. I. Shelikhov and the Irkutsk governor-general, I. V. Yakobii, in 1787–1788, had promoted a plan for a strong monopolistic company to colonize the land in northwestern America, which had basically been discovered and examined by Russian promyshlenniki. The plan was rejected by Catherine II. Shelikhov's approval did not come until 1798, after his death, with the accession to the throne of Emperor Paul I.

The company of Shelikhov-Golikov fought with its competitors for a monopoly both in the islands and in northwestern America. The struggle was not only for possession of hunting territories, but also for the use of the native population as a labor force. In particular, in 1792–1796 skirmishes occurred in the Aleutian Islands between the people of this company and the company of the merchants Kiselev. The latter were apparently liked and believed more by the Aleuts, and they fought to protect the Aleuts from the "working" people of Shelikhov-Golikov. This is verified by the reports of Hieromonk Makarii and three complaints from the Aleuts to the synod, preserved today in the archives of the senate and synod (TsGIA, f. 1374, op. 1, d. 103).

The first complaint to the synod from toyons of the Fox Islands, with signs (rather than signatures) of twenty-two toyons of these islands, was written by the interpreter N. Lukanin. It is authenticated by his signature and the signature of the chief, Toyon I. Glotov, and dated 30 May 1796. The two subsequent complaints—in the name of Paul I—are from this same Lukanin, native of the Andreanof Islands, and N. Svin'in, from the Fox Islands, dated 30 May and 10 June 1798.

In the complaints the Aleuts wrote that after the visit to the islands in 1791 by the ships of the Billings-Sarychev Expedition they were "in peace." But in 1792 there came to them people from the company of the merchant G. I. Shelikhov, with peredovshchik I. Kochutin, and with them the interpreters A. G. Shelikhov and P. F. Mukhoplev, who were children of toyons. These latter were declared chief toyons, whereas the chief toyon was already I. Glotov, appointed as such by the leaders of the Billings-Sarychev Expedition. In 1794 sixty more men of the Shelikhov-Golikov company, under the direction of D. Shirokii, appeared. From all these promyshlenniki the inhabitants endured the "utmost distress." From March to late fall, by order of Toyons Shelikhov and Mukhoplev, Aleuts were sent over 50 verst in otter hunting parties. After the return of the hunters they were unable to stock up provisions for winter because the annual run of the fish was past. They could not even obtain the necessary bird skins for sewing parkas, the birds at this time having already flown away for the winter. The wives and children were forced, without any wages, to provide roots for the artels of promyshlenniki, as well as to do other work for them. They forcibly took women as concubines. And even the furs stored up for governmental yasak were not given to Toyon Glotov to be sealed up but were taken away by the company. And only the intercession for Glotov and the Aleuts by Hieromonk Makarii and the people "who had been here" in the company of the merchants Kiselev, with peredovshchik I. Svin'in, saved them from punishment.

N. Lukanin also wrote that the chief toyon of the Andreanof Islands, S. Pan'kov, "without agreement and council of the people" accepted the Shelikhov company "and went himself into the service . . . and transferred all the people to this company under the yoke of work in unwilling servitude. Spoken of at the same time in the complaints is their "defense" by Hieromonk Makarii, as well as by the company of the Kiselevs, whose help both the Andreanof and the Fox Aleuts, and their toyons, received.

The Aleuts obtained an audience with Paul I, but their hopes (and that of the company of the merchants Kiselev) for measures against the Shelikhov-Golikov company faded, even though the Aleuts were accepted "with affection" and rewarded with gifts. By this time the question of the creation of a monopolistic unified Russian-American Company had now been decided as final. N. Lukanin and N. Svin'in did not go back to their islands. Both died in Irkutsk.

From the 1770s the Fox group, according to the words of A. S. Polonskii, was the assembly point of the companies, but at the same time "among them there was no permanent and lasting confirmation for hunting and trade" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, No. 2, l. 175). K. T. Khlebnikov writes about this very thing: "Up to the formation of the company of Shelikhov and Golikov from Irkutsk, none of the private companies had a place of residence anywhere, and every ship stopped where it could hope to find hunting, and then moved on" (1979:153). This is reported as well in a number of other sources. Therefore, we cannot yet agree with the extremely tempting proposition of S. G. Fedorova that on Unalaska there existed a permanent Russian settlement, founded by I. Solov'ev between 1772 and 1775 (Fedorova 1971:108, 109; 1972:228–236; see also: Khlebnikov 1985:3), even before the organization by G. I. Shelikhov of the first permanent Russian settlement on Kodiak. In places the Russians made protracted anchorages for their ships, usually called harbors, and barracks similar to Aleut dwellings (but with Russian innovation),

storage facilities, bathhouses, and smithies, as well as some "small strongholds" and "little forts." Subsequent expeditions could return to these places, but there are no grounds for speaking of any permanent Russian settlement in the Aleutian Islands before 1796. In this year, as K. T. Khlebnikov (1979:104–106) points out, the merchant E. Larionov was sent on the ship *Nikolai* of the company of G. I. Shelikhov with the goal of organizing a settlement on Unalaska, and thus became the first director of the Unalaska Office and District.

The predatory activity of some of the promyshlenniki was difficult to suppress because of the extreme remoteness of the governing administration, which was seriously occupied with preservation of the local population, one that was obliged to pay yasak, on the lands newly joined to the Russian state.

Information about the "violence" and "crime" of the private companies was received in the Okhotsk and Kamchatka offices, then sent to the Irkutsk governor, and, finally, to St. Petersburg. Some promyshlenniki were prosecuted upon return. But only in 1787 ("June 15") were some measures taken by the Okhotsk commandant, G. Kozlov-Ugrenin, for the suppression of excesses by the promyshlenniki and a "Certificate to the Toyons and People, Subjects of the Russian State, Inhabiting, in the Northeastern Ocean, the Aleutian Islands" sent to the islanders. The following was written in it:

> With my accession to the charge of the Okhotsk and Kamchatka Provinces your personal petitions came to me: first, through Sergeant Aleksei Builov, second, from the Izosim Polutov, the son of the toyon of the Andreanof Islands, third, from the Fox Island Aleut, Tukulan Ayugnana, from which [petition] with most heartfelt regret I saw inhuman acts committed on you by promyshlenniki from Russian ships, about which the government did not have current information until the present time, and if it had known, then, of course, all this insolence and illegal behavior would have ceased . . . . To all the Russian ships show this certificate, which is given to you as protection, in order that every occupant of your island might remain at his dwelling, and not be submitted through compulsion to move away to other islands unknown to them, and if someone should agree to go even by his own wish, then they should have him returned to his home.

The Aleuts later on actively showed such certificates to the promyshlenniki upon the arrival of ships. And on the certificate, from which the present copy was made, were the signatures: "witnessed subnavigator Gavrilo Pribylov . . . witnessed navigator Potap Zaikov . . . witnessed peredovshchik Leontii Nagaev."

G. Kozlov-Ugrenin simultaneously issued a "Certificate . . . to the leaders who were on the sea voyage of various company hunting ships with working people," where he proposed that "furious acts against the island inhabitants . . . stop and strive to follow the ideas of a merciful sovereign, who cares for propagation and preservation of every land of a people" (Tikhmenev 1863, Suppl., pp. 19–21; Khlebnikov 1979:133–136).

At the same time a signed ukaz of 13 August 1787 to the Siberian military governor, General-Lieutenant I. V. Yakobii, also followed: "On the prohibition to the promyshlenniki in the islands of the Eastern Sea to mend the violence and plundering of the native inhabitants" (PSZ, t. XXII, No. 16563, l. 881–882).

Having set out from St. Petersburg in 1785 the Northeastern Geographic and Astronomical Expedition, under the direction of I. I. Billings and G. A. Sarychev, received "admonition" from the Admiralty College among other instructions and recommendations to avoid skirmishes with islanders, to be involved with them through friendship, and "to set a firm foundation for the collection of yasak." Additional instructions concerning the investigation of the conduct of the promyshlenniki were given in Irkutsk (Sarychev 1952:288, 289). In addition to scientific goals, this expedition, as is well known, had as its aim the strengthening of the rights of Russia in the lands of the Eastern Ocean newly discovered by Russian seafarers and promyshlenniki. Therefore, members of the expedition devoted great attention to questions regarding the natives. They actively conducted work to bring about greater yasak payments by the population, undertook measures for its protection from oppression by the promyshlenniki, and investigated the "villainy" of the latter. A large amount of very valuable ethnographic material was collected as well.

To handle taxation through yasak, a committee was established from the members of the expedition. It compiled detailed lists of names of islands and villages, indicating the Aleuts who paid yasak, and made copies of quittances, which were distributed to the Aleuts by the yasak collectors. In order to "show kind treatment" to attract the Aleuts into Russian citizenship, the expedition had been provided with a large quantity of the widest variety of things: "gold medals—74, silver medals—292, copper medals—612, mirrors—520, knives—315, scissors—420, korol'ki—1 cask weighing 3 pud, 13 pounds"; further, on the list are beads, ribbons, earrings, needles, pins, sheets of copper, brass, steel, copper wire, sugar, tobacco, etc. Medals were distributed to the toyons who were most influential and outstanding for service; they made a list of medals on Alexandria paper.[11] So, to the toyon of Atka, S. Pan'kov, a gold medal was given; in addition, he received silver and copper medals for distribution to subordinate toyons, 14 scissors, 14 knives, 10 mirrors, and 22 pounds of tobacco. To the toyon of Umnak, I. Glotov, a gold medal was also given, "since he had been on the previous expedition with General-Captain Krenitsyn in the local islands and, above all, later trained in Kamchatka in Russian grammar, both to read and to write" (TsGAVMF, f. 214, op. 1, d. 29, l. 101).

Concerning the investigation of "bad behavior with the natives," G. A. Sarychev writes that the inhabitants of the settlement of Illyulyuk confirmed the truth of the "denunciation" of Sergeant A. Builov and received assurance of punishment for the guilty. Sarychev (1952:144) ascribes the abuses that had taken place to those groups of promyshlenniki, "who either from their unbridled behavior, or from some misfortune that had happened to them, and having come to ruin were brought to a condition where they were compelled to withdraw into such remote land and search there with great labors and peril to their livelihood." He also believed that these were "people not only of low and coarse status, but many of them who were even profaned by their own vices, dared sometimes to fall into reprehensible excess themselves in remote islands inhabited by no one but the islanders."

Attention should be turned back to the contention in the contemporary literature of the exaggerated data on the number of Aleuts at the time of the arrival of the Russians in the islands—up to 16,000–20,000 people (Hrdlička 1945; Collins et al. 1945; Laughlin 1963b; Lantis 1970, 1984; Milan 1974; Lyapunova 1975a). These data are founded chiefly on the information of I. Veniaminov. But, apparently, they did not pay attention to the fact that he determines the number of eastern Aleuts at 12,000–15,000 people (correspondingly, the number of all Aleuts should be somewhat more) for the "best time" of the Aleuts, that is, before the destructive wars between themselves and with the Aglegmiut Eskimos and the

[11] Alexandria paper is large format, high quality paper.—*Trans*.

Koniags, long before the arrival of the Russians. At the moment of the arrival of the Russians, writes Veniaminov (1840:II:177, 186), the eastern Aleuts were one half as large, thus, 6,000–7,500. If one adds to this figure the number of central and western Aleuts comprising most probably less than half, and according to the data of A. S. Polonskii, about one-fourth of the eastern, the total number of Aleuts at the time of the arrival of the Russians can be fixed at approximately 8,000–10,000 people. Such data better agree with other evidence from several sources. Polonski (from materials of the voyages of the promyshlenniki) decided that there were, at the time of arrival of the Russians, 2,200 people in the Near, Rat, and Andreanof (that is, western) Islands, while on the Fox (eastern) Islands not less than 10,000 (AGO, p. 60, op. 1, no. 3, l. 55). Apparently this number was excessive, since V. N. Berkh (1823:55) in particular said, "the Cossacks always endeavored to increase the number of people in order to add more importance to their discovery." On the other hand, the number of inhabitants, as S. Ponomarev and S. Glotov noted, for example in their "expressions," "to accurately calculate and show . . . is impossible," since "these people often move from island to island" (Andreev 1944:24). In addition, it happened that the number was increased in subsequent versions of the original report. L. Black cites an example from the report on how four families from the islands of Great Sitkin and Tagalak appearing in the original report were changed to 400 in the copy of the Admiralty Department. Berkh translated the latter data into the number of people and obtained on each island inhabitants numbering 1,200 persons. L. Black regards this figure as unreal based on the fact that the named islands generally are unfit for permanent residence due to the conditions of the relief of the terrain and because of the lack of sources of fresh water; they are visited only during times of food acquisition (L. Black 1984:3, 4). P. N. Golovin, who in 1860 inspected the territories under the charge of the company, writes that at the time, the Russian Aleuts appeared to number almost 10,000 (1862:22).

I. Veniaminov considers the decrease in the number of Aleuts from the "best times" occurred in three "epochs": from the beginning of the internecine dissension among the Aleuts to the first arrival on the Fox Islands of Russian law in 1760; from the appearance of the Russians to the arrival in the islands of the Billings-Sarychev expedition; and from the time of departure of this expedition to his own arrival on the island (1840:II:183–199). A long time before the arrival of the Russians, writes Veniaminov, the Aleuts began to conduct war with the neighboring Eskimo tribes, the Aglegmiuts and Koniags. The old people said, for example, that the Aleuts completely destroyed the Aglegmiut settlement on the Nushagak River, which was located at the place where the Russians built the Alexandrovski redoubt. They annihilated whole settlements on Kodiak. But it happened, naturally, the other way, too. And even with a successful foray, great loss occurred. But the attacks did not always end in victory. According to the writings of G. I. Davydov (1812:108), not long before the arrival of G. I. Shelikov on Kodiak, four baidary of Fox Island Aleuts (a baidara holds about forty persons) arrived there at Uyak Bay with the intention of attacking the Koniags at dawn. But they were noticed, and by night slain, leaving only five women destined to become slaves. Ultimately, based on the testimony of the old people, the war became so frequent that the residents of, for example, the Shumagin Islands were either on a campaign or were sitting in their fortifications on inaccessible islands. Because of such a way of life the Aleuts living there did not succeed in storing supplies for winter, and thus died of hunger. A similar fate awaited a settlement whose males had perished in a campaign (Veniaminov 1840:II:184–185).

Besides these "foreign wars" there was a multitude of internal ones. Such internal wars are known, for example, between Aleuts of the Islands of Umnak, Unalaska, Unimak, the Shumagins, Krenitsyn, and the Alaska Peninsula. I. Veniaminov (1840:II:96–98) describes in detail one of these—between

Akutan and Umnak, where mutual vengeance was stopped only by the arrival of the Russians. These wars, writes Veniaminov (1840:II:95), beginning between members of a family, proceeded through family, kin, and tribe and were concluded only by complete extermination of the weakened side. Veniaminov (1840:II:186) even asserts, as if some old people had told him, that if the Russians had not arrived in the local islands the inhabitants would have been completely annihilated by wars and dissension.

Similar information is reported by K. T. Khlebnikov (1979:173) concerning the population of the Near Islands. "The Toyon Golodov," he writes,

> having heard much from the old residents about the deeds of the forefathers, said that at the arrival of the Russians the Near Islands and Semichi were rather populously settled. But the Aleuts of the Andreanof shores often arrived in baidary in large number, attacked by surprise, killed all without exception, and cruelly and inhumanely tortured those taken into captivity. And [they] caused such fear by such behaviors that the remaining inhabitants, fearful of falling into their hands, killed themselves. There was still the legend that on Attu one woman avoided death by hiding for several years. Afterwards, the enemy arriving again found her refuge and instead of death they granted her life and left another family on the island, from which all the present inhabitants were propagated.

The Andreanof Aleuts, according to the information of I. Veniaminov (1840:III:15), like the Fox Islanders, allegedly asserted that among them there was a time when they all lived peacefully and in friendly fashion with their neighbors; but later by various circumstances, there began to be offenses among them, then quarrels; and finally, on account of vengeance for offenses, they began to attack each other, to destroy, wherever it was possible. And only by the Russians remaining permanently among them were they forced to cease the internal strife and murder. The stronger and more numerous Fox Island Aleuts inflicted large losses on the Andreanof Islanders, arriving almost every year in detachments of 50 to 100 one-man baidarki, seizing and destroying the latter, such that the Andreanof Islanders were forced during the summer to hide in unassailable places—cliffs and natural stone towers. But even here sometimes, owing to long-lasting sieges, the Unalaskans won the victory. The Andreanof Aleuts attacked only isolated groups of Unalaskans out seeking food (for example, on the islands of Seguam, Amlia, Amukhta) (Veniaminov 1840:II:15–17). Atka Islanders too, not having the capability of performing raids on the Unalaskans, attacked their weakest neighbors—the Aleuts of the Rat and Near Islands (Veniaminov 1840:II:17). Written examples of Aleut folklore abound on similar subjects (Veniaminov 1840:II:279–290; III:23, 24; Golder 1909; Jochelson 1915, 1923).

One should note such positive events as the fading out and even the complete cessation of, in connection with the arrival of the Russians, the destructive wars among the various groups of Aleuts, between the Aleuts and Aglegmiuts, and most violently, between the Aleuts and the Koniags.

The question of the sharp reduction in the number of Aleuts during the first period of the opening up of Alaska is especially keenly raised in the literature. According to the conclusions of several authors, their number was reduced to approximately one-eighth, if one considers that in the pre-contact period there were 15,000–20,000 of them and not 8,000–10,000, as we propose (Collins et al. 1945; Hrdlička 1945; Lantis 1970, 1984; Milan 1974; Laughlin 1980).

Among the chief reasons mentioned for the decrease in population are the supposed conflicts stirred up by individual hunting parties of Russians, especially I. Soloviev, "the destroyer of Aleuts," as well as the epidemics brought from Okhotsk and Kamchatka and the resulting economic conditions. Speaking above about the "vengeance" of Solov'ev, we noted that the figure regarding the loss of Aleuts is clearly exaggerated. This is confirmed as well by the American anthropologist C. Turner (1976:27) who mentions other reasons for the reduction in their number. The result of a four-year study of archaeological and anthropological materials and data in the literature led him to the conclusion that historical contacts were accompanied by illnesses and disturbances of the economic balance, summoning a sharp drop in the population. The opinion of this scholar is shared by the American researcher L. Black (1980a:105).

The diminishing number of the population owing to the introduction of Russian illnesses might have begun immediately after the first contact with them, as well as with other Europeans, which K. T. Khlebnikov (1979:103) rightly points out. Sickness, he writes, "as such among Europeans was usual, among the newly discovered peoples disastrous. Throughout the world the cases prove this fact." It is true that there is no definite evidence of epidemics there or death of aboriginals by illnesses before the time of the voyages of the promyshlenniki to the Aleutian Islands. Certainly, the Russians brought some illnesses that were pernicious to the islanders who came into contact with Europeans for the first time, a situation that continued in the following years.

S. S. Shashkov (1898:595) reports that in September 1768 smallpox from Okhotsk was taken to Kamchatka and from there spread to the Aleutian and Kuril Islands and farther. Later, the "fever" was added to this. T. I. Shmalev, in a letter to G. F. Miller of 1 February 1771, writes that in Kamchatka smallpox rages (*Russkaya tikhookeanskaya epopeya*, 1979:24).

In 1801 the galliot *Alexander Nevski*, taking leave of Okhotsk, lost fifteen men on the trip to "some kind of infectious fever," wintered on Atka Island, where "this illness was communicated to the inhabitants, dreadful to the victims" (Davydov 1810:195). In 1800 the populations in Kamchatka also suffered severely from this "fever" (Wolff 1895:2:32). Apparently the same illness, with fatal consequences, was brought to Kodiak in June 1804 by the ship *Eclipse* under the American O'Cain, according to the description of Hieromonk Gedeon (*Valaamskie missionery* . . ., 1900:225). In the Unalaska district in 1807–1808 there was an "infection" of "colic, coughs, and bloody flux," taking the greatest death toll in the main settlement of the island (Veniaminov 1840:II:198; Khlebnikov 1979:109). The aboriginals suffered from the introduced illnesses even later. It must be believed that this also occurred during the time of the voyages of the promyshlenniki during the period of the very first contacts.

The diminishing numbers of Aleuts in aboriginal places during colonization was also caused by their removal to other localities to be hunters of sea animals. This was begun at the time of the voyages of individual trading companies. In particular, G. I. Shelikhov took seventy families of Aleuts in 1784 from Unalaska to Kodiak (Golovnin 1861; Andreev 1948:190, 191, 193) who were never returned home. A small number of Aleuts was periodically taken away to the Pribilof Islands after the discovery of the islands in 1786. There is no precise data on the dynamics of the number of Aleuts during this period.

A. S. Polonski writes that, when in 1779 by orders of the Bolsheretsk secretariat "couriers were dispatched on various hunting ships for the work of precise calculation of island inhabitants, they found that on eleven islands of the Fox Island group 2,850 persons remained. Besides this, on Umnak, the Krenitsyn Islands, the tip of the Alaska Peninsula, and on Unga—in seven settlements 946 persons were counted" (AGO, r. 60, op. 1, no. 3, l. 55). Thus, it proves that the number of the population of Fox Island-

ers (eastern Aleuts) in this year was 3,796 persons. But just then the promyshlenniki began to take away Aleuts for hunting on Kodiak and along the shore and islands of southern Alaska (see above).

G. A. Sarychev cited information in his work, according to which on the Fox Islands in 1791 there were 915 men (among them: "taxable"—571, "non-taxable" and "old and young"—344), while on the Fox and Andreanof Islands together there were 1,178. There is no information about the Near Islands. Sarychev (1802:156, 174) determines the total number of Aleuts in the Fox Islands (not counting those living in the Pribilof Islands) at more than about 2,500 persons. He counts "taxable" and "non-taxable" men of the Andreanof Islands at 262 persons. Consequently, the inhabitants of both sexes on the Andreanof Islands were about 550 persons. If the number of inhabitants of the Near Islands—not more than 100 persons—is added to this figure, as well as Aleuts carried away from their homelands, the number of all the Aleuts in this year reaches approximately 3,100–3,200 persons.

Certainly, during the time of the voyages to the Aleutian Islands by individual trading companies, the number of Aleuts significantly declined, but as we have already noted, in the literature this fact acquired an exaggerated interpretation and at the same time even a biased treatment.

Regarding the ethnic processes in Russian America during the period of the voyages of the promyshlenniki in the Aleutian Islands, which occupied half a century, as it is represented to us, one cannot speak only in regard to the influence of Russian culture on that of the Aleuts. The peculiarity of the cultural change that was produced at this time became, as a result of close interaction and mutual influence of the local Aleuts and the recently arrived Russian culture, a synthesis of two cultures. This relates primarily to the material culture.

The promyshlenniki lived 2–4 years or more in the islands; frequently, upon returning from one voyage, they set out on another. A definite life style was formed among them that was transmitted by tradition. The very experiences of existing under specific severe conditions were acquired through borrowing outstanding achievements of Aleut culture and its adaptations to the climate and ecology of the islands. At the same time these aspects of Aleut culture were supplemented and improved upon by knowledge, by experience, by everyday features of the Russian people, which the Aleuts in their turn adopted. An active interchange of cultural values was begun.

The promyshlenniki began to build for themselves dwellings deep in the ground—yurts or barracks, using the experience of the Aleuts in the construction of dwellings that take into account the severe climatic conditions (especially the strong winds) of the islands along with a lack of fuel (driftwood being scarce, the Aleuts often boiled food by burning dry grass). The barracks of the Russians differed only with the entrance: not from above through a hatch and by means of a ladder, as among the Aleuts, but at the side, through a door. They often made a small window in the wall, covering it with mica. The Aleuts began to gradually change to similar dwellings.

The Russians began to wear the waterproof Aleut kamleika of gut or sea lion throat as a raincoat so necessary there in the islands, as well as parkas of fur and bird skins. They began to sew their own boots with the tops made of sea lion throat or Russian leather and soles of sea lion flippers, with the only distinction from traditional Aleut being that they made them from the front (head) part of the sea lion throat. The same type of footwear—*torbasa* with forepart—also began to be distributed among the Aleuts; then as earlier they sewed the torbasa to fit loosely [like a sack]. In addition, the Aleuts adopted from Russians the custom of wearing trousers, sometimes receiving ready-made (nankeen) trousers from

them, and sometimes ones made of local materials (gut and sea lion throat). The men began to wear canvas, linen, and cotton shirts, while the women wore Russian dresses and handkerchiefs.

Since they did not bring with them large supplies of provisions, the promyshlenniki adopted the food of the Aleuts: meat and oil of whales and other sea mammals, fish, yukola, infusions of berries, and in summer—berries and roots of local plants (sarana, makarsha, and others). In connection with the lack of flour for baking bread, they used baked salmon roe in its place. Bread was considered a delicacy. It was not by chance that the captains of the vessels of the J. Cook expedition, on their visit to Unalaska in 1778, were offered salmon pies with a rye crust by navigators G. Izmailov (of the ship *Pavel*) and Ya. Sapozhnikov (of the *Evpl*), who were located there at that time (Cook 1971:389, 396). But judging by the fact that S. Cherepanov noted the love of the Aleuts "for provisions . . . of the Russians," and A. Tolstykh gave them flour, the Aleuts apparently rather quickly learned to appreciate the merits of bread and were taught to prepare things from flour (scones, porridge, soup, and others). With the appearance of kettles (from the Russians) in the Aleuts' mode of life they began more often to boil their food, while formerly only occasionally baking meat or fish between two stones with pits (coated around with clay).

Earlier the Aleuts valued iron very highly, which they rarely came by either on pieces of ships thrown up through chance by the sea, or by exchange across Alaska. With the arrival of the Russians they gladly traded furs for iron. From iron they made harpoon points, long men's knives and women's *pekulki* (the Eskimo's ulu), tools for working wood, and other instruments that became better and better.

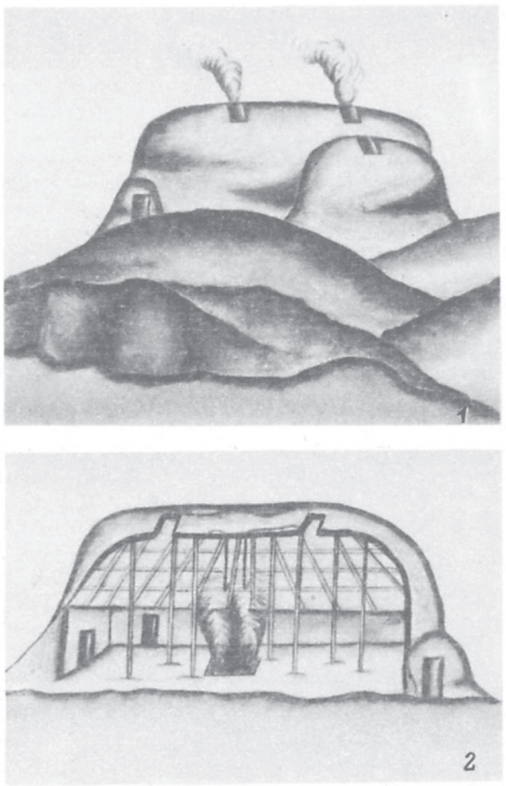

Figure 4. Yurt (barracks) of the crew of the 1764–1769 expedition. Illustration by M. D. Levashov. 1—exterior view, 2—interior.

Many promyshlenniki knew trades. Among them were the carpenters, shipbuilders, blacksmiths, coopers, and bootmakers, as well as other craftsmen. One can judge this particularly from the facts referred to above regarding the construction of ships from pieces of "broken up ones," and the casting of anchors, spears, and other things. As I. Veniaminov (1840:II:322–323) writes, "all the trades and skills, as only Russians could take with them to America, the Aleuts willingly adopted, so that now among the Aleuts it is possible to find craftsmen ranging from bootmakers to watchmakers." The view offered, of course, is related to a later time, but the beginning of this can undoubtedly be placed in the 18th century.

There was great demand to make available new materials for adornment: large beads (*korol'ki*), smaller beads of glass, goats' wool, and colored woolen and cotton thread. A variety of beads went on the decoration of the famous wooden head gear of the Aleuts; from beads they made pendants, necklaces, and bracelets. Multicolored thread was used for the most delicate Aleut embroidery on clothing and head gear, and for decorating basketry items and bags of gut and sea lion throat, as well as the seams on baidarki and so on.

In socioeconomic plan, as we saw, the Aleuts began to transform more and more into workers of the individual hunting companies. The institution of toyons began to fall into conformity with the lower level of administrative management by the non-Russian peoples of Siberia. Within the realm of familial-matrimonial relations it is possible only to note that Russians widely used the custom of hospitable hataerism [concubinage] that existed among the Aleuts, the obtaining of one of their wives by bride-money, as well as acquiring them from relatives by means of gifts. At the same time, the Russian family type undoubtedly appeared, especially with the dissemination of Orthodox religion to the Aleuts.

Even the participants of the J. Cook expedition noted traces of influence of the Russians on the Aleuts through many signs: the features of conduct, details of dress, and use of European materials. The Aleuts also brought to Cook's vessels small tin boxes with records of payment of yasak as evidence that they were citizens of Russia (Cook 1971:339, 345 ff.).

Evidence of friendly relations between the Aleuts and the Russians comes from the many details of the voyages of the promyshlenniki that have been described: the Aleuts willingly fulfilled the functions of translators, pilots for Russian ships, guides, and mailmen traveling between the groups of Russians. They became active members of the expedition of G. A. Sarychev (1952:199–208) for his examination of the bays of Unalaska.

Intercourse with the Russians brought the culture of the Aleuts out of a state of stagnation, giving it a new impetus. And precisely, therefore, the latter displayed great interest in the Russians and their culture, though as in every society, there are also opponents on the same level with the adherents of these tendencies. The arrival of the Russians broke the isolation of the Aleutian region from the outside world, starting a new stage of historic development of its population. I. S. Vdovin (1984) correctly pointed out such significance of contact with the Russians for the native inhabitants both in the northeast of Asia and the northwest of America.

In addition to innovations in the material culture of the Aleuts, they willingly began to adopt elements of the spiritual culture of the new arrivals, which was most clearly displayed in the spread among them of orthodoxy in the first stage of the Russian Period.

Professor A. P. Okladnikov (1976:125), speaking of the work of I. Veniaminov as a missionary, correctly noted: "Its success in final analysis was attested to by the lively interest of the Aleuts in Euro-

pean culture, which pressed heavily on the traditional spiritual culture of the ancestors of the Aleuts with its ritual dances, ceremonies, and shamans. Elements of this new culture, which in addition had been vigorously planted by the authorities, was orthodox in the eyes of the Aleuts as well."

As is well known, christianization was the most important element of the politics of tsarism in relation to non-Russian peoples. It was designed to serve goals of a more successful colonization and was objectively the means of bringing them closer to the Russian population. In the Aleutian Islands, in comparison to Siberia, Christianity had its peculiarities. The introduction of Christianity among the Aleuts was begun at the end of 1750s. The promyshlenniki began to baptize the Aleuts upon their first arrival in the islands, doing this, as I. Veniaminov (1840:II:152, 153) confirms, predominantly for personal advantage: baptized Aleuts were made "followers" of their godfathers and "the results of their hunting was handed over exclusively to them." Hunting partnerships were formed, which by Aleut traditional norms consisted of a special kind of relationship. By such means strong mutual friendly relations began, evidence for which, in particular, the relationship between the godparents (father and mother) and the godchild serve, and which strongly entered into the customs of the Aleuts. A curious occurrence was produced—the transfer onto the godfather of some functions that had earlier belonged to the maternal uncle (Fainberg 1964:77).

And apparently it was exactly this circumstance—that the first instructors in the new faith were Russian promyshlenniki (Christians, minor tradespeople, Cossacks, and other people of common class) and not men of the cloth—that was the reason for the quick and untutored perception of the new religion. The fact is that the promyshlenniki provided the Aleuts the Christian religion not as a canonical orthodoxical dogma, but rather as an everyday popular variant. This "massive religion which really existed represented a complex set of practical beliefs and ceremonies, many of which had pre-Christian origins" (Shul'gin 1979:288; see also: Nosova 1975). Such a religion was more intelligible and easily assimilated by the Aleuts. It included no doubt even some ideas that were represented in their traditional spiritual culture. The worship of icons of the saints—new "defenders" and "helpers" of the Aleuts—which is very characteristic of their previous ideas, corresponded as well to their perception of the new religion. And therefore by the time of Veniaminov it was impossible to distinguish where the Aleut traditions of old ended and Orthodox Christianity, adopted from Russian popular culture, began. In particular, Veniaminov notes that the "rules and opinions" of daily life of the Aleuts that he collected, after almost 100 years of acquaintance of the Aleuts with the Russians, have similarities with the rules of the Christian faith, and probably because the Aleuts "know how to learn." Among their "philosophizing" he mentions the preservation of legends and customs, for the violation of which occur general disaster and punishment; the faculty for good to pay good and evil to pay evil, as well as to receive travelers, because all people are brothers; and the representation of light and water as the life-giving source. Among the Aleuts, stealing, showing greed at the division of acquired food, boasting of one's deeds, especially unprecedented ones, and displaying weakness on a campaign were considered shameful (Veniaminov 1840:II:141–143).

As can be assumed by the facts mentioned above regarding the scattered sacred books and icons from the destroyed ships (in 1763), as well as of the same found in the yurts of the Russians, these things certainly accompanied the promyshlenniki on their voyages.

The first preachers of Christianity in Russian America, according to I. Veniaminov, were S. Glotov and his companions, who made friends with the residents during their visit in 1758–1762 to Umnak Island. As we saw, however, the "conversion" of the Aleuts began even earlier. The toyon of Umnak

permitted his young son to be baptized and then to be taken to Kamchatka as well. The youth, named Ivan, who received the family name of his godfather, lived in Kamchatka a few years, learned the Russian language and Russian grammar and returned to his home with the authority of chief toyon, which he received from the administrator of Kamchatka. I. Glotov then "contributed very much to the spread of Christianity among the Aleuts" (Veniaminov 1840:II:151). It is also well known (according to Veniaminov) that navigator Glotov and his comrades placed a large cross on Umnak, where later the chapel of St. Nikolai was built. Legends connected with this cross are interesting. Veniaminov relates the story of eyewitnesses that the cross was used by other Russians for a plank bed in the construction of a barracks. But as soon as the builders moved in, "some kind of unusual illness was found among them, from which more than half of those who lived in this barracks died, whereas it did not touch the Aleuts who lived nearby . . . . And therefore today those Aleuts do not dare to pick up chips lying near the chapel" (Veniaminov 1840:II:152). It is curious that even now on Umnak, in a specially constructed small house by the side of the church of St. Nikolai, are piously kept pieces of wood called the remains of the Aleut "tree of life," which allegedly stood there until the arrival of the Russians (Bank 1960:160). According to the assertion of the present Aleuts, while the remains of this tree are preserved (as a fetish, a purely "heathen" source of magical power, but connected with an Orthodox cross), the village of Nikolski on Umnak Island and its people will exist (Konopatskii 1976; Laughlin 1980).

I. Veniaminov notes that the first official priest who baptized Aleuts in the Aleutian Islands, Hieromonk Makarii, did not have the need or means to employ stringent measures in baptizing Aleuts because they willingly accepted it. "The best evidence for this is perhaps that Fr. Makarii crossed from here to there and, having set out for distant villages, did not have with him anybody for his safety except one Russian servant. He was transported, fed, and watched over by the Aleuts themselves, whom he had to baptize" (Veniaminov 1840:II:145). We think that the reason for this was above all the benevolent relation with the Russians, as well as that the Aleuts were already prepared by previous contacts with promyshlenniki for acceptance of a new faith. So, in the "Report" of S. Cherepanov about the voyage of 1759–1762, the occasion arose when, having gotten the desire to be baptized, apparently at the insistence of the promyshlenniki, a sick youth recovered after this ceremony, which "proved" to the Aleuts the superiority of the new faith, the new gods. Named Leontiem, he was then sent to Okhotsk. Cherepanov also writes: "just before leaving they sit in the baidarki, then remaining silent for a moment, they say, as we do: 'God help us.' And to them the Orthodox Christian faith is very intelligible and they did not doubt there was no untruth in us" (Andreev 1948:117, 118).

Ya. Netsvetov reports in his journal that the Aleuts of the Near, Rat, and Andreanof Islands, just as in the Fox Islands, accepted the Orthodox faith even before 1790 through baptism by laymen (that is, promyshlenniki), except in some cases when one of them left the islands. Netsvetov found here upon his arrival in 1829 an entirely baptized local population, who observed Orthodox rites (L. Black 1980b:13).

According to the words of I. Veniaminov, the Aleuts displayed a marvelous adherence to the Orthodox religion, especially in comparison with the people of Kodiak. It is known that circumstances that attracted the Aleuts to baptism, such as liberation in three years from paying yasak, clearly had no significance for them. Indeed, such enticements were extended to the Kodiak people, yet many of them objected to accepting Christianity. The continuous stay among the Aleuts of a priest began only in 1824 after the arrival of Veniaminov himself. Before this "they saw only one priest—Fr. Makarii—their baptizer, one time, in 1795, and for a very short time," as well as three priests on ships which came to the main

villages of Unalaska: in 1792, a priest on the ship *Slava Rossii* [The Glory of Russia] of G. A. Sarychev; in 1807, Hieromonk Gedeon on his trip from Kodiak to Okhotsk; and a priest from the sloop *Otkrytie* [Discovery] of M. N. Vasil'ev's expedition. The latter were not able to communicate to them, writes Veniaminov, "despite all their zeal . . . , clear and necessary ideas about the Christian faith as much for want of a good interpreter as for the shortness of time." Before the arrival of a priest, Christian ceremonies of the Aleuts amounted to the baptism of the newborn, permitted by laymen, and to the common prayer in the chapels the Russian promyshlenniki began to build, and in homes where people could be found who were able to read (Veniaminov 1840:II:147–161).

Apparently even before the arrival of I. Veniaminov among the Aleuts peculiar ideas began to develop. These were a combination of distinctive information obtained from promyshlenniki about the Christian religion with their own religious concepts and ideas. Later on this played a definite role in the formation of the special "Aleut faith" and special "Aleut church" which exist even up to the present time. Orthodox religion with Aleut innovations is the most characteristic feature of the contemporary national culture of the American Aleuts.

THE ERA OF THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY (1799–1867)

With the creation of the Russian-American Company the general spontaneous contact of the Russian promyshlenniki with the Aleuts ceased and gave way to organized administration and regulated economic life in the region of habitation of the Aleuts (as well as all of Russian America) by means of organizing the company from a number of Russian administrative districts and offices, stewards, and *baidarshchiki*—organizers of hunting-gathering operations on the individual islands.

For administration of the colony in 1798 two districts were created, centered at Kodiak and Unalaska. The first (the Northeastern) was supposed to be in charge of all the islands from the coast of Alaska to Sitka; the second (the Northern), all of the Aleutian Islands, the Kurils, and the Pribilof Islands. A. A. Baranov was appointed to direct the first office, to the second—E. G. Larionov, an Irkutsk merchant, arriving in 1796 on Unalaska in order to base a colony there. From 1802, by order of the directors of the company, the Unalaska office was made subject to Kodiak under the chief administration of Baranov. This was made into an act in 1804. Larionov remained director of the Unalaska District and Office (Khlebnikov 1979:104–106).

In accordance with A. A. Baranov's instructions, from 1803 the removal of Russian promyshlenniki from the Unalaska District was begun so that on the Fox Islands there were only fifty people and on the Pribilof Islands ten. In the following years, seventy-four Russian promyshlenniki were moved from the Unalaska District to Kodiak; the forty-two that remained were on "half shares" and twenty on salary (Khlebnikov 1979:106).

Thus, if at the end of the 1780s the Russian promyshlenniki in the region of the Fox Islands numbered approximately 500 (or even 600) persons, they had now become about one-tenth as many. Later on, the number of Russians was decreased even more. In 1831, according to the information of F. P. Wrangell, in the Unalaska District (without the Pribilof Islands) there were twenty Russians in the service of the company, as well as thirteen Creoles and fifteen Aleuts (Khlebnikov 1979:139).

In the five (and later, six) colonial districts of the Russian-American Company in northwestern America, the Aleuts comprised populations at first in two, and then in three: the Unalaska District, which included the southern part of the Alaska Peninsula with the Shumagin, Fox, and Pribilof Islands; after 1823, the Atka District, in which the Andreanof, Rat, Near, and Commander Islands were included; and after 1839, the Kuril District, created in the islands of that name. Aleuts were brought from Unalaska and Kodiak to these districts for the procurement of sea otter. By that time the otters had again appeared in the Kurils after having vanished at the end of the 18th century as a result of intensive hunting. The remaining districts of the Russian possessions in America were the Sitka District, northwestern North America from Cape St. Ilya [St. Elias?] south to 54° 40' north latitude and all the islands in this area; the Kodiak District, the shore and islands of Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, the coast of the Alaska Peninsula to the meridian of the Shumagin Islands, Kodiak Island, Ukamok with all the adjoining islands, and the coast of Bristol Bay; and the Northern District, the basin of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers and the coast of Norton Sound to Bering Strait. From 1812 to 1846 the Ross colony in northern California

was also a Russian district. Aleuts were sometimes sent to the Sitka and California Districts to hunt and do other work.

The islands of the Atka District to 1823 were not included in the structure of the colony after the procurement of otters and Arctic foxes on them had become insignificant, and communications with other districts of the colony were inconvenient. They were subordinate to the Okhotsk office of the Russian-American Company on the basis of separate regulations.

In the following period the company functioned in this way: Sitka had ten centers subject to it, including Kodiak. Among the ten centers the Aleuts inhabited eight: the islands of Unalaska, Unga, Atka, Attu, Bering, Copper, and the islands of St. Paul and St. George.

During the period of activity of the Russian-American Company the Aleuts (together with the Koniag Eskimos of Kodiak, who were then also called Aleuts) became the primary workers of the company, as procurers of furs and local foods. Thus, the Russian-American Company moved completely to the tradition of using Aleuts as promyshlenniki. Even in the official records the Aleuts and Koniags were listed as "fully dependent," compared to other peoples of Russian America who were "semi-dependent" (Athapaskan Indians) or "not dependent" (Tlingit). In fact, though, the latter two groups were entirely independent of the company. The position of "fully dependent" peoples could be compared approximately to indentured peasants (Okun' 1939:181–202). "Neither the negro of Guinea nor the coolie of China nor the worker from Europe can substitute for the Aleut in skill and in custom in hunting animals" was noted in documents of the Russian-American Company almost the day before its liquidation (Okun' 1939:182). Indeed, therefore, the company aspired to preserve and maintain traditional households and material culture of the Aleuts, as well as the Koniag, in the highest stage adapted to the hunting of sea mammals. Some researchers have already turned their attention to this tendency in the activity of the company (Berreman 1954, 1955; Bank 1960; Fainberg 1964:77).

Skins of sea otters were the main items of export up to the 1830s since their fur was the most valued in appearance; after it came the fur of fur seals, foxes, Arctic foxes, and others. Hunting otters in the sea, as we have already said, required a high degree of skill, for which the Aleuts and Koniags were known. The Aleuts were accurately called by I. Veniaminov "Sea Cossacks." Veniaminov writes about them: "On the sea when it is choppy they always avoid swamping, breaking, and speeding waves, and always distinguish simple choppy waves in areas in the open sea from choppy water on shoals and around submerged objects. For this reason the Aleuts alone can hunt otters in the sea, while Russians, since they did not become skilled in baidarka travel, were never able to be sea-otter hunters" (Veniaminov 1840:II:13–14). The complete lack of ability of the Russians, as well as other Europeans, at sea hunting is confirmed by the evidence.

In the first decade of the existence of the company some parties were organized that were composed of Aleuts, Koniags, and Chugach. The main party, about 500 baidarki, set off in April from Kodiak Island along the northwest coast of the American mainland to Beaver Bay, returning only at the end of August. The second party, about 200 baidarki, paddled from April to the end of August along the islands to the north of Kodiak. The third, of forty baidarki, was occupied with hunting on the islands of northern Kodiak and simultaneously transported essential supplies from one island to another. The fourth party, fifty baidarki, went in a western direction from Kodiak. Many promyshlenniki were lost at sea during these ventures, with a significant loss to the flotilla inflicted by attacks of the Tlingit. The population was reduced by general epidemic illnesses. As a result of all this no more than 300 baidarki were outfitted in 1860.

In the 1830s parties in search of sea otters set off mainly from Kodiak. From the Unalaska District one party, about thirty baidarki of Aleuts from Akun, went to the northwest to the Islands of the Four Mountains, to Yunaska and Amukta; the second, also of thirty baidarki, was formed on Umnak and occupied itself with hunting in the neighborhood of its own island; the third, about twenty-five baidarki of Unalaskans hunted otters about Spirkin and on the shores of Unalaska; the fourth and fifth parties, up to fifty baidarki, were composed of Aleuts from Unga and Belkofski village on the Alaska Peninsula, who went from the peninsula to the southeast, to Gusin and Chernabura Islands and farther to Sanak (Khlebnikov 1979:121, 122). In the latter decades of the existence of the company about 100 two-man and one-man baidarki set out from the Unalaska office, and forty-five from Unga. The most skillful hunters were appointed to the parties.

The Atka Aleuts hunted sea otters at Seguam Island, the Islands of the Four Mountains, Amukta, and Yunaska. They set off on the hunt in the latter days of March and returned in August, September, and even October. The party ordinarily consisted of a large company of a *desyatibesedochnaya* baidara (that is, a baidara with ten thwarts) with twenty to twenty-five men and four to eight women, as well as sixty to twenty one-man and two-man baidarki. At the departure for the hunt the baidarki were put in the baidara; on the return the baidara was filled with the meat and fat of sea mammals, and the baidarki paddled along behind. Together with this party 5 to 6 one-man and 2 to 3 two-man baidarki were dispatched for the hunt to Adak, these returning in August. The Attuans usually hunted in the Semichi Islands where they went in two *semibesedochnie* [seven thwart] baidary holding seventy hunters (Tikhmenev 1863:370).

Each hunter had to provide hunting gear for himself. Every Aleut could build a baidarka, though there were separate craftsmen for this trade. Hunters also prepared "otter darts," that is, harpoons with a throwing board, and spears. The women sewed gut kamleiki, bird parkas, boots, and baidarka covers, and twisted bow strings of whale sinew. The company provided hunters with traveling provisions (dried fish, whale meat, and oil), and also distributed guns and fishing tackle. The Aleuts delivered the furs they obtained to the company for a fixed payment.

According to company regulations no Aleuts younger than fiteen or older than fifty years should be sent out on the hunt. But this rule was not obeyed by the Aleuts themselves: without the old and experienced *partoshchik* (that is, party leader) they did not go to sea, and the young, eleven to twelve years of age, were trained to hunt in order that they might be made skillful hunters. Such novices were supervised by the old promyshlenniki. "They themselves understood that during the first time out not one of these novices was to kill a single otter, but instead the old promyshlenniki would always give them part of their bag" (Golovin 1862:84).

Knowledge of the hunt retained a traditional character. A party was split into groups that surrounded and "drove" the otters. Extreme caution and silence were observed, in order that the animals might not be scared off. Only "otter darts," and not firearms, were employed, since when shooting from a baidarka in a choppy sea it was seldom possible to count on an accurate shot.

The most successful description of a hunt of sea otters comes from F. P. Wrangell:

> The usual pursuit of otters is carried out in this manner: the whole party of baidarki goes out in calm weather onto the sea where otters are supposed to be and situates itself in a single line at such distance between each two baidarki that the otter might be seen by the

> above-mentioned . . . . Therefore, the whole line of baidarki occupies a large area; for example, should the party be of twenty baidarki, the length of the line would be 10 to 14 verst. In this situation the attention of the Aleut was directed at the water around them, looking for otters. Should the (otter) appear and he not succeed in hitting it with the dart, then immediately he paddles to that place where the otter dived, and raises his paddle, not moving from the place. At this sign all the baidarki situate themselves equidistant around the baidarka with the raised paddle, forming a very large circle, with the one who raised his paddle in the center. Now only the central baidarka starts from the place and paddles where he thinks that the diving otter should emerge (as soon as the otter sees the baidarka it immediately conceals itself for a long time under the water, fifteen to twenty minutes). If it appears and either is not hit by the awaiting dart or not mortally wounded by it, such that the otter dives again, then he again raises his paddle and immediately a new ever smaller circle is formed around it, since the tiring otter will have to come up much closer and sooner the next time. As soon as it appears usually several darts fly at it, and the otter belongs to him whose dart struck it nearest the head. Often it happens that it still makes several dives. Then, in order not to occupy all the baidarki with one otter which now cannot escape, usually ten baidarki are detached for completion of this hunt and the others turn to searching for other otters. Amazing quickness and correctness in operation of the baidarki and accuracy of marksmanship in throwing the darts give this kind of hunt captivating vividness.
>
> The most valiant promyshlenniki of the Fox Island Aleuts procure otters even in winter with a gun or club. In the worst storms otters climb out onto the shore of some uninhabited island, curl up in a ball like a dog, and sleep. Two Aleuts are dispatched in two one-man baidarki in these storms to an island or isolated rock already known to them. They approach from the down wind side, selecting a sheer cliff and wait until a good wave approaches it; one bold hunter stands up in the baidarka, his paddle in one hand, in the other, his gun, ready to jump off onto the cliff as soon as the wave tosses the baidarka up, which he does with amazing agility and courage, while the other Aleut in his baidarka takes care of handling and preserving the empty baidarka of his comrade. Now the promyshlennik sneaks up on the otter from downwind and kills it. This great scene should be pictured! (see Khlebnikov 1979:145).

Those Aleuts not setting off with an otter party went out at a different time in groups in baidarki on bird, sea lion, walrus, and whale hunts and returned at the end of August. Those Aleuts remaining in the settlement, men, women, and children, were already occupied in May with the construction of dams in the streams for fish to enter, catching them in the sea, and making dried fish.

In the "Regulations" and "Privileges" of the Russian-American Company, consolidated in 1799, nothing was mentioned about the native inhabitants; in the "Regulations" of 1821 there is now a section "About Aleuts," where the existing order is strengthened, in truth, with some corrections, limiting the use of their labor. Thus, #51 of this section reads: "Islanders and others are indebted to serve the company for catching sea mammals. Determining by this that from all their male sex, not older than fifty and not younger than eighteen years, half the number may be required in the service of the company." In #52 it says that "as many as possible are to be selected from those families where more than one man lives,

in order that the women and children do not remain without help and livelihood." In #53 it says: "For those islanders assigned to the service of the company, the company should supply proper clothing, food, baidarki, and moreover, provide payment for bagged animals of no less than a fifth part against what the Russians received at first. Those being assigned should not be in the service of the company more than three years, after which time they are to be exchanged for others." #55 is reserved for the work of women and children: "If the company finds it necessary to use for whatever occupation women, as well as grown children, though they be less than 18 years of age, then this is likewise permitted, with mutual consent and for a determined payment" (Tikhmenev 1861, Append.:55–59). A statute of the company of 1844 repeats this rule in the section "About settled foreigners," among whom are numbered "the inhabitants of the Kuril and Aleutian Islands, Kodiak with the islands belonging to it, and the Alaska Peninsula; as well as tribes living on the shores of America, such as the Kenai, Chugach, and others." Only in #267, in distinction from #53 of the 1821 Regulations, is it said that "the assigned should not be separated from their families more than two years (Tikhmenev 1863:56–63).

The experiment of merchant hunting companies demonstrated that the system of communal administration by the Aleuts might be employed with success for the use of their labor. And since it had already been somewhat undermined by the activities of the first promyshlenniki (toyons were not always distinguished from the ordinary Aleuts), the initiatives of the Russian-American Company began to restore it. Even at an earlier time the village chief was paid a fee by individual trading companies. Placating the toyons with gifts, the Russians tried to use them in attempts to influence the ordinary Aleuts. During the existence of the Russian-American Company the toyons changed into company employees, receiving a predetermined salary, rewards, and other encouragements. They were placed under the supervision of the manager and the baidarshchik. I. Veniaminov (1840:II:164) writes that at that time "the tribal toyon essentially did not differ from a foreman."

There even existed "Regulations for toyons, being selected foremen." According to them, the foreman should be appointed from the ranks of the hunting Aleuts for the procurement of otters, fur seals, and birds in summer, and in the "trapping and shooting" hunt in winter. Besides, he should "maintain unabated supervision in order that the promyshlenniki should be obliged to hunt . . . and not waste time in inactivity and idleness." The toyons assembled in December in the main settlement for delivery of acquired skins, and here they conducted discussions about the forthcoming seasons. Each toyon indicated the number of baidarki possible to be dispatched from his settlement, agreed upon the leaders of the parties, and the like. With general agreement it took shape that at such a time and place the otter party should depart, when the hunt for birds should begin, when to set out to catch fish, and when to prepare dried fish. In 1832 the company even decreed that from the customary tribal toyons were to be selected two or three principle ones who would serve the company as a main governing force.

Such a system of administration under the aegis of the company, of course, was possible only due to the fact that the communal traditions of the Aleuts were still very strong. This system consolidated the use of the labor of the Aleuts by the company and their state of complete dependence on it. The Aleuts were obliged to work as hunters for the company and to occupy themselves with catching animals. They obtained furs they could sell only to the company for an established price (low, of course, but in the course of time higher), which were paid for by goods or company stamps accepted only at the company store. The old and young were sent to catch birds. From the skins the Aleut women sewed parkas, which the company sold to the same Aleuts and others of their workers and employees. The women were considered as workers in the preparation of fish, the digging of edible roots, and the gathering of berries.

The hunt for fur seals was carried out by Aleuts, mainly from Unalaska, who were sent for a few years to the Pribilof Islands.

During this time the means of subsistence of the Aleuts were the same products of sea hunting, fishing, and collecting as in the pre-contact period. The goods coming through the company store, for delivered skins or salary, only partially satisfied the requirement in clothing, everyday items, tobacco, and a few food products such as tea, sugar, flour, and groats. The company always had "luxury" items in stock, which they did not allow the Aleuts to become accustomed to, that is, baked foods and others. The supply of provisions from Russia created one of the main insoluble problems (Golovin 1862:24, 40).

Grain cultivation in all the possessions of the Russian-American Company was impossible because of climatic conditions. The Russian introduction of gardening was crowned by some success: in the eastern islands of the Aleutian chain and on the Alaska Peninsula potatoes and turnips provided a rather good harvest. I. Veniaminov writes that the earliest inhabitants of Pavlovski Village on the peninsula were occupied with gardening by 1800; they planted potatoes, turnips, cabbage, and other vegetables (Veniaminov 1840:II:241; see also Khlebnikov 1979:116, 117). But on the whole gardening on the islands was weakly established. The necessity to depart on the hunt just when one should work and sow the garden diverted half the settlement, and those remaining were occupied with processing fish for winter and other work.

Efforts were made to establish livestock breeding in the islands. Cows, pigs, and ducks were brought in, but they were used mainly to satisfy the needs of the Russians. Attempts to distribute cattle to the Aleuts in the earliest periods did not produce great results.

The situation of the Aleuts under the company reduced the social level of the structure of the population. Thus, I. Veniaminov (1840:II:164) writes: "At the present time all Aleuts, it can be said, make up one class of workers; therefore, even the tribal *toeny* [leaders] themselves are in essence nothing more than foremen, very often working together with the group which is under their command, and who are almost completely indistinguishable from the others in the group. Only in recent times have the main toeny, being maintained by the leaders of the colonies and chosen by the Aleuts from their own toeny, enjoyed some favors, but even this depending on their relationship with the manager of the office."

Even at the very beginning of its existence the Russian-American Company prohibited natives from having slaves. Slaves, belonging to Aleuts (as well as the Koniags and Chugach) were taken away from them and enlisted into the "perpetual service" of the company. They began to be called in the documents *kayury* (a Kamchatka word designating a hired worker).[12]

Wealth among the Aleuts during the second stage of the Russian Period began to be measured not by the number of slaves as before but in the monetary value of belongings. Those Aleuts were considered wealthy whose goods were valued at 200–500 rubles (at the rate of exchange at that time), and ordinary Aleuts at about fifty rubles. Wealthy is the one, "who has his yurt, baidarka with new cover, and a full complement of hunting equipment: gun, axe, teapot and boiler, and two changes of dress for himself and his family" (Veniaminov 1840:II:238). Aleuts during these years sometimes continued to live in their previous villages, but those villages that were too poorly populated ceased to exist. So at Ugamak the remnant of the earlier inhabitants of a large village was moved in 1826 to Tigalda; on Umnak up to 1830

[12] For a more complete explanation of *kayurstvo* (the institution of this social class) see A. V. Grinëv. ""The Kaiury: Slaves of Russian America." *Alaska History* 15(2):1–18. 2000.—*Trans*.

there was a village of Yegorkovski, the occupants of which moved to Recheshnoi (present-day Nikolski Village). Many moves were made by company decree. For example, the population of the Sanak Islands (in order to increase the number of otters in the islands) was transferred to the Alaska Peninsula. Aleuts for hunting and other work were moved beyond the bounds of the Aleutian Islands, where the population was unavailable or insufficient in number. The main places where the Aleuts resettled were the islands of Kodiak, the Pribilofs, the Commanders, and the Kurils. Aleuts were taken away from Unalaska to the islands of Kodiak, the Pribilofs, and the Kurils, and predominantly those from Attu and Atka were taken to the Commanders.

At the same time one must speak of the gradual improvement in the position of the native population in Russian America, and in particular, of the Aleuts. K. T. Khlebnikov (1979:115) notes this: "With the establishment of a permanent settled life, the authorities of the company constantly saw to it, that all means be found not only for relieving the burden of the native inhabitants, but to educate them as well about the fulfillment of the rules of the holy faith and about health and adequate provisions. All these areas jointly required donations of significant sums, and the company determined at various times the need for each region in particular. At the same time both the number of people on salary and the support of the company were increased."

Among the progressive features of the Russians' activities in northwestern America that should not go unnoticed is the occurrence of the inclination toward the protection of the native population from excessive exploitation by the initial private companies, including the Russian-American Company. The role of the progressively-inclined representatives of the intelligentsia of this epoch was significant. These were military seamen, individual employees of the company, missionaries, and other persons visiting Russian America, who came forward by championing progressive works, as well as by carrying out practical work by the improvement of the situation of the natives and, as is well known, by the study of ethnography and languages of the native population.

Great anxiety over the fate of the islanders, increasingly declining numerically, who had undergone obvious exploitation from the Russian-American Company, was expressed by maritime officers who found themselves in the company's service (especially G. I. Davydov and N. A. Khvostov). These were leaders and members of Russian circumnavigation expeditions visiting the islands (the most activity among them was displayed by Yu. F. Lisyanskii and V. M. Golovnin). As a result, in Russian America attention gradually began to be devoted to organization and innovation with the object of elevating the economics and culture of the region and improving the position of the native population. And precisely as a consequence of such politics (beginning in 1818) a new regulation was formed—to assign to the post of chief director of the colonies only merited maritime officers of high rank with irreproachable reputations. Among them are names known in Russian history and connected with many geographical and ethnographic investigations (and not only within the precincts of Russian America). These men (M. I. Murav'ev, P. E. Chistyakov, F. P. Wrangell, I. A. Kupreyanov, A. K. Etolin, M. D. Tebenkov, and others) created a positive transformation in the colonies and directed this transformation of the colonies in the elevation of the level of life, health, and culture of the population (the opening of hospitals, the introduction of vaccination, the organization of schools and academies).

In the literature of recent years the question of the activity of the Russian-American Company has been discussed, as well as significant attention allotted to Decembrist circles of the Northern community in regard to the future of Russian America. K. F. Ryleev happened to be in the post of supervisor of

the office of the company's main administration in 1824–1825 . Employees of the company also included the Decembrists G. S. Batenkov, O. M. Somov, and V. P. Romanov. Also close to the Decembrist circle was I. V. Prokof'ev, one of the directors of the company. Even figuring in the "Alphabet of Decembrists" was the name K. T. Khlebnikov. V. P. Romanov, during his stay in Novoarkhangel'sk, became friends with the chief administrator of Russian America from 1820–1825, M. I. Murav'ev, who was noted for his progressive views and initiative. Among the ideas of the Decembrists regarding the contemporary position and future of the transoceanic possessions of Russia, one that occupied a high place was that of rendering aid to the native people of Russian America by raising their standard of living and disseminating education and culture among them (Bolkhovitinov 1966, 1974, 1975; Orlik 1984).

Criticism of the activities of the company with regard to the native population did not remain entirely without a trace. But in fact, the whole wasted system of exploitation of the local population, since it formed the basic prosperity of the company, continued to exist (with some improvement of the position of the natives) up to the sale of the Russian possessions in America.

I. Veniaminov (1840:II:172) determines in the following manner the position of the Aleuts at the beginning of the 1840s: "they are protected under the laws equally with the peasant class and are free from any duties or taxes, but instead of this are obliged to serve the company from fifteen to fifty years of age and, of course, with wages from the company. All trade such as they could acquire, they had to purchase exclusively from the company for a known and government regulated price."

The most detailed and precise description of the structure of the local administration and organization of the economic life of the company districts at this time we find in K. T. Khlebnikov. The main settlement of the Unalaska District was Gavansk (Gavan') [Harbor], in Aleut "Illyulyuk" (now—Unalaska). The settlement was also called Dobroe Soglasie [Good Harmony] after July 1805 when N. P. Rezanov visited it and remained "extremely satisfied by the command of the manager Larionov in his reasoning on the economy, and satisfied that all Aleuts and Russians responded to it from the same profitable side" (Khlebnikov 1979:109). Of the Russians living in the main settlement there were the district manager, the clerk, the steward, the priest, the sexton, the housekeeper, and six carpenters. Of the Creoles and Aleuts employed on the company payroll there were a student of medicine, a pilot, office employees, a blacksmith, a coppersmith, sailors (six), and marksmen (two). Twenty-one Aleut men and thirteen women carried out the work at the company with the receipt of payment. Up to 1822, writes Khlebnikov, the Aleuts serving the company were called kayury and received from it only food and dress. After this year, by order of the chief administrator of the colonies M. I. Muraviev, they began to be paid a wage as well. The remaining Aleuts were considered free and were engaged in hunting and other work with subsequent payment from the company: they caught fish, hunted whales, put up hay for livestock, collected driftwood, and laid in berries and roots (Khlebnikov 1979:116).

From 1826 a sailing vessel remained at the headquarters, the boat *Sivuch* [Sea Lion], constructed in the shipyard at Novoarkhangel'sk under the command of the apprentice of navigation, the Creole Stepanov. It served for transportation within the territory of the district.

For hunting whales in Unalaska, up to ten marksmen were enlisted from the free Aleuts of Gavansk Village. Whales were hunted by traditional methods, from one-man baidarki: by throwing darts with obsidian points with a throwing board. A killed or wounded (and later lost) whale was often thrown up on the shore of various islands of the Fox group, but usually Unalaska and Akun. The point of the dart (which had markings of ownership) found in the body of the whale indicated the name of the hunter

and was reported to the office and to the marksman. Half the carcass was given to the latter, which was naturally used by the whole village, and he was given payment for the other half, which was taken by the company. Sometimes a harpoon with a float on a sinew line was thrown into a severely wounded and weakened whale and thus it was towed to the nearest shore. The meat and oil of the whales went for food; the sinew, intestines, and baleen for the correspondingly traditional Aleut use in preparation of lines, thread, kamleiki, and the sewing of baidarka coverings and fastening them to the frame. Candles were made from the spermaceti of the sperm whales. The toyons designated people for hunting birds who then gathered in Gavan' at the beginning of April. Baidarki were then dispatched (seventeen men) to the Islands of the Four Mountains and then to Bird Island in the Shumagin group. In August a baidara returned to Gavan' usually with 7,000 bird skins (approximately 150–160 parkas). At home the Aleut women processed the skins for pay and sewed parkas, turning them over to the company. In Unalaska, in addition to Gavan', the employees of the company lived in villages near the fishing grounds: in Makushin (two Russians and two Aleuts), Koshigin [Kashiga?] (one Russian and two Aleuts), and Veselov (a family of Creoles).

The Unalaska District was composed of five artels: Unga, Sanak, Unimak, Akun, and Umnak—each led by a baidarshchik—Russian or Creole. The company employees who lived at these artels (Russian or Aleut) were occupied with the organization of the hunt for fur and the laying in of fish with the aid of the local Aleuts.

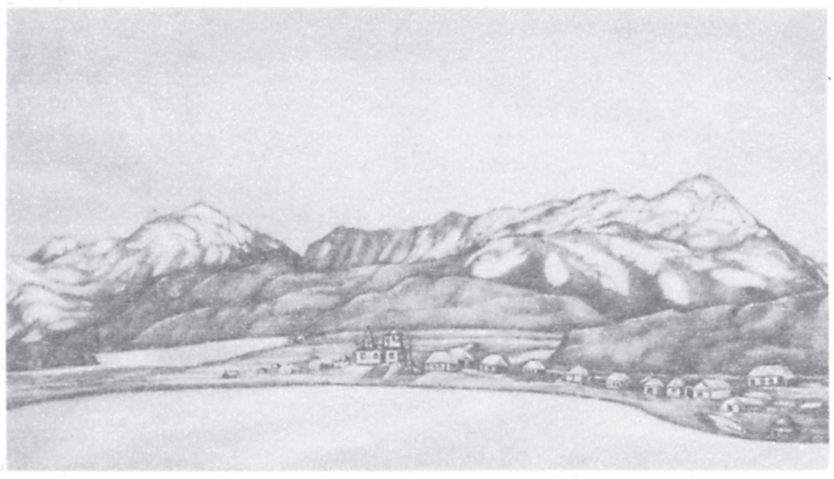

Figure 5. Village of Illyulyuk [Iliuliuk] on Unakaska Island. Illustration by I. G. Voznesenskii. 1843. MAE, no. 1142-20.

The Unga artel was located in three villages: one on Unga and two on the Alaska Peninsula (Belkofski and Morzhovoi). A Russian baidarshchik with thirteen workers on wages from the company worked with the artel: on Unga were two Russians, one Creole, and eight Aleuts; in Belkofski, one Russian; and in Morzhovoi, one Aleut. The baidarshchik provided the free Aleuts with traps for catching foxes, then collected them, as well as directed the preparation of new ones (procured skins were turned over to the company for pay). In addition, the baidarshchik was occupied with preparation of the party for the hunt of sea otters, which set off from there to Cape Ivanov on the Alaska Peninsula, where some baidarki from Belkofski Village were added to the party. The crew of free Aleut marksmen hunted seals

and conducted the laying in of laftaki, guts and necks. Individual parties departed to the north side of the peninsula to kill walruses (for the tusks). Another party hunted caribou for meat and skins. The Aleuts prepared fish for future use and collected berries and roots. The Aleuts also put up hay for livestock and planted and harvested potatoes. In the other artels there were also employees of the company: Russians, Creoles, and Aleuts, who organized the hunts proceeding from local resources.

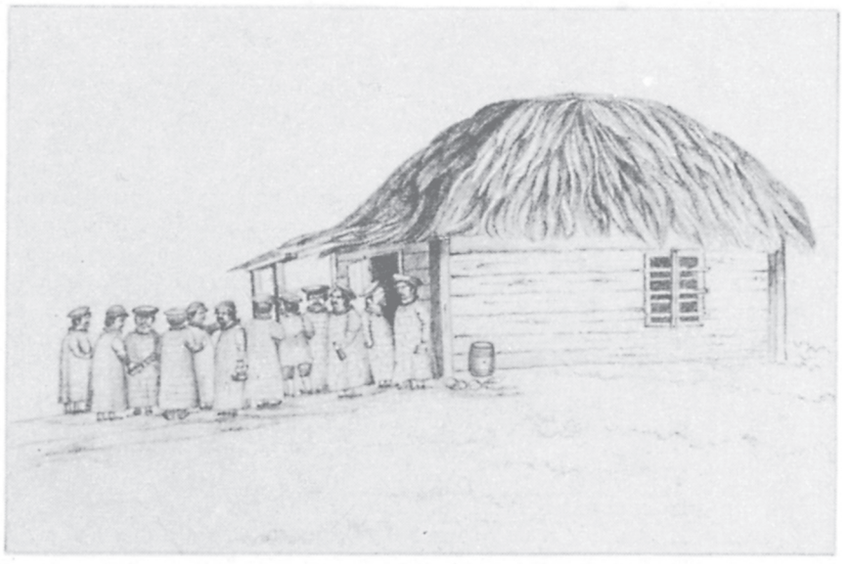

Figure 6. Sunday in the village of Ilyulyuk. Illustration by I. G. Voznesenskii. 1843. MAE, no. 1142-23.

When I. Veniaminov (1840:II:202, 203) was in the Unalaska District there were twenty-five villages with a total number of inhabitants (in 1934 [sic]) of 1,484 men. The village of Gavanskoe, or Soglasiya, he describes in the following manner:

> It lies on the eastern edge of Captain's Bay, on a level and low spit with a width of 50 to 100 sazhen' [1 sazhen' = 2.134 m], and, forming two sides is Gavanskaya Bay, on the third, a stream flowing from a lake. This village, they say, was founded by Solovei. The structures here are: a wooden church with bell tower, five houses and three shops of wood, five houses covered with turf, and a livestock barn belonging to the company, which has an office here under the direction of the manager, under whom are employed a clerk and three stewards. There are also twenty-seven yurts which belong to the Creoles and Aleuts. The inhabitants in 1834 were: Aleuts of the male sex—90, female—106, of both—196, in addition there are up to 75 Russians and Creoles, with a total of up to 275 (271.—R. L.) souls. Here, besides the office of the Russian-American Company which manages all the local district (except the Pribilof Islands), is located the original school, opened 12 March 1825, which in 1834 had twenty-two Creoles and Aleuts—orphans; a hospital with eight beds and a medical assistant; a home for orphaned girls, where twelve

> are located at present; and the main livestock farm of the company.[13] Among some of the employees of the company are found pigs, chickens, and ducks; and with almost every farmer there are kitchen gardens sown with turnips and potatoes; the latter here produce five-fold to eight-fold; in 1833 from all the kitchen gardens 120 small barrels of them were collected. The local church, in the memory of Voznesenija Gospodnia [Ascension of the Lord], was founded in 1825 on 2 July, and consecrated in 1826 on 29 June.

Until the organization of the Atka District in 1823 managers and promyshlenniki set out to the Near, Rat, and Andreanof Islands in a special ship from the Okhotsk office with a contract of four years. The conditions of the contract provided for the procurement of animals by Russian promyshlenniki, as well as obtaining furs by way of exchange with the Aleuts. Payment to the Aleuts for furs in these years, as everywhere in Russian America, was prescribed at the discretion of the manager.

Figure 7. Mill on Unalaska Island. Illustration by I. G. Voznesenskii. 1843. MAE, no. 1142-22.

The pilot I. F. Vasil'ev (1816), who departed in 1811 on the ship *Novaya Finlyandiya* [New Finland] from Okhotsk to the Andreanof Islands to deliver goods and export furs, reports some information in his notes about the district. On the island of Atka he found seven Russian promyshlenniki, led by Salamatov, who had with them fifteen kayury and the same number of women. Vasil'ev determined the number of "native inhabitants" on Atka to be approximately 100 men and notes that the village at the harbor consisted of a small number of earthen yurts, cold and dark. The carpenters from his crew, with the help of Aleuts, furnished the first Russian cottage there in two weeks for Vasil'ev, who had made the voyage with his family. In the notes it is also reported that the native inhabitants, who had moved to Atka six or seven years before, were transported back to Amchitka.

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[13] "In 1835 a reorganization was made in the school and in the cattle breeding program. In the school it was determined to maintain no more than twelve boys. And in the cattle breeding the plan was to reduce to ten head the horned livestock, giving the remainder of the cattle to the Aleuts" (Veniaminov 1840:I:174).

According to K. T. Khlebnikov's data, islands in the Atka District that were inhabited in 1827 were Atka, Adak, Chugul, Amchitka, Attu, and Bering. A "true and correct" census of the population of these islands is applied to them: on Atka were 200 people (11 Russians, 59 Creoles, and 130 Aleuts); on Adak, 193 (Aleuts); on Chugul, 62 (Aleuts); on Amchitka, 42 (Aleuts); on Attu, 117 (4 Russians, 6 Creoles, and 97 Aleuts) [sic]; on Bering Island, 110 persons (17 Russian, 48 Creoles, and 45 Aleuts) (Khlebnikov 1979:161). Khlebnikov also writes that between Attu to Atka 17 people are located, and, in addition, some families from Amchitka departed on the hunt to Kiska. All the residents have Russian names (that is, were baptized). It should be noted that in the table in which they are cited there is no information about the island of Amlia, though it is mentioned farther on as having a population. This is attested to by other reports, in particular that of Ya. Netsvetov.

Before 1827, reports K. T. Khlebnikov, on Atka there lived only employees of the company, while the rest of the inhabitants lived on Amlia and Adak. But with regard to the organization of public services and amenities in the village on Atka and the fact that it was supplied with everything necessary, the Aleuts began voluntarily to move there. Yet in 1826 the company village on Atka was transferred from the foot of the mountain to a cape by the sea. A house of imported wood for the district manager was built there, later a house for the priest and a church, and from driftwood, a building for the office and stewards. Barracks for Russians and Aleuts were constructed in the traditional fashion: with planks, excavated into the ground, covered by sod, with hatches for lighting from above or windows on the side, but with stoves. The village of the Aleuts occupied the cape at the entrance to the harbor. A large plank yurt was constructed there, dug into the ground and covered with sod; another was built as well. The house for the chief toyon was erected in the same manner, but had glass windows, a stove, a special room for guests, a bedroom, a kitchen, and a hallway; floors and ceilings were built in the rooms (Khlebnikov 1979:153–177).

Ya. Netsvetov reports to us some additional details that concern the Atka District. In 1829 he mentions the following islands as inhabited: Atka, Amlia, Amchitka, Attu, Copper, and Bering (he does not mention Chugul and Adak, as K. T. Khlebnikov points out). The office of the district manager, I. I. Sizykh and the clerk, P. G. Korsakovskii, was located on Atka. On the inhabited islands were local managers, called *baidarshchiki*.

The total number of people in the district according to the calculations of Netsvetov reached 800. All Russians, Creoles, and part of the Aleuts who had settled there, he writes, served in the company and received a salary from it as well. None of the remaining Aleuts were dependent on the company. The majority of them lived on Amlia under the leadership of its toyon, N. V. Dedyukin. He was also chief toyon of the Andreanof Islands, managing all the affairs that concerned the Aleuts.

The village on Atka, writes Ya. Netsvetov, bears the name Gavan' since the permanent location of the ship that made the annual circuit of the islands of the district was here. The ship was placed under the charge of the manager. In the village there were seven dwellings. Four of them were occupied by employees of the company, the remaining were barracks or yurts where Russians, Creoles, and Aleuts lived together. In addition to this, there were the following official premises: a warehouse for goods and skins; a store where the occupants sold the goods (near it—the warehouses for the goods and for the company supplies that were distributed to the promyshlenniki); the "fodder barabara" where all the food (that is, local) was stored; the barnyard and a few other secondary structures (Pierce 1980:12–14).

Village on Unga Island (Shumagin Islands). Illustration by I. G. Voznesenskii. 1843. MAE, no. 1142-25.

Concerning the arrangement and conditions of life of the population in the district after 1833, there is information that apparently comes from F. P. Wrangell: "The Aleuts who moved from all places in the Andreanof area to the island of Atka have at present all been transferred to Amlia, both onto the richest island for fish and other products used for food, where they live as a single family, having everything in common, working under the supervision of their elected toyon." And further: "The island of Amlia has at present silver foxes, and the inhabitants grew every kind of domestic fowl and livestock. They grow gardens of vegetables in abundance, especially potatoes" (Khlebnikov 1979:161, 164, footnotes "e" and "z").

In 1952 K. Bergsland on Atka recorded, from the words of Aleut F. L. Snigaroff (1890–1965), the historic traditions of life during the Russian Period (Bergsland 1979). In the traditions it is said that the village was formerly located at Old Harbor and at first called Nikolski, then Korovinski (in Aleut Saguugakh). There was a large church there. The developments and mode of life of the Aleuts during these years are truly communicated in these traditions. The best products were known as flour and sugar and obtained through the store. In addition, everyone planted potatoes as the Russians taught them, and there was always plenty. However, the basis of the food supply nevertheless consisted of the traditional Aleut food, which they procured on the islands and in the sea. The store also distributed Russian clothing, but it was scarce; primarily Aleut clothing was worn: parkas of bird skins, gut kamleiki, footwear of animal skins. With the arrival of spring the Aleuts set off on the hunt for sea lions and seals for supplying meat, skins, and sinew. The meat was then dried and the stomachs preserved and filled with dried fish. They also caught birds, the meat of which they dried for winter. They caught fish in the streams and in the sea. These they also dried and salted. All these goods were preserved in a specially constructed house. There they also kept skins for making boats, materials for dress and various equipment, and so forth. The narrator stressed that many provisions were stored and went for distribution among the Aleuts during the fall and winter when hunting was impossible. And all this was done so that the inhabitants did not go hungry in winter.

In addition to the parties for preparing food stores, in spring groups were also equipped for procuring skins. A large ship went with them. They hunted in small skin-covered boats. There were also large skin boats.

This is how the Aleuts lived on Amlia. The narrator tells that when the Aleuts learned that the Americans had arrived and the Russians had gone, they wept (Bergsland 1979:2–44).

On the island of Attu the company village was located in Chichagof Harbor. The Russian baidarshchik Salamatov constructed a log house of driftwood there. Barracks for the Russian promyshlenniki, Aleut yurts, and a chapel were constructed in the traditional Aleut manner, but with stoves, windows, and wooden walls. The Aleut village was located in Ubiennaya [Massacre] Bay (so-named after the first skirmish of the Aleuts with the Russians) (Khlebnikov 1979:177). On Bering Island the house of the baidarshchik and barracks for Russians and Aleuts were also constructed by building them in a pit with windows in the walls or hatches on the top for light, and with the entrance on the side. On Copper Island, according to remarks of the manager, I. I. Sizykh, who had sailed in 1827 among the islands of the Atka District in the boat *Sivuch* under the command of A. Ingenstrem, there were similar barracks for Russians and for Aleuts—traditional yurts.

Sea otters in the Atka District were procured around Amlia, on Seguam, and the "Far Islands" of the Andreanof group. In particular, in 1827 a party of fifty baidarki under the supervision of Toyon Izmailov was outfitted. There was one Russian with it. In summer they hunted from baidarki, in winter with nets. At the end of the hunt all Aleuts had to deliver procured items here to the toyon. He distributed the received goods, equalizing the gain of the hunters, so that the Aleuts remained well off. In the Near Islands otters were procured at the western end of Attu and the southern side of Agattu, but primarily on Semichi Island. In summer the hunt was conducted in the sea with baidarki, or with nets among littoral rocks. In November and December, when during strong storms the otters left the sea at night and lay along the shore, the Aleuts quietly sneaked up from the leeward side and hit them with *dregalki* [special clubs]. Sometimes they also hunted them with a gun if they encountered the animals asleep during the day on the beach or on rocks in the sea near the beach.

In the Atka District much attention was also devoted to taking sea lions (laftaki—for baidarki and baidari, gut—for kamleiki and bags, and meat and oil—for food, the latter was also needed for lighting, oiling baidarki, and so forth), hunting birds (for making parkas), and the procurement of Arctic foxes and fur seals (in the Commanders). The women sewed bird-skin parkas and gut kamleiki, the surplus of which was given to the company for a set price. In connection with the lack of baleen here (needed for joining the frames of baidarki) and sinew (for sewing kamleiki, parkas, coverings for baidarki and making retaining straps) they were brought from Novoarkhangel'sk. The meat and oil of whales for the local Aleuts (just as for the Russians accustomed to it) were rare delicacies.

An artel of Russian promyshlenniki with thirteen men, led by the baidarshchik Shipitsyn for hunting fur seals and Arctic foxes, was landed on Bering Island in 1805 by the pilot Ya. Potapov from the company brig *Konstantin*. The artel then moved to Copper Island, leaving Ya. Myn'kov to tend the furs. It was not until three and a half years later that the ship *Finlyandya*, under the command of I. F. Vasil'ev, arrived at Bering Island, but Man'kov [sic] was again left on the island, though with another promyshlennik.[14] Shipitsyn reported to the Okhotsk office about the sea otters that appeared again around Copper Island and called for sending Aleuts there to hunt them. But it was not until 1825 that seventeen Aleuts and their families were sent from Attu. These laid the foundation of the appearance in the Commanders of a continuous population.

[14] This unique occurrence of a "Robinson Crusoe" attracted the attention of the writer L. M. Paseniuk, author of many books and stories on the northeast of our country [the Soviet Union], to the history of voyages in the Pacific Ocean and explorations of Russian America (1981).

Many Russian promyshlenniki were located on the Pribilof Islands after their discovery in 1786. In 1798 Atka Aleuts as well were taken there on a ship, the *Dobroe namerenie svyatogo Aleksandr* [The Good Purpose of St. Alexander] of G. I. Shelikhov's company (navigator I. Ladygin). But because of an excess of hunting fur seals in previous years, A. A. Baranov gave orders in 1803 to stop entirely and to leave only ten Russian promyshlenniki and up to fifteen Aleuts on the island. This was done during the years 1806–1807. After 1808 hunting began to be conducted there again, and Unalaska Aleuts began to be sent there. The groups were replaced after three or four years, but many Aleuts remained there by their own wish for an even longer term.

Up to 1818 the Pribilof Islands were under the management of the Unalaska office, and from that year, directly under the head office, Novoarkhangel'sk. A manager (formerly called the peredovshchik) was located on the island of St. Paul, and on St. George Island, a *baidarshchik*, that is, the director of the artel.

In 1825 there lived 130 people on St. Paul (13 Russians, 7 Creoles, 108 Aleuts, and 2 Indians); on St. George Island, 96 (8 Russians, 7 Creoles, and 81 Aleuts) (Khlebnikov 1979:202). In 1830 on the first island lived 164 persons (11 Russians, 26 Creoles, and 127 Aleuts), and on the second, 80 (6 Russians, 17 Creoles, and 57 Aleuts) (Khlebnikov 1979:203).

Figure 9. Village on St. Paul Island. Illustration by I. G. Voznesenskii. 1843. MAE, no. 1142-8.

Leaders of the hunt were Russians or Creoles; they received a special salary, just as the Aleuts who were on salary to the company. The remaining Aleuts were in a position common with Aleuts of other islands: they received pay for their procured goods. In addition, one pud of flour per month was due to them from the company, as well as groats and peas for holidays.

The basic work of the population of the Pribilof Islands was fur-seal hunting. Serious attention was also devoted to procuring sea lions, Arctic foxes, and birds, as well as to fishing and collecting drift-wood. The largest quantity of fur seals was taken on the island of St. Paul (approximately five times more than on St. George), but on the island of St. George more sea lions appeared. They procured fur seals and sea lions here by means of a drive: a herd was cut off from the beach, releasing the females which were not subject to the hunt, with the bulls and bachelors being driven to a place near the village where they were killed with a blow from a dregalka.

The village on St. Paul is located on the south side of the island. Here two log houses for the clerk and the resident manager and a chapel were constructed. The barracks for the Russian workers and the Aleuts, a storehouse, a shed and other buildings were erected in the traditional Aleut manner, but with the entrance through a door on the side and with stoves. On the eastern cape and on the western half of the island near the fur seal hauling grounds barracks were constructed as well. On the island of St. George the village is located in the northern part. All the dwellings there were built in the traditional manner, but with the entrance through a side door and with stoves.

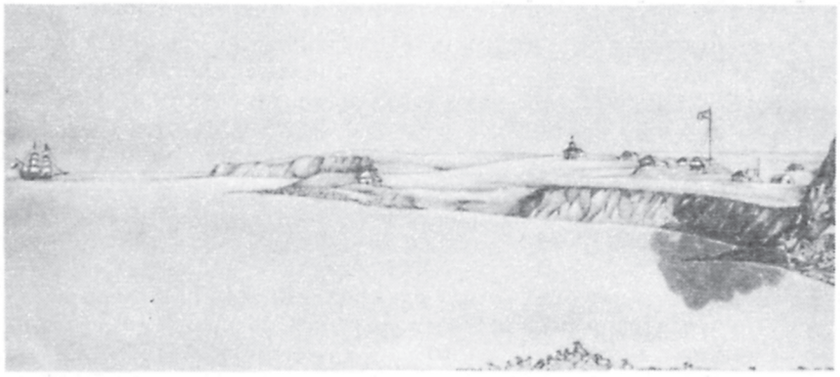

Figure 10. Village on St. George Island. Illustration by I. G. Voznesenskii. 1843. MAE, no. 1142-24.

I. Veniaminov, who spent ten years with the Aleuts, who truly treated them with great confidence, love, and respect, having done much himself for raising the prosperity and cultural level of the natives, quite definitely notes the occurrence during these years of positive change in the life of the Aleuts and the generally favorable influence of the administration of the company. He writes:

> Now it may be asked if the present governance of the Aleuts and their present condition is good. I answer: [they are] good. The Aleuts, outside of their service to the Company, enjoy complete freedom, and their service is usually temporary [or seasonal] and always for pay. The Company pays more and more attention to the administrator of the Unalashka district being a man of good character and a strict executor of the orders of the main colonial administration. Since the former liberty of the Aleuts (which was more imaginary than real) and their government (also far from perfect) are irrecoverable, there is no need to change the present Aleut governance, to which they are already accustomed, for any other. Any change in their governance will be injurious, even disastrous.
>
> If one has a wish for the [improvement of the] well-being of the Aleuts then perhaps it would only be—that all the merchandise and articles which they receive in return for their catch should be [fitting] for their hand and at prices, as far as is possible, corresponding to the pay received by them for hunting. Also, one might wish that their head toeny or one of them chosen by the Aleuts themselves should have the right to always inspect in the office at any time, all the papers and accounts that concern the Aleuts, and that they, as well as all the other chiefs, should be provided with written

> instructions for their guidance in which, on the basis of statutes and regulations for the local territory, their power and role in communal affairs be clearly delineated (Veniaminov 1840:II:172–174).

The latter desire of Veniaminov was carried out by A. K. Etolin in 1840–1845 during his term as chief administrator. He composed and introduced into use in all districts "Rules for toyons, being elected as leaders" (Tikhmenev 1863:Suppl.:74–79).

The question of colonial government disturbed I. Veniaminov very much. He considered it an affair of paramount importance. He writes about this in a letter from Unalaska of 16 August 1829 to K. T. Khlebnikov in Novoarkhangel'sk: "Good intentions and the most useful constitution and endowment in this without an executor or, at least, in the presence of a lack of zeal, does not attain the goal. Thus, an executor signifies very much that you choose the most respectable course, but if, at least, such is not carried out, then in vain are all your intention, institution, performance, bidding, and effort. . . . Because now, it seems, the Aleut lacks nothing for the possible good—only one enactment is necessary. For the Aleut (which I believe is assured) cannot exist without the company—though others might not think so, I believe and am prepared to affirm" (GAPO, f. 445, d. 161, l. 17 ob.–18).

In the second stage of the Russian Period the decrease of the population in general lasted to the 1840s owing to the introduction of epidemics (smallpox, influenza, whooping cough, "malignant catarrh") and other illnesses. We have already mentioned the illnesses that appeared in the islands in the first years of the existence of the Russian-American Company. To this it is possible to add the following facts as well. After the wreck at Sanak Island in 1809 of the ship of the American O'Cain "bloody diarrhea appeared there, so they say, from the use of damaged rice as food. This illness spread farther and touched even those who in no way used this rice" (Veniaminov 1840:II:198). In the fall of 1830 "began the infection with coughing and constriction in the chest," from which more than thirty persons died, primarily young healthy men, while at the same time it did not touch children, women, and the old. The greatest number of deaths was on Unga where this illness began earlier than on other islands, then spreading to all of Alaska. In 1838 smallpox appeared among the Aleut, the consequences of which, owing to the vaccinations carried out, was not so terrible as in the remainder of Alaska (Veniaminov 1840:II:198). It should be noted that vaccinations began in Russian America in the first years of the 19th century and was especially successfully carried out among the Aleuts. In 1848–1849 an epidemic of measles spread throughout the possessions of the company. There was an especially large number of fatal cases in the Unalaska District (*Doklad Komiteta* . . ., 1863:40, 83). Not a few people perished on long journeys in baidarki and baidari in various years. For example, in 1804 a party in twenty baidarki in the Islands of the Four Mountains perished; in 1809—a baidara with forty promyshlenniki (the leader—Nezorov) on a trip from Amak to the coast of Alaska; in 1811—about thirty three (Usov); in 1828—about fifteen (Merkul'ev) on a trip through Akutan Strait (*Doklad Komiteta* . . ., 1863:195, 196).

According to a census carried out on the instruction of N. P. Rezanov of the inhabitants of the Fox group, of the latter there were 1,898 persons on 1 January 1806 (937 men and 961 women) (Khlebnikov 1979:109). According to the census of 1813, carried out under the instruction of A. A. Baranov and examined by I. Kryukov, who was then entering into the office of governing the Unalaska District, there remained 1,158 Aleuts in the Fox group; in addition, 150 people had been dispatched to Kodiak and Sitka, and 200 Aleuts had been sent to the Pribilof Islands in 1810. That is, a total of 1,508 Aleuts.

"Epidemic diseases," writes K. T. Khlebnikov, "destroyed (from 1806.—R.L.) 390 souls" (Khlebnikov 1979:108–110). The decrease in the number of Aleuts continued until 1822 when the Fox Islanders were 1,474 individuals (695 men, 779 women). From this year to 1829 the number remained on the same level, while from 1829 to 1839 (that is, up to the smallpox epidemic) it began to grow (Veniaminov 1840:II:178).

Of the Andreanof Aleuts, in 1827 there were (as we have already noted) 714 people. On the Pribilof Islands in 1830 there lived 184 Aleuts and 43 Creoles (see above).

Thus, in the 1830s the number of all Aleuts was fixed at about 2,400 people. After the smallpox epidemic it was restored by the 1860s.

At the end of the Russian Period, as a result of many administrative measures, the setting aright of the economy, and medical aid, a trend was traced toward an increase in the number of Aleuts; in 1860, 2,428 people (1,236 men and 1,192 women, excluding Creoles) could be counted in both districts: Unalaska and Atka (Golovin 1862:28).

It should be remembered that since the Russian-American Company was formed the indicated number of Aleuts often included data on the Koniag Eskimo as well. A more precise determination of them can be distinguished only for the corresponding colonial districts: Atka, Unalaska (Fox Islands), and Kodiak.

The official status of the Aleuts at that time in Russian America was drawn nearer to the status of other non-Russian peoples [*inorodtsi*] of Russia. At the beginning, before 1799, they paid yasak, as all non-Russians did. But after the formation of the Russian-American Company there appeared many peculiarities in connection with their position as workers for this company. However, no official determination of status existed before the "Privileges" of the company were approved by the government in 1821. According to the "Privileges" of 1821, the Aleuts (together with the Kodiak Eskimos, Kenai peoples, and Kurile peoples) were put into a separate class as "islanders," recognized as being "on the level with other Russian citizens." By the statutes of the company in 1844 they (together with other "islanders") were compared to settled non-Russians.

But at this time the population of the Aleutian Islands, like Russian America on the whole, consisted now not only of native residents but also Russians and Creoles. Corresponding to the class division of Russian society at that time and determination in this connection with its taxation in Russian America, there arose again the question of determination of class affiliation of the population that was composed of Russians and Creoles.

In Russian America during the period of private hunting voyages there arrived exclusively men, primarily young, but after the formation of the Russian-American Company some came with families. Not infrequently the promyshlenniki acquired families in the islands, having taken as a wife an Aleut or a Koniag Eskimo woman (more rarely—an Indian). Having such a family in the colonies, they renewed the contract with the companies, and then remained in America forever. The question of their status arose for the first time in 1806, but only three decades later the government in Russian America created the so-called colonial citizenship. In it a person could attain rank, having irreproachably served the company for fifteen years. The poll-tax from "colonial citizens" was levied according to their class title (these were basically peasant and petty bourgeois), which the company paid.

At the same time, the number of Creoles in the colonies (on the whole) increased with each year. In 1821, according to official data, they numbered about 300 and were placed in a separate class, assigned to the petty bourgeois. This permitted them to advance by the official ladder in the civil service and attain official ranks in the military service. Creoles were freed from governmental levies, taxes, and duties, but they were obliged to work off in the company the education they had received through company sponsorship: having been taught in Russia ten years, and in the colonies fifteen. Such Creoles numbered among the "indebted" Creoles, though they owed no duties to the company. Many "indebted" Creoles, having served the determined term in the company, settled in the islands. By 1861 the number of Creoles in the colonies was 1,896 individuals.

Basic questions of the status of the population of Russian America are illuminated in the works of P. N. Golovin (1862), P. A. Tikhmenev (1861, 1863), S. B. Okun' (1939), and S. G. Federova (1971, 1973).

It seems that not all children born of Russian fathers in the Aleutian Islands were ranked as Creoles and received their status. This is also corroborated by the observation of I. Veniaminov, that a few, calling themselves pure Aleuts, in reality were not, because the stay in the islands of a significant number of Russians during the times of private companies exerted a great deal of influence on the Aleuts of the middle-age generation (Veniaminov 1840:II:5, 6). If a family was not composed of the Russian type with a Russian father (though by means of civil marriage, and not church, since before the first official priests Veniaminov's and Netsvetov's stay in the islands, such a marriage was impossible to conduct, while civil marriages were conducted by the authorities of the colonies), then the child was naturally considered Aleut and grew up in an Aleut family and community where the education of the children was an affair of the relatives on the side of the mother and father. It should be taken into consideration that in accordance with the traditional norms of marriage and of family relations (conforming to the transition period from a matrilineal community to a patrilineal one), which existed among the Aleuts upon the arrival of the Russians (and these responses were observed even in the first half of the 20th century and later), it is conceded that the majority were "well off," just as were the majority of the most "adroit" women (talented "in providing with their needlework" clothing as well as hunting equipment for the husband and other things). There existed the custom of returning children to the maternal kin, as well as avunculate: the brother of the mother played a larger role in education than the father; often the nephew was educated by the uncle on the mother's side (Fainberg 1964:151–160). In addition, as Veniaminov (1840:II:20) noted, "in these half-Aleuts the mother's character is almost always predominant and sometimes even completely submerges the character of the father. This one may see in several so-called Creoles." But in any event, the Creole population combined the Aleuts and the Russians into a single whole, the cultural traditions of two peoples.

Creoles, as a rule, were distinguished by greater talents, were more educated, and by the 1830s occupied many middle positions in the company, such as managers of islands and hunts, shipbuilders, artisans, medical attendants, teachers, and clergy of various ranks. It is apparently for just this reason that L. Black drew the conclusion that the definition of "Creole" in Russian America reflected social status, and not a biological concept, and that the most authoritative Aleuts were called Creoles, for example, the Aleut K. Shaeshnikov, former manager of the hunt in the Pribilof Islands from the 1820s to his death at the beginning of the 1860s (L. Black 1980:XXVI). It is natural that the title "Creole" was associated with a socially separate group. The responses of more prestigious self-determination—by Creoles—we encounter even in the Commander Islands up to the 1970s.

It should be added that the name "Aleut," it seems, also had social content, sinking its roots into the origin of this word, having defined then the native—the hunter of sea mammals for the company. In our day it appears by definition as an autonym not only for the Aleuts proper, but for the Kodiak peoples and other Pacific Eskimos as well. We will dwell on this in more detail below.

Ethnocultural changes in the second half of the Russian Period were a natural continuation of the processes of mutual influence of Aleut and Russian popular culture that began earlier, a half century before. But these changes were caused by a series of new specific historic conditions. One of them, as we have already noted, was a sharp reduction in the number of Russians in the islands. At the same time, regulation by the administration in the colonies of the economic activity and the mode of life of the Aleuts acquired more significance.

In accordance with the aspirations of the company to preserve the traditional economy of the Aleuts as the most convenient and most dependable source of acquisition of profits, the material culture of the Aleuts did not undergo drastic change, which included only a few innovations, improvements, and supplements from the Russian culture. The basic place in it, as before, was occupied by the skin baidarka with traditional hunting equipment. The collection of equipment for sea hunting and fishing (harpoons of various types, darts with throwing boards, and fishing tackle) was not changed. Among the baidarki the most common became the two-hatch, as they were safer on long trips and allowed hunting with a gun. Wide spread were three-hatch baidarki—for transporting in the middle seat administrators, missionaries, and the like (in the first and third holes sat the paddlers). They continued to use for amusement skin baidari. A new introduction for them was fabric sails (sometimes even on baidarki). As a means of transportation, sleds were introduced by the Russians. The Aleuts made them with broad runners of whale bone. On Atka they put up sails on them for the transport of cargo across a frozen lake to Korovin Bay.

Under the influence of the Russians the dwellings of the Aleuts were also somewhat altered, though their principle construction remained the same as before, as the most expedient under the annual conditions and with the lack of building materials and fuel. The houses were not built as deeply in the ground, they contained stoves, and in place of a hatch on top for entry and illumination, the doors and windows (one or two) were made on the side, being covered with bladders, and later had glass inserted; on the side with the door, a hallway (corridor) began to be built. Having traveled in 1852 through the districts of the colonies, Dr. Z. S. Govorlivii (1861) expressed the opinion that the establishment of the houses he visited in the village of Illyulyuk and Imagnia on Unalaska "correspond in hygienic respect entirely to the climatic conditions in which the Aleuts find themselves. For the arrangement of the dwelling it is necessary, first, that it serve for defense from meteorological changes of the climate and, second, that it have sufficiently clean air. Both these conditions are fulfilled in the local yurts in all possible completeness." Govorlivii was also struck by the cleanliness of Aleut yurts. The walls and ceiling were usually painted with white or yellow clay. The floor was covered with planks only in the middle, while plank beds were built along the sides of the dwelling. Clothing was hung on the walls. In the hallways small hearths were constructed where water almost continuously boiled for tea, which became the favorite drink of the Aleuts. Around the yurt were built storehouses (sheds) where they dried fish, whale, sea lion and seal meat, kept bladders of oil, fish roe, and liver, tubs of berries and other food stores, as well as kettles for heating oil and other things. Here on racks were placed the baidarki with the hunting gear, tools, and fishing tackle. Potatoes and other vegetables and roots were kept in pits under the windows of the yurt. The Aleuts appreciated completely the merits of the Russian steam bath and began to build them themselves.

Figure 11. Aleuts: 1—in everyday kamleika; 2—in dressed-up clothing. Illustrations by P. N. Michailov. 1827.

From the arrival of the Russians the process of differentiation of individual small families and their separation from the large family communities (in which wealth and social stratification occurred at the time of the arrival of the Russians) was intensified. This was reflected in the character of the dwellings: instead of large dwellings, houses were more often built for one small family.

During this period the Aleuts took up many Russian tools: iron axes, chisels, knives, and saws, while the so-called Aleut hatchet (indicating gentry) was popular among the Russians. The Aleut *pekulki* (ulus) were found to be irreplaceable for the processing of skins and fish. These spread throughout all Russian America. Metal teapots and kettles came into use among the Aleuts, and with them spoons, forks, porcelain vessels, samovars, and such Russian popular objects as the yoke, the loom, and other things.

Figure 12. Conical wooden head gear. MAE, no. 2868-106.

Traditional Aleut dress continued to exist throughout the Russian Period. Materials were changed only in part: disappearing from use among the Aleuts were parkas made of fur seals (sea otter parkas had been discontinued even earlier), bird parkas received greater distribution, and gut kamleiki, including both the strongest and most expensive that were made from sea lion throat. Later, clothing even of the traditional kind was sewn from European fabrics. New introductions appeared in the preparation of shoes as well: the sewing of torbasi [boots] with the front on a last, as were *brodnei* [peasant boots]. They made shoes both from traditional materials (laftak, sea lion throats, leather from sea lion flippers) and from imported leather. Trousers were sewn from sea lion throat and strips of gut. At the end of the Russian Period, especially in the villages with offices of the Russian-American Company, Russian dress and shoes were worn for everyday use and for holidays, while in other villages hunting dress was retained.

As visitors to the islands and Russians living there repeatedly noted, without traditional Aleut dress it was not possible for a single Russian to travel about there. I. Veniaminov, in particular, writes: "Until I began to use a parka during my trips I suffered very much from cold and wind, despite all the protection offered by frieze and even fur . . . . The comfort and use of kamleiki cannot be replaced by anything in relation to the purpose for which they were invented. I experienced several times as well that in the ugliest weather possible a kamleika is lighter, warmer, and more comfortable than anything" (1840:II:212–214).

In everyday life head gear was used more and more often. This was not customary earlier (previously the Aleuts put on the special conical wooden hats only when hunting on the sea, and they had others for holidays and ceremonies). At first these were made from traditional materials (leather, bird skins, gut of sea mammals) but in the form of Russian hats. Finally, Russian hats were even imported.

The traditional objects of the material culture and art of the Aleuts, as well as their transformation under the influence of Russian culture, can be seen now in museums. Wooden conical hunting head gear, as well as the hunting visor, which is similar, attract special attention. The conical head gear of the Aleuts is widely known and is striking in its perfect (by the most skilled method) apportioned form, polychrome dye with subject [story] scenes, magnificently executed miniature bone sculpture, bone plates with high relief, relief and open-work carving, and colorful engraving on them (for publications of the collections of head gear of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography [MAE], see Ivanov 1928, 1954, 1963; Lyapunova 1975a, 1985b). The well-known American researcher D. Pei correctly brings attention to this very interesting circumstance, that the art of making the conical head gear of the Aleuts had an amazing development in the Russian Period of Alaskan history. And what is more, this even tends to confirm that up until contact with the Russians, there were only the visors among the Aleuts, while the conical head gear with its richest decorations appeared only at the beginning of the 19th century, which in a remarkable manner coincides with the changes brought about by the Russians upon the institution of the chief toyons. Toyons, who were formerly among the ranks of the members of society and had risen little, began to acquire authority and power in the presence of the Russians; the Russians decorated them with gold, silver, and bronze medals. And at the very beginning of the 19th century there are accounts providing evidence of the occurrence of richly decorated and very valuable conical wooden head gear among the Aleuts—signs of distinction for the toyons. For the 18th century there is no evidence of such, with the exception of the report of K. Merck, member of the Billings-Sarychev Expedition (*Etnograficheskie materialy* . . ., 1978:83).

It is entirely probable that during the pre-Russian Period conical hats were more scarce and that the thriving art of their production and broad spread falls in the Russian Period, together with the fact that at this time there also originated the special development among the Aleuts of carving on stone and wood, and painted engraving. In addition, it is impossible not to see that this head gear is a product of the distinctive development of precisely Aleut artistic traditions on the basis of their own ideological notions, analogies with which are noted among the Eskimos. Russian cultural influence was apparently limited only to the inclusion of a very few examples of purely flowery fragments of coloration, the use of beads, and the use of silk and wool threads for adornment.

Figure 13. Ceremonial head gear. MAE, no. 536-14.

Other Aleut artifacts also attained their highest artistic mastery in the Russian Period (though early objects also had a rather high artistic level). Such were, with great artistic style, the most finely executed decorations of fur and embroidery-appliqued leather, hair, silk, and wool threads on clothing and head gear. Small and large bags, containers, and similar objects woven from grass were adorned with silk and wool threads and rows of delicate patterns; based on their high artistic mastery, they truly deserved the highest valuation in the world among similar artifacts (Lyapunova 1975b; L. Black 1982). Also magnificent is the miniature bone sculpture that is related to this time. Among these are beautifully executed small figures of sea animals, birds, people, and sculptural groups (Ivanov 1949; Lyapunova 1967a). They engraved and adorned with delicate care and colorfully engraved decoration the rear and lateral plates of the conical wooden hats (Ivanov 1928; Lyapunova 1985b), small bone boxes, spoons, forks, and other things. It is interesting to note that neither the earliest ethnographic nor archaeological materials give evidence of the existence of such highly artistic engraving on bone among the Aleuts (publications of the collections, see: L. Black 1982).

It is possible that the artistic work of the Aleuts during the Russian Period was stimulated by the great interest that was manifested in those years for their artistic production. The first visitors to the islands were occupied by assembling collections, at that time—participants of Russian round-the-world expeditions, as well as expeditions from other countries; later, collections were assembled for the museums of the Academy of Sciences. Of course, even new and more contemporary instruments and materials also contributed to the better quality of artifacts. Indeed, on the whole, without exaggeration one can speak of the original florescence of the artistic works of the Aleuts in the Russian Period, which is firmly corroborated by museum collections preserved not only in the USSR but abroad as well (L. Black 1982).

The original folklore was preserved during the course of the Russian Period. Examples of it—myths, heroic epics, stories, historical traditions, popular narratives, songs (in all 127 texts)—were written down by W. I. Jochelson in the Aleutian Islands in 1909–1910 (Jochelson 1915, 1919, 1923, 1933; also see Bergsland 1959; Gurvich 1963; Hudson 1979; Lyapunova 1984).

In the realm of social relations, during the Russian Period the inclination to preserve traditional norms of life and government was observed. But for the realization of its influence and the achievement of economic advantage, the local management was brought under direct control of the administration of the Russian-American Company (with the introduction of a centralized government).

However, as a result of resettlement the destruction of large-family communities began, of which the former Aleut settlements were composed. In the first place family and neighborly connections began to come to the forefront. If formerly small families started to stand out among the Aleuts, this process now increased. This is especially visible in the dwellings: large houses more and more yielded to individual ones for each small family. Large old-family communities disintegrated and because of this their production function was broken. Now, all the Aleuts were paid for their work from the company and were provided through it with provisions. But the traditional custom of mutual aid was preserved. Meat of procured large animals was shared in the village. P. N. Golovin left a curious observation dating to 1860, that is, at the very end of the existence of the company:

> The customs and laws of the natives who lived in the colony, especially the Aleuts, were such that the aged, crippled, and orphaned never remained without care. Each gets his daily bread by his own work, but considers it a duty to allot a part to the needy. Among the Aleuts in particular this was developed to such a degree that in the hunts experienced promyshlenniki always allot a part to the young who are learning the profession under their direction, as well as the sick and old who themselves are not able to hunt. Returning from fishing the Aleuts leave their whole catch in the baidarka, granting to each who is in need to take for himself what he needed, and contents himself with the remains, knowing that in case of need he in the same way can make use of part of the catch of his comrades. This rule of mutual aid to each other took root in the customs of the Aleuts, and it would have been seen as odd if someone happened to ask whether they rendered a benefit by it; this benefit is made use of by right. Therefore, there are prosperous natives and there are poor, but no beggars. Generally managed by the community with the aid of elected toyons, the natives never permit their fellow tribesmen to fall into poverty. Orphans by common agreement are also always provided for, and those who received them in their care look after them just as after their own children. It goes without saying that for the

> company there was no need to weaken this laudable custom and take on themselves expenses for the institution of a poorhouse, an orphans' home, and the like, when no one was supported by charity (Golovin 1862:78).

The Russians also tried hard not to interrupt the traditional norms of the social distribution of food. This was especially evident based on the systems of payment in the Commander and Pribilof Islands introduced by the Russian-American Company: they established collective norms of distribution with regard both to disabled members of society and to various social needs.

With the massive introduction of Christianity among the Aleuts from the end of the 18th century some Russian customs began to be maintained in family relations (match-making, weddings, and others), but the Orthodox Russian church even manifested a definite tolerance toward traditional Aleut norms of marriage. Even the Russian system of kinship, which had coexisted with the traditional Aleut system, gradually took root (Fainberg 1964:151–160).

The characteristic trait of Russian America of the 19th century was the spread there of instruction and education in the sphere of the native population, as well as the introduction of measures for the protection of health. The educational work, started by the first Russian promyshlenniki, began at the time of organization of the Russian-American Company to be systematically conducted through ordinary schools and technical schools and organized by them.

The first Russian school in America, on Kodiak, was opened in 1784–1786 by G. I. Shelikhov. The school had the task of instructing the most capable from the number of young natives not only in the Russian language but in mathematical sciences, navigation, handicrafts, and arts in order to adapt the local population to the new way of life necessary for its work and profession. The first instructors were promyshlenniki, sailors, and missionaries (Andreev 1948:188, 211, 237). In 1805 N. P. Rezanov, who inspected the possessions of the company, reorganized this school into a technical school. A large role in the restructuring and organization of the instruction in the institute was played by Hieromonk Gedeon, who had been placed by the Synod on Kodiak from 1805 to 1807; he was the first to translate prayers into the language of the natives (Lyapunova 1979c). A part of the technical school in the following years was transferred to Novoarkhangel'sk, on Sitka [now Baranof] Island. Instruction and board was at the expense of the company, but those individuals who had received their education had to work it off in the company six to ten years. In addition to the common colonial technical school in Novoarkhangel'sk and there were schools on Kodiak for young men. Having finished instruction, they occupied in the colonies the offices of scribe, clerk, artisan, sexton, sailor, and the like. There were even schools for young women where they were instructed in domestic activities and needlework.

At the beginning of the 1840s a religious school was organized in Novoarkhangel'sk, and in 1845 a religious seminary was transferred there from Kamchatka, which merged with this school (in 1859 it was transferred to Yakutsk). In the seminary, in addition to the customary course, instruction in "the native language" and the medical art had been introduced to such an extent that graduates could "substitute as satisfactory doctors" (TsGIA, f. 796, op. 134, d. 1861). The instruction of medicine was conducted by doctors called into the service of the company, who also worked in the Novoarkhangel'sk hospital. Aside from this, student doctors, who in large part were Creoles, worked at the hospitals. The creation of hospitals in the colonies and a medical service on the whole is convincing evidence of the concern for the condition of the health of the population. On the islands of Unalaska and Atka there were hospitals with

medical assistants. The largest hospital in the colonies was in Novoarkhangel'sk: forty beds with two doctors, three medical assistants, and four students; a somewhat smaller one on Kodiak: ten beds with one doctor, two medical assistants, and five students. In addition to this, doctors and medical assistants traveled to render medical assistance in other places in the colonies (Golovin 1862:70–77). In 1859 in Novoarkhangel'sk a public technical school was founded in the Russian-American colonies (for boys) that corresponded to the program of the three-class Siberian District technical schools, but with the addition of some special subjects which prepared some for entry into maritime service, others as clerks, and still others for the clerical rank.

In addition to the indicated technical schools and ordinary schools there were parochial schools at all the churches and many chapels where reading and writing were taught. Pupils who showed promise in the ordinary schools and technical schools were sent for a continuation of education in Peterburg [St. Petersburg], at the Kronshtadt pilots' school or in other educational institutions, as well as for instruction in various occupations; in 1816 a decision was made to instruct them as well at the Peterburg institute of surgery. The first group of Creoles was sent to Peterburg by the order of N. P. Rezanov in 1805. Later, five to twelve persons were found annually in Russia who were being instructed in maritime, commercial, and medical sciences and occupations necessary for the colonies. However, the high mortality of Creoles connected with leaving Alaska and their lack of immunity to a series of infectious illnesses reduced the effectiveness of this undertaking. From the number of Creoles who had been instructed, for example, in the Kronshtadt pilots' school, there emerged such well-known mariners and explorers of Alaska as A. Glazunov, A. I. Klimovskii, A. F. Kashevarov, P. F. Kolmakov, P. V. Malakhov, and others (Golovin 1862:64–70; Tikhmenev 1863:270–276; Fedorova 1971:191–195, 218–222).

The technical school on Unalaska was organized by I. Veniaminov in 1825, shortly after his arrival there. In his *Zapiski* he noted the amazing inclination of the Aleuts toward instruction and the appearance of a large number of literate among them. Veniaminov wrote: "In this respect they do not yield to many educated peoples. In recent times, that is, when translations appear in their language, knowing how to read was more than a sixth part (underlined by Veniaminov.—R. L.); and there are villages where more than half of the men are literate, and on one island (St. Paul) almost everyone knows how to read. Literacy among the Aleuts is spread very much by the technical school, which has been in existence since 1825, but is more self-taught. And, judging by their desire and want for learning, it can definitely be said that in the course of time the Aleuts will all be literate" (Veniaminov 1840:II:322). And actually, as P. N. Golovin reported in 1860, the technical school at Unalaska is found "in prime condition," giving evidence to the fact that all Aleuts there were literate; "this technical school is lodged in company housing, and seminary students are occupied with instruction. In 1860 there were fifty boys and forty-three girls in the technical school, the greater part Aleut" (Golovin 1862:69). In the report about the diocese for 1866 it is noted that in the technical school at Unalaska there were ninety boys and girls; they were taught by the sexton, the chanter, the priest and his wife. In the technical school in the Atka District (the main village of which had been transferred to Amlia) instruction of the children occupies the junior deacon and even some of the Aleuts. "In distant villages of the islands the Aleuts instruct each other in grammar" (TsGIA, f. 796, 1866 g., op. 147, d. 2133).

Mastery of a grammar in a new language and the desire to join a new culture—all this attests to the display of interest of the Aleuts in European culture, and in this case Russian, about which A. P. Okladnikov wrote, noting the success of the missionary activity of I. Veniaminov among the Aleuts. In this he pointed out the fact that Aleuts quickly adopted from the Russians trades new to them, success-

fully employing them in private life and in their work. Veniaminov writes about the "imitativeness" of the Aleuts: "Among them there are good cabinetmakers, carpenters, coopers, locksmiths, blacksmiths, and bootmakers." And farther on he says that "of the local Aleuts none had an opportunity to learn in the higher technical schools; but of those who here had an opportunity to learn navigation, some were considered competent in this skill (I do not speak of Creoles). For example: one of the Ustiugs, a natural Aleut, knew maritime affairs very well; his chart of the Nushagak River (the first such) even up to the present time is considered very accurate" (Veniaminov 1840:II:15–16). The Aleuts were principally builders, constructing in 1825 the church on Unalaska; the church, "decorated within with a rather sizeable iconostasis with columns and engraved gilded frames was the work of the Aleuts themselves" (Veniaminov 1840:I:174). Veniaminov himself, mastering many skills, instructed the Aleuts in carpentry, cabinetmaking, and boot-making, in icon painting, and even clock-making.

The natural intellect of the Aleuts in the games of checkers and chess, adopted from the Russians, as illustrations of good talents, also attracted the attention of visitors to the islands. G. A. Sarychev (1952:218) wrote that the Aleuts play "at checkers, an adult game, calling it *shakh*, so well that none from our expedition was able to win among them." From the time of the voyages of the promyshlenniki they also learned the game of chess. The king being called among them "the old man," while the queen in all positions had to invariably be located to the left of the king, in as much as a woman by Aleut custom could not stand on the right side of a man (Laughlin 1980:131), that is, they made the game more "Aleut." I. Veniaminov (1840:II:308) writes that the Aleuts are "great lovers of the chess game, and very many of them play very well, there are even such players who with difficulty are able to beat even an excellent player."

The great changes in the life of the Aleuts, especially in the formation of their spiritual culture, were connected with the stay on Unalaska of the priest of the Unalaska District I. Veniaminov. His work in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands as a missionary, scholarly ethnographer, and educator is well known (see: Barsukov 1883; Stepanova 1947; Shenitz 1967; Okladnikov 1976, 1983; Okladnikov and Vasil'evskii 1976; Arsen'ev 1979). The great scientific merit of Veniaminov was the creation of Aleut writing and the compilation of a grammar and dictionary of the Aleut language, preserving a unique scientific significance even to our day (Veniaminov 1846). Veniaminov is considered now the founder of the "Aleut church," which lastingly entered the life of the natives owing to the presence in it [the "Aleut church"] of a definite form of the transformed spiritual legacy of the Aleuts and their traditional spiritual culture.

We have already touched in part upon the question of the formation under the influence of the Orthodox religion of the "Aleut faith" and the "Aleut church" while speaking about the first stage of the Russian Period. The processes that had begun in these years actively lasted throughout the existence of the Russian-American Company.

As is well known, the ideological principle in the politics of Christianization of Siberian natives was Russification. The Irkutsk Archbishop Veniamin directly expressed his thoughts concerning this: "With the acceptance of Christianity they turned themselves into Russians" (Kharlampovich 1904). But such Christianization of the Aleuts, as we have already noted, did not take place in a setting of special historical conditions of Christianity penetrating to them in the first stage, but merely through simple Russian promyshlenniki in its popular, common variant. The result was that the Aleuts introduced into Russian Orthodoxy many features of their traditional ideas and concepts, in their own way transforming

the faith presented to them. We cited the opinion of Veniaminov (1840:II:141–143) that already in his time it was difficult to distinguish where Christian dogma began and where Aleut tradition ended. As one example, W. Laughlin's description of the traditional institution preserved by modern Aleuts called *anaaqisagh* can be noted, which consists of special relationships connecting an adult and a youth from birth who are not directly related. Such a man assumes care of a youth—his food, clothing, and timely and appropriate instruction. For his part the youth was responsible to the anaaqisagh partner and, having reached adulthood, had to provide care for him (Laughlin 1980:59). In this custom can be clearly seen, on the one hand, the relationship of the godfather or godmother and the godson or goddaughter (though Laughlin does not point this out), and on the other, the characteristic education in the traditional Aleut culture of children not by the parents but by the mother's brother (especially boys) or by other relatives. This was characteristic of the transitional stage from matriliny to patriliny surviving among them at the arrival of the Russians (Fainberg 1964:77, 151–160).

The most distinctive feature of the changes that originated in the spiritual culture of the natives was the participation of the Aleuts themselves through the person of their most influential leaders, developed by previous contacts with the Russians toward cultural changes, in the creation and spread of the new "Aleut faith," and in the elaboration of Aleut writing. As L. Black writes, in the region of the eastern islands of the Aleutian chain such a leader, "an active participant in events that made the Orthodox Church in a very real sense the 'Aleut church' and the Aleut writing the inheritance of the Aleut people," was I. Pan'kov. In the Andreanof Islands a similar role was played by the toyon of Amlia, V. Dedyukin (L. Black 1977:94). Not underestimating the merits of I. Veniaminov in his educational work among the Aleuts, and especially in the creation of a script in the Aleut language, L. Black, on the basis of research of the archives of the Alaskan church and the archives of Veniaminov (of the journal and "papers" preserved at present in the U.S. Library of Congress), pointed out the major role that was played by Pan'kov and other Aleuts even earlier—and, thus, by Russian promyshlenniki—in the spread of a new higher culture, literacy in Russian, and finally, the creation of writing in the Aleut language.

It is interesting that precisely the educational and missionary activity of the first Russian promyshlenniki and settlers served as a motivating impulse that persuaded I. Veniaminov to consent to set off for the remote Aleutian Islands. By an ukaz of the Synod of 1823 a priest was to be assigned there from Irkutsk. But there were no volunteers; Veniaminov also refused. He was persuaded to go to the Aleuts by I. Kryukov who had arrived in Irkutsk. Kryukov was a Russian settler of the Fox Islands where he had spent almost forty years among the Aleuts. Kryukov was married to an Aleut woman and had built the first chapel there in 1806. His son, S. Kryukov, became a steward of the company on Umnak and later head of the village on the same island (descendants of the Kryukovs still live in Nikolski Village). As Veniaminov himself wrote, "what all he told me about America generally, and about the Aleuts specifically, and by all that he convinced me to go to Unalaska." However, he did not agree to go at once, but he suddenly, unexpectedly even for himself, "caught all afire with the desire to go to such people," though the traveling companions on the difficult journey were to become his mother, wife, son, and brother (Barsukov 1883:11–12).

At the time of Veniaminov's arrival in the Aleutian Islands I. Pan'kov was forty-six years old, was toyon of Tigalda (in the Krenitsyn Islands), and was one of the influential Aleut leaders in the region of the eastern Aleutian Islands. Pan'kov easily mastered the Russian language, was literate and knew Orthodox theology. Veniaminov ascribes to the merits of Pan'kov the inclination of Aleuts toward the acceptance of the Christian religion and their informedness in the fundamentals of its laws, which he had

noted during the first visit to the Krenitsyn Islands. And to this, Veniaminov attributed the good reception that was rendered him on his arrival in the Fox Islands in general and the Krenitsyns in particular (L. Black 1977:97).

According to the archival documents of the Alaskan church, L. Black established that I. Veniaminov met with I. Pan'kov immediately after his arrival in the Aleutian Islands and that from that time Pan'kov became his constant guide, tutor, translator, and guarantor in intercourse with the Aleuts, often travelling with him through the parish of the Unalaska church (which included the Fox and Shumagin Islands, the Alaska Peninsula, and the Pribilof Islands).

Ivan Pan'kov was the son of Gavril Pan'kov, a baptized Aleut, which is indicated by his name. And, apparently, the navigator D. Pan'kov, who visited the Krenitsyn Islands during his voyage to the Aleutian Islands in 1758–1763, 1770–1774, and 1780–1786, baptized him and established a hunting partnership with him. As is completely substantiated, L. Black supposes that Ivan could be for his part the young godson of this Pan'kov (in his last voyage). According to the testimony of I. Veniaminov, since I. Pan'kov was a "natural Aleut," he spoke Russian without any accent and was literate, and, consequently, taught the language to the children and young people. He had apparently lived in one of the cities of Kamchatka or in Okhotsk, perhaps in the home of his godfather and had visited the school (see L. Black 1977:103).

I. Veniaminov repeatedly noted in the preface to editions of the clerical texts in the Aleut language and in letters to Archbishop Mikhail in Irkutsk the active participation of I. Pan'kov in the work of translating and creating Aleut writing. Similar information is contained in his archives: "at my invitation and my petition Ivan Pan'kov, toyon of Tigalda, arrived at the beginning of this month. Together we examined my translation of the catechism to 'Symbols of Faith' and began work on the catechism and in the course of it checked it" (L. Black 1977:103). Regarding the participation of Pan'kov in the creation of the Aleut alphabet, the remark of Veniminov attests that he corrected diacritical marks in the letters during work on the catechism (L. Black 1977:103).

In May 1826 Veniaminov sent a copied example of the catechism to Archbishop Mikhail for his presentation at that time to the Synod in order to obtain permission to print it. The example of the catechism accompanied a petition signed by Aleut leaders who knew the Russian language. First on the list of signatures was I. Pan'kov. In the archives of the Synod the appeal is preserved on forty-seven pages "about the permission to print the Christian catechism, translated into the Aleut language," with Veniaminov's letter and the petition of the Aleuts, as well as the text of the catechism itself (TsGIA, f. 796, 1828 g., op. 113, d. 1798; 1833 g., op. 114, d. 1308; 1839 g., op. 120, d. 784). In the accompanying letter of Veniaminov we read:

> not trusting in my knowledge, I turned for aid to the Toyon Ivan Gavrilovich Pan'kov, the best translator in the whole chain. He is a natural Aleut, but knows the Russian language well, speaking in it without any accent and grammatically. He is forty-nine years old and lives in the village where some Aleuts live, so that there can be no doubt about his complete knowledge of his own language. The catechism was translated with his aid, but I, not thinking that the work was already completed, did the following: read from this work to an assembly of Aleuts during their trips to the eastern part of my parish, discussed the text with the most learned Aleuts, and asked their opinion about the quality of the work;

they approved the text and expressed the desire to have it (TsGIA, f. 796, 1828 g., op. 109, d. 1686; also see L. Black 1977:103).

The Synod did not affirm the text sent, since a new abbreviated catechism that was sent to Veniaminov for translation had already been accepted for distribution. Veniaminov again summoned Pan'kov. And in July 1830 the second variation of the catechism was finished (it is used by Aleuts even today). Considering the length of transmissions in those years, the translation was sent very quickly. In 1832 it was approved by the Synod.

Further, Veniaminov and Pan'kov occupied themselves with the translation of the "Gospel of St. Matthew." L. Black reports, based on the notes in Veniminov's journal, that work did not advance if Pan'kov was absent. During meetings they worked whole days, and in the end, as Veniaminov writes, day and night. "We worked in the following manner: from early morning till nightfall we worked on the translation; evenings, in the assembly of the most intelligent of the Aleut, and in the presence of all those who wished to come, we read aloud what has been translated during the day" (see L. Black 1977:104). Veniaminov notes that the news about this work spread through the villages and islands and many Aleuts even from distant villages and islands came to listen and to observe the work (L. Black 1977:104). Interestingly Veniminov explains the replacement in the translation of two verses from the gospel (VII-17 and IX-17) by verses from the other sermons in this suffering of Christ: first, because of the lack in the local language of names for concepts being used there; second, because of the vagueness of "essence of meanings" (L. Black 1977:104). This was certainly done with consideration of Pan'kov's opinion and the result of the flexibility, tactfulness, and adaptation of the text to conform to the religious ideas of the Aleuts manifested by Veniaminov. From what has been said, the following conclusion can be drawn: that the text of the translation was brought into conformity with some transformed traditional ideas of the Aleuts that already existed at that time. Indeed, even at the arrival of Veniaminov, the Aleuts had begun to develop special ideas, which were the connections they made between the first original information about the Christian religion (mentioned above) and their own religious concepts and ideas. Later, this played a definite role in the formation of the still existing "Aleut faith"—Orthodox religion with Aleut innovations. Several facts point to such syncretism.

For example, in the documents from the archives of the Alaskan church it is indicated that at the end of his life I. Pan'kov organized, through the strength of the Aleuts themselves, the construction of two churches in the Krenitsyn Islands: on Akun (in 1842) and on Tigalda (in 1844)—with iconostases "of splendid Aleut work," and they were constructed, apparently, near places that were considered sacred to the Aleuts of the pre-contact period (L. Black 1977:98). Such an example of religious syncretism is even cited by I. Veniaminov in a letter to Archbishop Mikhail in the story about the shaman and toyon of Akun Island, I. Smirennikov (baptized by Hieromonk Makari), who predicted to his kinsmen the arrival of Veniaminov on Akun. About this story of the shaman, it is alleged that the spirits who had been with him there for thirty years, and forewarned him, were reminiscent in appearance of Orthodox angels and had instructed him in the laws of Christian dogma (Barsukov 1883). A. P. Okladnikov wrote concerning this: "Thus came to light the peculiar Aleut Christian-shaman syncretism. The wonderful mixture of ancient shamanistic views was impacted with shreds of new, Orthodox mythology" (1976:125). Thus, Christian (and even pre-Christian) mythology and Aleut legends were strangely interwoven into a tradition about the tree of life of the Aleuts and about its remains, which are preserved today near the church in Nikolski Village on Umnak.

D. Jones, who investigated the life of modern Aleut communities in several villages, identifies among the main distinctions the fidelity of the Aleuts to the Orthodox Church and the adaptation of certain ceremonies from Aleut customs to serve both in the Aleut and the Russian languages (Jones 1976:19).

In the Church of the Ascension [Voznesenie] on Unalaska the first edition (1840) of the gospel prepared by I. Veniaminov can found. The book has a rich silver cover decorated with miniature icons in enamel insets; in the text are notes made by the hand of Veniaminov for recital of the annual cycle of services. In the list of titles of this gospel, just as in the list of titles of the catechism of 1826, the name of the Toyon I. Pan'kov follows Veniaminov's name. Veniaminov gives Pan'kov the merits due in the preface to the translation of the catechism and gospel.

Thus, the Aleuts participated directly in the creation of their "Aleut church" and their writing.

We have already mentioned the merits of the Creole Ya. Netsvetov in the education of the Atka Aleuts. It is interesting to dwell somewhat more in detail on the work and biography of this remarkable man, which became possible through the research of L. Black in the archives of the Alaskan church and the journal of Netsvetov published by her (L. Black 1980b). At the same time it is important in the example of Netsvetov, his brothers, and his sister to point out the fate of the Creoles in Russian America, and in the example of his father—in the fate of a representative of the early Russian settlers of the Aleutian Islands, who created there one of the first Aleut-Russian families.

Yakov was the oldest son of the Russian baidarshchik, a Tobolsk petty bourgeois, G. V. Netsvetov, who had been a coachman (TsGIA, f. 796, 1828 g., op. 109, d. 415). In 1794 Netsvetov arrived to Atka on the ship of G. I. Shelikhov *Dobroe namerenie svyatogo Aleksandra*. In 1798 he set out with a group of Atka Aleuts to St. George Island where he was, at least until 1818, manager of the hunts, but lived there even in later years. He married an Aleut woman, apparently from Atka. They had four children: three sons and a daughter. The second son of G. V. Netsvetov, Osip, was sent in 1822 with a group of Creoles (among whom were A. F. Kashevarov and Z. P. Chichenev) to Peterburg for instruction at the Kronshtadt pilots' school. He returned to Sitka in 1831 and worked as a shipbuilder in the dockyard at Novoarkhangel'sk. He married E. Nosova, a Creole. The youngest son, Anton, apparently was also sent to Russia to obtain an education. He returned to Sitka in 1836 and became a "free pilot," a navigator commanding ships of the company. His wife was a Creole by the name Praskov'ya. The daughter of G. V. Netsvetov, Elena, married in 1829 the Creole G. K. Terent'ev, steward of the main office of the company on Sitka, as well as having obtained a systematic education first in the company school and then in Peterburg. Later Terent'ev became director of the Atka District of the colonies.

Ya. Netsvetov was born in 1804 on St. George Island and lived there, working for the company. In 1823 he was sent for training to the Irkutsk religious seminary, where he went together with his father and sister; in 1826 he finished seminary and was named deacon in one of the churches in Irkutsk. At this time the company had begun construction of a church on Atka and made inquiry in Irkutsk to the archbishop Mikhail about a priest for it. The only candidate for it was Netsvetov, who was quickly ordained to priesthood and assigned to the Aleutian Islands. Together with him from Irkutsk went his young wife Anna (a Russian) and his father and sister. G. V. Netsvetov remained from that time living on Atka, where he died in 1837 (at the church of St. Nikolai the grave marker with his name and a short biographical note is preserved up to the present).

Ya. Netsvetov enthusiastically occupied himself with his pastoral duties and the organization of the school on Atka, and with the construction (by the labors of the students themselves under his direction) of a special new building for it. He also actively introduced gardening to the island.

Ya. Netsvetov successfully carried out instruction of the children and many of the young people who flocked to him even from other islands of the Aleutian chain, who became his followers. Among them the most well-known is the Creole L. Salamatov, who had first been a reader in the church, then deacon, and after the transfer in 1844 of Netsvetov to the Yukon, replaced him in the duty of priest, and the Aleut I. Shaeshnikov who became in 1848 the first Aleut priest of the church of the Unalaska District. Along with his church and school affairs Netsvetov studied medicine in his free time, as well as prepared samples of fishes and sea mammals for the museum of natural history in Peterburg and Moscow. But, of course, the most significant of his work is the translation into the Aleut language of religious and secular texts and participation in the creation of Aleut writing.

Ya. Netsvetov maintained close connections with I. Veniaminov, being occupied with him in working out Aleut writing in conformity with the Atka dialect. But first he began to translate religious and secular texts in the Atka dialect independently, and only then uniting with Veniaminov. Veniaminov wrote the following about this and about Netsvetov: "The worthy pastor, both excellently by his pious life and his word, did very much for the blessing of the church. At a later time he, looking over my translations of the gospel and the catechism into the Aleut language, made an elucidation for the Atkans and even translated some from the New Testament with elucidation for the Unalaskans" (Veniaminov 1840:II:158–159). And again: "Priest Yakov Netsvetov, having examined my translation, decided instead of a special translation for the Atkans (as he intended to make and had already begun to do) to add to the translations commentaries for his parishioners, who speak in the same language but a different dialect than Unalaskans. Thus, my translation will serve for both groups." He did this, as is confirmed in his introduction to the Atkan catechism, in hope "that the readings in one language, in this same dialect, could arrive at the appearance of a common dialect and through this common dialect all Aleuts become brothers, inseparable in the spirit of Christian learning, as they now are brothers through common ancestors. In addition to that mentioned (in the text above), Father Yakov translated into the Atkan dialect the first chapter of Luke and the first two chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, having added to it an elucidation for the Unalaskans" (Veniaminov 1857:234).

The ethnographic materials of Ya. Netsvetov are a valuable contribution to science. He collected for I. Veniaminov information about the culture of the Atka Aleuts—the central and western groups, having noted some of its distinctions from the culture of the eastern Aleuts. These materials are included in Part III of the *Zapiski* . . . of Veniaminov (1840) with corresponding notes. Another of his more scientific merits is the composition of an extensive dictionary of the Atka dialect, furnished with semantic clarification.[15] He also translated some articles into the Aleut language, wrote sermons in this language, and introduced the instruction of church music.

Ya. Netsvetov enjoyed the great respect and love of his parishioners, as well as authority among the chief administrators of the colonies F. P. Wrangell (1830–1835), I. A. Kupreyanov (1835–1840), and A. K. Etolin (1840–1845). In 1835 Netsvetov was awarded a calotte as a sign of recognition for his clerical merit and contributions to the education of children in the Atka District. In 1842, during a visit by I. Veniaminov (now in the capacity of bishop of Kamchatka, the Aleutians, and the Kurils) to the Atka District, Netsvetov was awarded a cross for the translation of clerical texts. When Veniaminov thought

[15] This dictionary is widely used now by linguists; for example, see Menovshchikov 1986.

it possible to establish a mission post in the remote region of the Lower Yukon, in the vicinity of the St. Michael redoubt, selection fell to Netsvetov.

In 1844 Ya. Netsvetov set off for Ikogmiut (today—Russian Mission), on the Yukon, where the missionary remained until 1863. He was accompanied by students and aids (I. Shaeshnikov, K. Lukin, and V. Netsvetov). In Ikogmiut, Netsvetov learned one more language, built one more church, and created an Orthodox community. At the end of his work he obtained the order of archpriest, the highest non-monastic order of the Orthodox Church.

The personal life of Netsvetov was composed of misfortune. Soon after arriving in 1836 his wife fell ill and died. They had no children. Netsvetov did not marry again. In 1863 he returned to Sitka, where he died in 1864.

We have devoted such significant attention to the building of the "Aleut church" since in following years it became the means of group solidarity, ethnic identification, and on the whole one of the basic consolidating factors of the Aleut people. American authors have noted this as well (Berreman 1954, 1955; Jones 1976; L. Black 1977).

The most evidence that the "Aleut church" stood out as a means of group activity and solidarity, writes L. Black, is the negative relationship the Bureau of Indian Affairs had with it during the American Period, as well as individuals who economically exploited the region. This relationship set one of many such examples. A member of the crew of a European whaling ship that arrived at Akun describes with indignation that in order to hire workers, it fell first to the captain to notify the head of the village, who called a council for a discussion of all the questions, then a church service was carried out, and only after this did the Aleuts arrive on board for work. In addition to this, the Aleuts steadfastly maintained all the church holidays, on which they did not work. The cohesion of the Russian system of village administration with religious customs, writes K. Birkeland, makes missionary work of other churches impossible among the Aleuts and is an obstacle for instructing them in the English language. Though they call themselves Christians, in his opinion their religion is nothing but obvious paganism (Birkeland 1926:79–85).

Noting the special adherence of modern Aleuts (who endured in the 19th–20th centuries the strong pressure of the Protestant missionaries) to the Orthodox religion and their affirmation that it is their national belief, American researchers see in this the traditions of the Russian Period in the history of Alaska. Among these traditions they note the work in the realm of education of the population with the mastery and use of the language by the native inhabitants, the approximation of the religious concepts to national Aleutian, the tolerance of institutions of traditional culture, and the preparation of missionaries from a number of natives (Smith 1980:10, 11).

Thus, the peculiarity of the Russian Period in the history of the Aleuts consists of the fact that, on the whole, the arrival of the Russians did not lead to fragmentation of the traditional form of life or to the annihilation of their original culture, though there occurred definite changes in economic and social relations, as well as in material and spiritual culture. The original Aleut culture served to the end of the Russian Period. It included many (often strongly transformed) features of Russian common culture of the end of the 18th through the first half of the 19th century, which are preserved as a national stratum up to the present. Modern American researchers call it Aleut-Russian culture. However, such a designation does not seem entirely precise, but rather the Aleuts inserted their own peculiarities, their own originality into the adopted Russian cultural features, which attest to the ethnocultural development of the people of this period.

CHAPTER III

ALEUTS OF THE UNITED STATES (1870s–PRESENT)

The American Period of history in Alaska, with regard to the impact on the ethnocultural processes among the Aleuts, is found to be entirely different from that of the Russian Period, which for its part was connected with the socioeconomic conditions of their life.

Within this period, for Alaska on the whole, several historic stages customarily stand out; in each the socioeconomic position developed in a special manner, and the condition of the national culture and language of the natives is manifested. These stages are characteristic also of the Aleutian area, though here there were small distinctive peculiarities.

The first stage of the American history of Alaska—from 1867 to 1887—was a time almost completely lacking in any attention to the acquired region on the part of the American authorities; only a small amount of research work was conducted. In the region of the Bering Sea whaling was carried out (its beginning is assigned to 1820) and fur traders operated, connected as a rule with large firms (Alaska Commercial Company, North American Commercial Company).

The second stage—from 1887 to 1909—is signified by the fact that in Alaska great wealth was discovered: salmon and gold. Industry and gold mining began stormily to evolve, in connection with which thousands of adventurers rushed there, bringing with them alcohol and illnesses and a sharp deterioration in the socioeconomic conditions of life for the natives. In these years missionary work by the American church was started in Alaska, and American schools began to be opened. From 1885 to 1908 the first Secretary of Education in Alaska was the Presbyterian missionary S. Jackson, who conducted the decisive politics of forced conversion of the natives to the faith professed by the white people and the propagation of their culture and language. It is precisely from this time that the language and culture of the national minority of Alaska began to undergo persecution, and the prohibition of use of native languages in schools was introduced; this was spread even into domestic life.

The third stage—from 1910 to 1960—was, on the whole, a period of complete suppression of the culture of the national minority of Alaska. Schools began to be managed (from 1910) by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which together with the majority of the missionary schools continued the politics of Americanization of the native inhabitants and the universal introduction of the English language. In the latter years of this period new tendencies, realized only later, are traced as well.

The fourth stage—from 1960 to 1970—began a turning point in the history of the natives of Alaska that was caused by a qualitatively new shift in the development of the northern peoples of the United States and Canada, summoned on the one hand by the intensive industrial exploitation of Alaska, which began in the last two decades, and on the other, by the significant successes of the movement of

its native population (including the Aleuts) for their socioeconomic rights, which was accompanied by a raised ethnic self-awareness.

With the adoption in 1971 of the law regarding the settlement of rights of the native population on the land in Alaska [Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act or ANCSA], which was a great achievement for the native organizations, a new stage was started not only in the socioeconomic but in the cultural development of the peoples of Alaska. Even the struggle for the maintenance of their language was crowned with success: in 1972 a bill was approved that introduced education in the native language for the children of the native population. But along with this, some difficulties emerged regarding the problem of selection of a course of development for northern peoples of America, and complexities of social and ethnocultural conditions arose, including the still existing national discrimination, the possibility of the natives obtaining and realizing an education, and the devastation of old ethnocultural communities together with painful contradictions in new social unions in the process of urbanization, etc. (Fainberg 1971; Lopulenko 1977, 1979, 1985; Krauss 1980, 1981; Agranat 1982; Lyapunova 1985a).

After the sale of Alaska, the Aleuts (and Creoles) were placed in a category of "uncivilized tribes" and were kept in this status the first forty-eight years (as were both the other representative groups of the native population of Alaska, and even some Russians). In 1915 all of them were compared in the laws to American Indians and placed under the guardianship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And they obtained the right of American citizenship only in 1924.

Before 1884 Alaska (with the Aleutian Islands) was located under military administration; in 1884 it obtained the status of "district" and was appointed a governor by the federal government. In 1912 the status of "territory" was introduced with local self-government. In 1959 Alaska became the 49th state of the United States.

After the cessation of activities of the Russian-American Company in all of southwestern Alaska, there set in a period of desolation and decadence that lasted (as distinct from other places in Alaska) almost up to the beginning of the Second World War. In neighboring waters fur hunters carried on their activities without control, as did representatives of fur trading firms and whalers. The result was the threat of complete destruction of the fur seal, sea otter, and other sea mammals, which served as the source of earnings and livelihood for the Aleuts (then, as established by the Russians in the last decades of their possession of Alaska, a regime of control and preservation of the fur resources took effect, which American authors note as well [Collins et al. 1945]).

In 1910 the government of the United States took over control the population of fur seals on the Pribilof Islands and the hunting of them, having concluded an international convention. Commercial activity in the Aleutian Islands in the pre-war era was limited on the whole to buying up furs and to the activity of the whaling station on Akutan, sheep breeding, and catching and processing fish in limited measure. The Aleutian Islands contemporarily did not take part in the economic development, which in some measure affected Alaska during these years (Collins et al. 1945).

The first decades after the sale of Alaska the Aleuts continued to conduct the same traditional economy as under the Russians, to hunt fur-bearing animals, which they now sold (or exchanged for goods) to American merchants who visited the islands. The Aleuts obtained their basic means of existence, as before, by hunting sea mammals and fishing. There is one interesting description of a hunt for sea otters by Aleuts in the Sanak Islands related to this period. It was published in the *San Francisco*

Chronicle on 28 December 1890 (Heizer 1960). This description attests to the amazingly well-preserved traditional methods of hunting and all the ways of life of the Aleuts. But in later years rapacious destruction of animals, and then a prohibition against hunting the now vanishing sea otters (in 1911) undermined the basis of their hunting economy.

As is well known from the literature, especially large losses to the animal world of the littoral waters of Alaska was inflicted by the American whaling industry, which began at the end of the activity of the Russian-American Company. Annually on the shores of Alaska coursed, and later even wintered over, 200 to 300 ships; the rates of annihilation of whales, seals, walruses, and caribou (the meat of which served as food for the crews) led to a sharp reduction in the number of animals. In 1880–1890 a large number of whaling stations for hunting whales along the coast was organized (VanStone 1958; Fainberg 1971).

Figure 14. Maritime hunters. Aleutian Islands 1893 (The Alaska Journal 1[4], 1971).

Some available reports attest to the extreme poverty of the Aleuts at this time, forecasting their extinction (for 1881, see Muir 1918). And further, the dependence of the lives of the Aleuts on wages increased all the more—wages that had to be found elsewhere: either from the fur seal hauling grounds in the Pribilof Islands (since 1911), or on ships, or with canning factories. This resettlement in turn undermined even more severely the life of the community, diverting the able-bodied men during the hunting season. However, the insignificant involvement of the Aleuts in a capitalistic economy could not provide them the necessary wages. Too little was undertaken where they might have been able to use their strength. In addition, existing national discrimination permitted the Aleuts to engage in no other work than the most unskilled, and payment for the labor of the natives was additionally, as a rule, significantly lower than that of whites: in Alaska it was 2 to 2.5 times less, with the cost of food and goods there 2 to 3 times higher than in other states (Agranat 1962, 1971a, 1971b).

Only in the Pribilof Islands, where the government fur seal station was established, was the level of life of the Aleuts satisfactory. They found themselves there in a position of government work, had comparatively comfortable standard homes, electricity, coal, and on the whole, were well furnished. But W. I. Jochelson writes that this reminded one more of honorable exile. No one could visit the island without permission from the government. The Aleuts were unwillingly permitted short absences, and after a year of absence it was not possible to return. Jochelson, describing the conditions of work and pay of the Aleuts in the Pribilof Islands, notes that they were established by the Russians and had maintained themselves from the times of the Russian-American Company. On the wealthiest fur seal hauling grounds located there a hunting drive was annually conducted in the summer. In the hunts, all the inhabitants of the village took part in one way or another. The distribution of pay for work was carried out in the following way. The American trading company credited the community two dollars for each fur seal skin. The general income was divided into shares, with families being allotted shares based on the number of members independently of the number of workers, and widows and orphans of deceased workers got their share. The head of each family could, corresponding to this, get from the store clothing, imported food, tools, instruments, and other useful items. At the end of the year a calculation of the moneys was conducted and in the case of a surplus (or deficiency) the difference was carried over to the following year (Jochelson 1928).

From the beginning of the American Period the number of Aleuts began again to decrease. The causes for this were a deterioration of their economic position and an increase in the amount of disease (especially tuberculosis) in the presence of a complete lack of any medical aid. W. I. Jochelson reports that in 1909–1910 282 people lived on the Pribilof Islands, on the Alaska Peninsula—221, in the Shumagin Islands—9, Unimak—also 9, Sanak—36, Akutan—51, Bork [Biorka on Unalaska?]—46, on Unalaska in five villages—383, Umnak—100, Atka—77, Attu—62 people (Jochelson 1928:413, 414).

In the second stage of the American Period, from the 1890s, some vitality nevertheless affected a small part of the Aleutian region. In connection with "gold fever" in Nome numerous ships with passengers and cargo began to pass through Unalaska, and the village of Unalaska (in the past—Gavanskoe and Illyulyuk) transformed into a lively port. Gold was also found on Unga Island and in the Shumagin Islands, and a settlement of gold prospectors sprang up on it. At the southwestern end of the Alaska Peninsula fish processing plants [canneries] were built. From this time the penetration into the lives of the Aleuts of a significant dependence on money was all the more persistent. The involvement in a wage economy was produced through the merchants and the persistent influence of American missionaries and teachers.

From the end of the 19th century the American government began active Americanization of the Aleuts, which comprised part of the politics of intensified assimilation of the native population, which was put into practice in Alaska between 1885 and 1908 by S. Jackson. Its aims consisted of making the natives the source of a cheap local labor force. Education in schools of this time set as its basic goal the introduction of American culture and way of life in the midst of the Aleuts by means of suppression and ridicule of their traditional activities, meaning of life, language, and values, substituting for all this a stereotype of conduct and concepts of the white man. Not until pre-war years were schools opened where traditional education still existed, with children placed under the influence of parents, oriented to Aleut culture (Berreman 1955). However, they began more and more to fall under the influence of white teachers who consistently eliminated traditional education, beginning with the children's games. The latter

comprised an important integral part of Aleut culture, especially in a part of the children's training and instruction in the art of hunting on the sea and other traditional occupations (Ransom 1946b).

The politics of Americanization foresaw the eradication of cultural traditions that were firmly entrenched in the lives of the Aleuts in the Russian Period, such as instruction in the Russian language at school. The last such school was preserved by the Aleuts in Unalaska until 1912, and only then was closed because it did not conform to the politics of Americanization. The first American schools opened on Unga in 1886 and on Unalaska in 1890; both schools were located under the direction of the Methodist missionary society. With the transfer of education to the Bureau of Indian Affairs missionary schools remained only in Unalaska and on Atka, but the politics of Americanization continued. By 1930 in some Aleut villages there were federal schools, in King Cove and Unalaska—territorial schools (having replaced missionary schools), and on the Pribilof Islands—schools of the Administration of the Department of Fisheries of the United States. In 1940 76% of Aleut children from five to fourteen years of age enrolled in education—a higher percent than among Indians and Eskimos. Thus, acculturation among the Aleuts was more evident than in other parts of Alaska. In the last decades of the 20th century Aleut village schools (elementary and 8th year) were transferred to the system of the administration of Alaska State Department of Education. For the continuation of education of students they were formerly sent to the so-called high school (10th to 12th year) under the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Sitka. With the appearance of such schools on Kodiak the preference began to turn to it or to Anchorage schools. In the 1980s high schools were founded on the islands of Unalaska and St. Paul.

American authors, describing the Aleuts of the pre-war and post-war periods, noted that acculturation destroyed their traditional norms of life, not having given in exchange reliable foundations of existence, as a consequence of which there appeared poverty, illness, and extinction. The chief problem of the Aleuts was tuberculosis, followed by alcoholism. The number of Aleuts by 1930 dropped to 1,000 persons, with the same number in 1940 (Milan 1974:25).

Along with the reduction in the number of Aleuts, which started during the Russian Period, there was a decrease in the number of islands occupied by them, as well as in the villages in the Aleutian chain and on the Alaska Peninsula. In the years preceding the Second World War Aleut villages existed on the islands of Attu, Atka (half of the whole chain between them remained unpopulated), Umnak, Unalaska, Akutan, Unimak, Akun, and Sanak. The largest village was Unalaska on the island by the same name (together with Dutch Harbor, situated on the island of Amaknak in Unalaska Bay, which at the time of the Russians bore the name Kapitanskaya gavan' or Captain's Harbor). The number of the population there (together with non-Aleut) reached 350 people. The remaining settlements were lower in population: on Attu—41, Atka—89, Unimak—88, and Akutan—80 people. On the Alaska Peninsula and surrounding islands there were several villages: Sand Point—99 people, Unga Island—79, Squaw Harbor, [and?] Belkofski—140, Pavlof Harbor—61, and King Cove—135 (*Amerikanskii Sever*, 1950:114, 117). They almost all, with the exception of Attu, exist still today. The majority of the islands of the Aleutian chain and the northern part of the southwestern tip of the Alaska Peninsula have been designated a natural preserve since 1913 (the Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge). Only a few islands are not part of it: Tanaga, Umnak, Unalaska, Akun, Akutan, and Tigalda. The central office for the preserve is located now on Adak Island, where there is a large station (about 5,000 persons) of non-Aleut population. Part of the Aleutian Islands is under the administration of the United States War Department.

The differences in living conditions and ethnocultural situations in some Aleut villages strongly varied depending on the number of contacts with the world of whites and influences of a capitalistic economy. Descriptions of the life of the Aleuts during the pre-war period are very scanty.

In 1936 A. May, member of A. Hrdlička's expedition, called the village on Attu Island the most satisfactory of Aleut settlements (May 1942). He pointed out two basic reasons for this: first, because of the extreme isolation of the island the traditional way of life was in greatest measure preserved untouched; second, the head of the village, M. G. Khodnikov, governed it well and in addition prohibited the use of spirituous beverages on the island.

The village was situated in Chichagof Harbor. It contained forty-one people. The majority of the inhabitants had small log houses, but some still remained in the old semi-subterranean dwellings, improved in distinction from the traditional ones by additions of plank walls, floors, stoves with flues (and pipes), and windows. Many Attuans knew absolutely no English, four or five used a few words, and only the elder of the village spoke broken English. Two or three women still possessed the remarkable but vanishing art of plaiting baskets, well-known throughout the world owing to museum and private collections. The best basket maker was Vassa Prokof'eva. Only she still knew the traditional Aleut dances, connected with the old ceremonies (all remaining residents now preferred contemporary dances).

In December and January the Aleuts hunted Arctic foxes on a neighboring island (Agattu). This was their only source of monetary income. The hunt was conducted on communal principles: procured skins were divided between members of the whole community in proportion to the size of each family (the church obligatorily obtaining one share). Fish, which they caught with purse seines and nets, were distributed among all the inhabitants as well. This principle of the community existed even with the taking of sea lions, except that the hunter who showed great skill had the right of first choice of portions.

May writes that all the residents were very industrious and always busied with work. After the hunts for furs they occupied themselves with catching fish, going to various parts of the island and setting up temporary camps there to do so. They even set off far out to sea in boats with outboard motors in search of driftwood, which was laid up for fuel (but in addition to this they also had to take coal from the store). In certain seasons they hunted seals, sea lions, and birds, as well as procuring eggs of the last. The author notes that in their economy nothing was superfluous: they carefully collected nails from boxes; they made footwear, kamleiki, and vessels from skins, intestines, and stomachs of sea mammals; and they kindled fire in the stove using the dried heads of fish.

One American who had commercial privileges on the island visited the village once a year (remaining here a week or two). He took skins of Arctic foxes and furnished the inhabitants with produce, clothing, and other necessary things. After he left, the elder himself took charge of the store with the goods. May stresses that the store represented a great value to the residents, but at the same time brought harm. Buying prepared clothing and footwear, the Aleuts stopped making their own waterproof leather boots (torbasy) and kamleiki from intestines. As a result the remarkable traditional handicrafts of the Aleuts began to disappear.

The beautiful (for such a small community) building of the Russian Orthodox Church was located in the village. Since there was no priest, his function was taken up by the head of the village. A school teacher appeared only in 1941.

Sometimes the ship of the Biological Service or fishing vessels stopped at the island by chance, and often so too did the US Coast Guard cutter. For the inhabitants it was a holiday. All put on their best clothes and set out in their boats to the ships to see a movie. When representatives of the Coast Guard visited, the elder informed them of occurrences in the village and reported on the cases of necessary medical aid. But the health of the inhabitants, writes May, was good.

Later, now post-war (1948–1949), we find a description of the life of the Attuans in the work of T. Bank (1960).

In 1936–1937 E. D. Ransom conducted research in the village of Nikolski on Umnak Island. He made a review of the food economy and diet of the Aleuts—"subjected to acculturation of aborigines today" (Ransom 1946a). Ransom points out that in these years in the archipelago only the islands of Attu, Atka, Umnak, Unalaska, Unimak, and Akutan were inhabited. On each of them there was one village, excluding Unalaska where some small communities were scattered along coasts and fjords. A series of other islands were visited only during the season for hunting foxes.

Just as in "pure" times, fish comprised a large share of the natural economy of the Aleuts and the means of its procurement retained almost the same base, the author concludes. Collecting at the sea shore was carried out only during periods of greatest scarcity of foods. The practice and technique of hunting, as well as the preparation of food from its products strongly changed with "social acculturation." The main traditional sources of food basically disappeared: fur seal, sea otters, and whales were destroyed to such a degree that they comprised only the most insignificant portion of the diet. For the Aleuts chance procurement of these animals was at that time like obtaining a delicacy that had to be distributed among all members of the community. Game animals (sea lions, seals, walruses, whales) were only occasionally taken and brought in by individual hunters. Usually the efforts of several men were required. Game was considered as belonging to the whole village and not just to the individual who personally procured it. This facet of common property was as strong as in pre-contact times (in the opinion of the author, "the remains of early cultural ways comprise the basis of a thin film of present-day acculturation"). As before, the honorable trophies of the hunter, who played one of the main roles in the hunt for sea lions, was the whiskers (though now they served not for decoration of head gear, but for pipe cleaners) and the recognized owner of an obtained animal took the skin.

A strong dependence now existed on imported products of food. Thus, in February 1937 on Umnak, because of transport troubles, the storekeeper could not bring them during bad weather, and only by chance a procured sea lion saved the village from approaching famine (each family took 100 pounds of meat).

The monetary income of the Aleuts developed from the sale to the trader of fox hides (procured on their island and on Tanaga), salted fish, and plaited items (if they were produced). Ransom explains that this trader was occupied for many years with numerous operations along the chain of Aleutian Islands (as far as Kiska). Primarily, he bought up furs (Arctic foxes and silver and red foxes), but he also took other local products that could be sold in the market in Seattle.

The author acknowledges that tuberculosis is the main contemporary problem for the Aleuts and attributes the appearance of this illness to a change in diet. This same reason also caused caries in the teeth, a tendency being noted that caries diminished depending on the distance to the center of the trading operation—Unalaska. The Aleuts of Attu, as the most distant from Unalaska, had the most

well-preserved teeth, since they attained goods on their island only once a year and in comparatively small quantities. The better condition of the health of the Attuans is explained by the fact that they more than others used traditional food resources and least of all used alcohol, the second, after tuberculosis, scourge of the Aleuts.

The situation in the village on the island of Atka was in many ways similar to the situation on Umnak. In the economy the traditional hunts there played the essential role as well, but the commercial hunt for foxes on their island and the neighboring ones—Amchitka and Amlia—had more significance. However, the reduction at the end of the 1930s, and then the collapse of demand for long-nap fur, left all the inhabitants of the islands without these earnings. Of course, in 1926 a government sheep ranch was created on Umnak that partially furnished the Aleuts with jobs. The lack of money, which had become so necessary, forced the inhabitants of the islands to search for work on ships, in fish-processing plants in distant places, and in the fur seal industry in the Pribilof Islands. At the beginning of the 20th century reindeer were introduced on the islands of Atka, Umnak, and St. Paul. But they played (and play) an insignificant role in the economy of the Aleuts.

Unalaska (together with Dutch Harbor) was from Russian times the largest settlement in the Aleutian Islands and the administrative and commercial center of the region. The Aleuts of Unalaska, more than other natives, were exposed to the influence of the Western world. The economies of the village experienced ups and downs. The years of up were connected with the excellent harbor for ships available there. At the end of the 19th century the bay in which the settlement is located operated as a port in connection with the flourishing whaling industry. At the turn of the 19th to 20th century, with the beginning of "gold fever" in Alaska, hundreds of ships with passengers and cargo began to move through Unalaska in the direction of Nome. In the harbor, trading and hunting schooners and steamers, war ships, and a large whaling fleet (under sail and steam) gathered. Coal, water, repairs, and provisions were required. In the dockyard up to six ships were being built at one time. All of this guaranteed much employment for the Aleuts, though of course the "prosperity" did not apply to them, but rather provided huge profits only to the white entrepreneurs. In Unalaska in these years a hotel, twelve bars, and a dance hall were built, and several churches of various denominations were active—that is, there was everything that accompanied emerging settlements of gold prospectors in other places in Alaska. Dutch Harbor was a business port with a customs office. From the beginning of the 20th century the harbor was made the headquarters of the Bering Sea patrol of the United States Coast Guard. During the years of the Second World War, Dutch Harbor was a large sea and air base.

At the end of the 19th century a company from San Francisco took up residence in the village of Unalaska. By 1890 it had taken control of two-thirds of all the local buildings, including some native homes, the dockyard, and office buildings. It busied itself providing ships with water, coal, and produce. With the decline of "gold fever" in Nome, the company expanded its business to include the fur trade. Up to the beginning of the 20th century the Aleuts of the eastern islands continued to conduct the traditional method (with baidarka) of hunting sea otters (though in limited scope), for which they set off in company ships to Sanak and other places occupied by the animals, then selling the skins to the company. From the 1920s to the beginning of the 1930s, when the value of fox and Arctic fox furs were high, the company encouraged the hunting of these animals, buying up furs in almost the whole Aleut region. The Aleuts of Unalaska were occupied with trapping on their island and neighboring ones. This community (as others in the islands) usually made a contract with the trading company for furnishing coal, wood, produce, and traps, committing the company only to buy the procured furs. The money that remained after payment by

the hunters of debts to the company (and the company tried in every way to make the Aleuts their debtors) was divided between all the members of the community, including the women, children, and old people. There is evidence that this company, just as others, robbed the Aleuts in every way, trying to buy fur at the lowest price and overestimating at the same time the value of imported goods (*The Aleutians*, 1980:122).

After the depression of the 1930s and the collapse of demand for long-nap fur there came a sharp fall in the economic position of the Aleuts of Unalaska (just as on other islands of the chain). They were somewhat supported at that time by catching cod, herring, and other fish and by work in small enterprises for canning these fish. There were no fish processing factories here because of limited fishing resources; therefore, commercial fishing, with the construction of ships, did not develop.

On the island of Akutan in 1879 the Alaska Commercial Company set up its trading post. In 1904 a cod processing enterprise was organized there that in 1907 began to operate a coastal whaling station established by the Norwegians. Little by little Aleuts moved here from neighboring islands—Unalaska, Umnak, Bor'ka [Sedanka], Sanak. One of the first employees of the trading post was the Scot H. McGlashan, who married an Aleut woman, settled there, and became the father of numerous generations of this family in the Aleut region as a whole. In this way the mixing of the natives of Akutan with the Aleuts of other islands of the chain and with whites occurred, and the influence of the Western world was spread (Robert-Lamblin 1982). In 1921 a school was opened in the village.

A special economic and ethnocultural situation developed at the beginning of the 20th century at the southwestern end of the Alaska Peninsula and the islands located near it. From 1911 fish processing plants began to appear there (and later the processing of crab and shrimp). Commercial fishing for the plants was conducted by Norwegian fishermen (and Scandinavians in general) attracted to Alaska by the favorable conditions during those years in the newly opened fishing industry. Some of them remained there, marrying Aleuts and becoming members of the local community. The basis of the economy for these communities consisted of commercial fishing and work in the processing factories. The Aleut settlements there, with regard to ethnocultural features, became less and less like the remaining native villages. The Aleut language was rather quickly replaced by English, often with a Norwegian accent. The Orthodox Church yielded primacy to the Baptist (fundamental).

The foregoing discussion is very clearly manifested in Sand Point, now the largest and most modern of all Aleut villages. It was founded by the construction of two fish-processing factories on Popov Island in the Shumagin Islands in 1911 by a company from the state of Washington. There is a large fishing fleet there belonging to the local inhabitants. Some of the first eight families moved there from surrounding villages; four of them were Aleut and four with European fathers and Aleut mothers. On the whole, the population of the settlement consisted of Aleuts from the Alaska Peninsula, the Shumagin Islands, and Unimak. In 1912 the village of King Cove originated on the Alaska Peninsula in the same way. Catching fish there was also conducted at first by Scandinavian fishermen who had partially entered into the structure of the local communities. For work in the factory the firm began to hire Aleuts. The village of Squaw Harbor on the southern side of Unga Island has a similar history.

The Second World War brought a large part of the Aleuts new distresses. But in addition to this, the war activities in the Aleutian Islands attracted attention not only to Alaska as a whole (forcing Americans to "discover" it for themselves), but to the Aleuts in particular. It was precisely during the war years, and afterward, that publications about the Aleuts finally emerged (including ones dealing with previous years). The Aleuts also attracted the attention of scholars. Their observations reflect the severe economic

position of this people in post-war times and its cultural degradation, as well as forecasting the extinction of the Aleuts.

In 1942 the Japanese seized Attu, and all its inhabitants were taken to Hokkaido, where they remained over three years in forced labor. The remaining occupants of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands at the beginning of the war activities in the archipelago were hastily evacuated to southeastern Alaska and lodged on Admiralty Island and other places. They worked there chiefly for fish processing enterprises. The Aleuts were returned to their homeland in 1945, but now in smaller numbers because of the significant number of deaths from tuberculosis. Available descriptions attest to the extremely severe economic position of the Aleuts and to the threat of their extinction.

After the evacuation (and on Unalaska even later, the pillaging by soldiers who robbed the homes of the Aleuts, who destroyed the boats, the gear, etc.), the Aleuts of the archipelago and the Pribilof Islands returned to destroyed villages. Help from the Bureau of Indian Affairs was insignificant (Laughlin 1951a, 1963a; Bank 1960). Many complexities emerged with the ordering of the economy and commodity markets. Many islands at that time were under the authority of the military, as well as the Aleutian Islands Refuge division of the Alaska Maritime National Refuge. Although the Aleuts were formally permitted to use places of their former hunting-fishing areas, it was necessary to obtain a visiting pass each time for this or that island or parts of their own island. The community of Atka obtained consent to hunt on its own island, Amlia, Adak, Kagalaska, and Amchitka; the Attuans were permitted to hunt in their former homeland and on the islands of Agattu and Semichi; Unalaskans on Carlisle Island; Umnakans on Tanaga, Yunaska, and Chugilak. But even if the Aleuts received the right to travel, they often could not get transportation and the like. Even when hunts happened to fall into place, it was often found that the hunting area there was bad. In addition, while the Aleuts struggled with the red tape, the commodities market disappeared.

T. Bank, who had been on an expedition in the archipelago in 1948–1949, clearly sketched the position of the Aleuts in post-war times (Bank 1956, 1960). He describes in detail the life of the Aleuts on Atka. The Aleuts of this island lived by natural resources and seasonal work, as well as poor governmental subsidies for cases of poverty (the unemployed, those unable to work, the old, families with many children and no father).

At the time of their stay in captivity by the Japanese, of forty Attuans seventeen died (including their elder M. G. Khodinkov); those remaining in 1945 were returned, but settled not on their island (for considerations of the military situation), but on Atka with its native inhabitants (which created many additional problems).

The village where the Atkans and Attuans lived consisted of thirty houses (not counting the buildings of the Russian Orthodox Church and the government school). Describing the interior furnishings of Attu dwellings, Bank notes extreme poverty: there was no furniture in them except a table, chairs, and cots of the army type. In each house there usually lived several families. The men were absent in summer—working on military ships. Accounting for the poverty of the inhabitants, an Aleut who accompanied Bank explained: “Among these people there is little food . . . it suits them badly.” The Attuans received only a few things in aid from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska. In addition, there was friction between the Attuans and the local inhabitants, the Atkans. The latter did not permit them to take wood for construction of houses and appropriated for themselves all the catch of fish. The men, having gone to jobs in summer, sometimes sent home no money at all. Former traditions of collecting edible mollusks

and seaweed on the shore was now considered shameful. The white teachers ridiculed the Aleuts about eating seal oil, seaweed, shellfish, and snails. The native Atkans lived only somewhat better. There were no teachers at this time on Atka: the last one deserted the island in disgust, having stayed there only a few weeks. The place appeared to them too dirty, and they "feared" infection.

On the island of Unalaska in the post-war years fishing for herring almost lost its importance since many of the bays where the Aleuts fished (and where spawning grounds were located) were encumbered with military structures. In addition, fishing from boats was supplanted by companies who conducted the procurement of fish with large seiners. The limited resources of cod and salmon hindered the development there of commercial fishing and ship building. Often the Aleuts were compelled to take jobs in the Pribilof Islands, in fish processing plants on the Alaska Peninsula, and in other places. An additional difficulty was revealed—the transition from living only by work for hire (as this had been in the years of evacuation) to hunting and fishing.

On the island of Akutan the whaling station was deserted during the war years and not restored after it, as was the enterprise for the processing of cod. In the post-war years on the islands of Akutan and Akun the only reservation in the Aleut region was established—the Akutan Reservation (along with six other reservations in the state of Alaska, created in 1943 by the Indian Reorganization Act). These islands were allotted to the natives for exclusive use. But the experiment of such a reservation did not create positive results because of the poverty of trade resources and economic insolvency—the position of the Aleuts there did not improve.

In the Pribilof Islands the former prosperity of the inhabitants was rather quickly reestablished after the war.

For villages located on islands near the Alaska Peninsula, the distresses of evacuation did not affect the increasing divergence in their economic position from Aleut villages of the archipelago.

Visiting the Aleutian Islands in post-war years, scholars noted the extremely grave economic condition of the Aleuts of the archipelago and endeavored to attract the attention of the government and the public to the fact of their extinction through poverty and illness with complete lack of medical aid. F. Alexander, a physician and member of the 1948–1949 Harvard University Expedition, which investigated the Aleuts of Atka and Umnak islands, ascertained that they received on average 800 to 1400 calories per day, and with such malnutrition and heavy work the people quickly became exhausted, became sluggish, and easily succumbed to any illness (Alexander 1949). T. Bank, member of this same expedition, writes that the average life span on Atka is twenty-five years, that almost 40% of Atkans were ill with tuberculosis, and that the process of extinction of the Aleuts had not stopped (Bank 1952a, 1960).

Bank also talks about the Aleuts in Nikolski village on Umnak. Here the situation was somewhat better, but the problems were the same. He writes frankly that Americans always disregarded the Aleuts and their culture. For them the Aleuts were "aborigines," backward people, useless. The Aleuts understood such a relationship, and therefore everything that was introduced by the Americans seemed to them an encroachment on their identity and a persecution of their language and beliefs. The reply was an intensive appeal to the Aleuts of the Russian religion and Russian customs, which they already viewed as nationally theirs (Bank 1960:155). Among the Aleuts from this time Russian names were preserved. The American archaeologists and ethnohistorians, J. VanStone and W. Oswalt (1968), speak of the pride in Russian heritage of all natives of southwestern Alaska.

Bank, with sincere sympathy for the Aleuts and respect for their many worthy qualities (he especially notes politeness, pleasantness, patience, and wisdom among them), writes:

> Unfortunately, the history of humanity abounds with such chapters as this, which tell of the extinction of the Aleuts—a people, in the past strong and numerous, magnificently adapted physically and spiritually to the surrounding severe environment, today having been impoverished, struck by diseases, and weakened morally. The number of Aleuts threateningly decreases, and their ancient culture is exposed to almost complete destruction. The old economy on which the whole existence and general well-being of the Aleuts was based, at the present time as a result of acculturation has undergone such striking changes that it is now impossible for them to return to it. And to, the Aleuts have not received in equal measure to that which they have lost (Bank 1960:65).

In 1952 the community of Nikolski was studied by G. Berreman (1954, 1955). He also investigated the problem of acculturation. Analyzing the mutual influence of Aleut and Russian cultures of former times, Berreman comes to the following conclusion: selective assimilation of new features (new tools, foods, religion) was carried out by the Russians so that the "Aleut way of life" was preserved and "interests and goals remained attainable within the village." The author further indicates that the influence of the Americans, which had begun, led to the destruction of community life and the "Aleut way of life." However, the facts he named demonstrate a picture not of "interactive" cultures, but of the destroying influence of capitalistic colonization in the Aleut national minority: the incursion of goods-money relations and the supplanting of the traditional economy, on the one hand, and the impossibility of securing permanent work for supporting a livelihood at the necessary level on the other. The basic cause of conflict with the traditional norms of life, Berreman assumes, is money. It was used from the time of early contacts with Europeans, but strong dependence on it is a comparatively recent phenomenon. The politics of the Americans, in Berreman's opinion, from the very beginning led to the destruction of the integrity of the community, that is, demoralized it. This consists chiefly of the fact that the Americans tried to inject into the Aleuts their own norms of behavior, goals, and ideas about values, having obliterated the old and traditional. The guides of such politics were the store, an innovative (according to the Indian Reorganization Act) council of the village under the aegis of the Alaskan Native Service, the American pattern of school, and the monetary economy in many of its ramifications.

The school, beginning at the end of the 19th century, was and is now one of the basic sources of persecution regarding the former manner of life of the natives. The amount of the influence of teachers and the ever diminishing influence of the old people led to progressive rejection by the children of traditional culture, toward the culture of the whites. As a result, the school prepared the children primarily for life outside of and least of all in their own village. Only thirty years ago the instruction and training of children was under the careful supervision of the oldest occupants of the village, who passed to them the traditional culture. The culture had roots in the Aleut past and, gradually changing, served to meet the vital needs of living and overcoming all the arising difficulties. But in 1922, writes Berreman, the white teacher appeared and began to teach the children nine months a year the manner of life of white Americans, and so on over the course of eight years. The children had to attend school precisely at the time when they should have been taking part in hunts or carrying out the necessary training for this in order to be able to take up skills of the traditional culture. In addition, the school education included ridicule and

suppression of traditional Aleut activities, the Aleut way of life and values, replacing them with ideas and values of the white man. By such a course the Aleut culture was rejected. It is true, traditional training for the young men became unnecessary since the large role in the economy of the family began to be played by work on the side.

Before the war, when the children were still under the influence of the parents and oriented to the Aleut culture, the culture was preserved in spite of the external attack of the culture of the white man. In post-war times the position changed: the parents themselves grew up under the influence of the school teacher and experienced the preference of the external world. Now "the home, partially oriented toward the external world," intensified school education. The parents encouraged the desire of the children to go learn in the high school in Sitka, to "enter" into the culture of the white man. As a result of all this, Berreman writes, young people want to be doctors, radio technicians, and nurses, want to live as the school teacher lives, and want to live as is described on the radio and appears in both the magazines and the movies. They want to escape the poverty and insufficiency that await them in the village. But wishing to adopt the lifestyle of white Americans, the Aleuts do not have the means for the realization of this wish either within the village or beyond its boundaries. Berreman notes that there exists a cultural and economic distance between the world of Nikolski village and the world of the white man (in other words, national and social discrimination peculiar to American activity). Realizing this, the majority of the Aleuts decide not to leave the village, though their life there is not satisfactory. Only four of the original inhabitants of Nikolski remained in Alaska after the move of the war years.

Berreman establishes a low birth rate and high death rate at Nikolski village. In 1900, 120 people lived there, in 1942—72, in 1945—59, and in 1952—56 persons. From 1948 to 1952 only two children were born there. "At present there is a lack of food, poor health, and a comparatively high level in the death rate" (Berreman 1954:40).

The fate of the Aleuts worried and worries progressive American scholars. In 1951 the well-known researcher of the Aleuts, W. Laughlin, appealing to the government, spoke of the necessity for urgent measures in rescuing the Aleuts. He indicated that reduction of population was the result of sickness and hunger. The destruction of the traditional economic base connected with the hunting of sea mammals and fishing, he stressed, causes a series of cultural and biological problems in the native population. Three things are very important. The first is the education of the Aleuts: the introduction of bilingual instruction is necessary for the preservation of cultural heritage. The second is social and economic reconstruction. The third is providing a needed livelihood. Laughlin proposed to broadly use local resources and to introduce such branches of economy as sheep herding for an increase in the monetary revenue of the Aleuts (Laughlin 1951c; 1952b).

Thus, the main problem for the Aleuts in pre- and post-war times was survival. This problem had both an economic aspect, on which we dwelled above, and a medical one.

The level of the death rate of the native population in Alaska (including the Aleut area) in 1945 was one of the highest in the world—765 people in 100,000 inhabitants, of which 69% died of tuberculosis (in 1948–1949 in Nikolski village 75% were ill with tuberculosis). The child mortality rate in the Aleutian Islands from 1950 to 1955 amounted to 88.8 in 1,000 children—the highest in the Subarctic and one-fourth higher than in all Alaska. In reports of the medical division it is indicated that Aleut children up to one year of age were very susceptible to respiratory infection, causing them to catch cold on the first day, intensive pneumonia on the following, and dying on the third day (Milan 1974).

A committee, created at the beginning of the 1950s by a decree of the government, investigated the problem of tuberculosis in Alaska for half a year. It was discovered that the rate of sickness and death from tuberculosis there was even higher than it ever was in the poorest regions of China or anywhere else in the world. In 1955 the Public Health Service of the United States took on itself, from the Office of Native Services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, all the functions of guardian of the health of the native population, and jointly with the Alaska Department of Public Health began active work to eradicate tuberculosis in Alaska. In the 1960s the problem of tuberculosis was finally resolved with the aid of contemporary means in medicine. The number of Aleuts began gradually to grow.

However, demographic problems of another kind arose. In past decades, in several Aleut villages, a reduction in the number of young women capable of childbearing occurred in connection with their migration from the villages (continuing their education at high school on the mainland, they tried to establish a family there, as well as to marry visitors to their village). For example, in Nikolski Village in 1972 there was not one such woman. But in Atka, it is true, this did not lead to a diminishing number of children since new factors began to operate: reduced child mortality and the occurrence of families with many children.

Specialists maintain that when they speak of the health of the native population in Alaska they do not mean the "most favorable" or actual good health, but only physical and cultural survival. With the diminishing of physical illnesses (it must be noted, of course, that cardiovascular diseases, on the contrary, became much more frequent) among the natives of Alaska, mental illnesses increased, comprising 35% to 50% of illnesses in the whole state, though the native inhabitants there total one-fifth of the population. And it is known that the highest percent of such illnesses fall to the Aleuts. Among them suicide is 1.5 to 2 times higher than among whites.

Among the reasons for personal crisis, pressure from the attendant and dominating culture of the whites is named as one such factor—on the basis of competition for land, work, food resources, and so on. In combination with other operating factors—the pressure of illness, poverty, isolation, and economic dependence on work—this leads not only to personal crises, but through them to the destruction of the community. Alcoholism in the native population of Alaska is considered by the Alaska Native Medical Center in Anchorage as existing in epidemic proportions. This problem is the most serious in Unalaska. The chief cause of death or hospitalization now is alcoholism (Milan 1974:33, 34).

Researchers point to the fact that in the Aleutian region (including the Pribilof Islands) there is not one hospital or one permanent doctor. The sick are sent to Anchorage, that is, many hundreds of miles from home (it is necessary to consider in this regard the extremely unfavorable weather conditions in the Aleutian Islands; in addition, not everywhere are there landing strips for airplanes). A new program of connection with the doctor by means of satellite may be carried out only from the Pribilof Islands and from Sand Point (where there is also a medical station). It is true, Aleut villages are visited periodically by some physician-specialists, but on the whole, immediate and quick help for the inhabitants cannot be rendered.

Investigating at the beginning of the 1970s ethnohistoric illness and medical aid among the Aleuts, L. Milan concludes that the condition of their physical and psychological health is basically bad. They are burdened with problems of illness, social disorder, and extreme poverty. Many Aleut communities are insolvent in economic and biological respects, and past history indicates that it is almost impossible to provide them with the necessary medical aid in each village. The author proposes the idea of moving

the Aleuts with their consent to one village of the region where they could continue village life and at the same time obtain the necessary medical aid and education (Milan 1974:34).

The Aleuts now live in twelve villages in the eastern half of the chain, on the Alaska Peninsula and neighboring islands, and in two villages in the Pribilof Islands. The first Aleut village, beginning from the west, is Atka, on the island of the same name. Then, Nikolski on Umnak, Unalaska on the island of the same name, False Pass on Unimak (in a narrow strait by the Alaska Peninsula). There is one Aleut village on Akutan and two (arising during the American Period) in the Shumagin Islands (Sand Point on Popov Island and Squaw Harbor on the south side of Unga). On the Alaska Peninsula are five Aleut villages: Belkofski, Nelson Lagoon, King Cove, Pavlov Harbor, and Ivanov Bay. Some Aleut families together with non-Aleuts live in Cold Bay, also located on the peninsula. The majority of these villages were preserved from Russian times.

According to the results of M. Lantis' data, in 1970 there were 1,768 Aleuts and their distribution by village is as follows: Atka—86, Akutan—90, Belkofski—53, Cold Bay—32, False Pass—58, Ivanof Bay—46, King Cove—252, Nelson Lagoon—39, Nikolski—52, Pavlof Harbor—38, St. George—156, St. Paul—428, Sand Point—265, Squaw Harbor—52, and Unalaska—121 (Lantis 1984:181). D. Jones cites for this same year the number as 1,635 persons (Jones 1976:V, 105). According to the census of 1980 there were 1,815 Aleuts. This constitutes less than one-fifth of the total population of the Aleut area. Now the majority of the residents of the region are white (4,775 individuals), being supplemented by representatives of Asian countries (Philippinos, Vietnamese, and others) and Oceania, and Negroes, being attracted by work in the fishing industry (Lantis 1984:164). In the two villages on the Pribilof Islands reside more than one-third of all Aleuts.

There exists, in addition, the significantly mixed, primarily with Russians, the Commander group of Aleuts, living on the boundary of the USSR, on Bering Island in the Commander Islands.

All the Aleut villages, except Atka, consist of descendants of the eastern Aleuts. Only on Atka, where in the post-war years (in 1945) the Aleuts from Attu were settled with the native Atkans, did there remain Aleuts who spoke the western dialect of this language.

Changes in the composition of Aleut villages are characterized by and connected with movements brought about chiefly through economic reasons, as well as marriages. Movements of the inhabitants for economic reasons began, as we saw, in the Russian Period when private companies, and then the Russian-American Company, moved people from one island to the other for convenience of hunting and merged villages with small populations. In the American Period this continued at the initiative of the Aleuts themselves, being attracted to certain places for the possibility of work. Thus, some villages on the Alaska Peninsula and the Shumagin Islands were formed by placement there of Aleuts from other areas, as well as the mixing with Europeans. Such are King Cove, Akutan, Sand Point, and Squaw Harbor. In the last decades particularly, emigration from the villages by young adults is noted, usually the more educated of the Aleuts who are not able to find suitable work for themselves at home. But young women most often leave the village, which is explained by their aspirations to marry a white; thus, many temporarily find themselves on the islands in military or civil service or occupied in commercial fishing.

American anthropologists, sociologists, ethnohistorians, and economists in recent decades have examined the political, economic, social, and ethnic problems of the north in search of resolutions for the questions of the socioeconomic and cultural position of northern peoples. Various solutions to the

problems are suggested for the Aleuts, Eskimos, and Indians. Some scholars advocate more active involvement of the natives in a new economic life; others want the creation of reservations of their own tribe (as we saw above, there were attempts to create a reservation in the Aleutian Islands) where the traditional economy of the natives would be restored and preserved. The first position approaches neocolonialist tendencies in quest of more flexible forms of treatment of oppressed peoples, since employers are interested in obtaining a cheap work force in certain places. In this regard, researchers often stress loyalty, criticizing the past condition and the occurrence of wage labor in the social differentiation of the population. A rather sharp criticism of colonialism in the north is characteristic of the scientific literature of recent years, and of the misfortunes and mistakes of past government politics in relation to northern peoples, often idealization of the level of their life at the arrival of the Europeans (Agranat 1982).

The 1960s–1970s are marked on the whole by a definite improvement in socioeconomic and cultural relations for the Aleuts, but, it is true, much less so than for the remaining population of Alaska.

During these years differences in the economic bases and in degrees of adaptation to the capitalist economy by some Aleut villages continued to exist. In particular, after the "crab boom" of the 1950s, especially on Kodiak, the "crab era" began in the Aleut region. However, it did not have universal distribution and in no simple way had an effect on the economic position of the native population. Crab fishing evolved in Unalaska, the islands adjoining the Alaska Peninsula, and, in small measure, in the Pribilof Islands.

Around the Alaska Peninsula (in particular, in Sand Point), both in crabbing (due to a tradition of commercial fishing) and in processing plants, Aleuts were employed. This gave them a dependable source of subsistence.

From the middle of the 1960s the center of the crabbing industry (having passed Kodiak) was Unalaska, where two crab processing plants appeared. The possibility of using for the ships coastal structures that remained after the war, contributed to this, as well as the fact that in the east, around the Alaska Peninsula, a re-exploitation of the crab resources set in. By 1967 five crab processing plants operated on Unalaska: three on the shore and two floating bases.

But in distinction from the situation around the Alaska Peninsula, the crab industry here did not give the Aleuts working employment. They did not have their own ships for the industry (only an insignificant number of them were occupied by commercial fishing). From the beginning of the boom the Aleuts hoped that the companies would hire them for crab fishing and for work in the plants, but the companies preferred to send ships with full crews from Seattle. The crab boom did not bring the Aleuts either income or prosperity, but on the contrary, led to further destruction of the fishing tradition as a result of the dominance of companies not even belonging to the state of Alaska. There was no capital for the creation of their own enterprise among the Aleuts; they had no ships or equipment, no experience in commercial fishing.

The most acute problem of the 1960s–1970s, as before, is identified as the problem of the adaptation of the Aleuts to the Western world, the problem of their determination of their place in the world of white people. Researching this problem, D. Jones notes that almost every one of the Aleut communities, together with problems of a general nature, possesses a unique degree of adaptation to its contact with whites. For her comparative study Jones selected two Aleut villages with the most sharply distinguished degree of adaptation and provisionally named them Iliak and New Gavan. The first, judging by every-

thing, is Unalaska, the second, Sand Point. In their basic precepts these villages have much in common: together with stability of some features of Aleut-Russian culture, they are characterized by a comparatively high level of acculturation to the material culture, production, economy, education, language, customs, food, and forms of entertainment—general American culture—prevailing in the surrounding community. But despite being equally exposed to the same value system, stresses the author, there is among them a significant difference in capability of realizing their values. From this, differences in mode of living and conduct result. They are caused by dissimilarity in degree of adaptation to contact with whites and to a modern capitalistic economy. One case is Iliak (Unalaska) with a population in 1969 of 108 whites, 170 Aleuts, and 20 Eskimos and Indians. The Aleut community in it is under the control of whites; its organization is separated and disorganized, leadership is infringed upon, and work possibilities for the Aleuts are basically limited to unskilled seasonal labor in fish processing plants. The life of the Aleuts appears disorganized here, and general problems are poverty, drunkenness, and familial disorder. The other case is New Gavan (Sand Point) whose population in 1969 consisted of 28 whites and 277 Aleuts. It is characterized by a cohesive community in which Aleuts themselves control the political organization and community institutions. Aleuts are occupied in their ships with fishing for the canneries located there, as well as working in them. The life of the Aleuts seems well ordered, stable, and without the social problems and disruptions of Iliak.

The author, analyzing the history of the community after the end of a century of American occupation, sees the cause of such a situation in Unalaska as the destruction of the traditional economy, the introduction by the whites of a system of wages that does not provide complete maintenance of living, the additional ruinous impact on the economy of the Aleuts by the evacuation during time of war, and the complete lack of possibilities in following years to create any base for economic independence. As a result, whites began to control all the important resources in the village—the land, work, local politics. And what is more, the Aleuts fell into complete dependence on white employers who pursued racist politics in hiring the work force. In particular, in spite of the capability of carrying out qualified work (or learning it), as demonstrated by the Aleuts (through the construction of houses, the laying of a water line, the incorporation of electricity, the maintenance of boats with motors, the operation of road equipment, etc.), only the most unskilled (and low paying) work is entrusted to them, while whites without any superiority in knowledge or experience can be hired for the same job. And even for unskilled labor the companies prefer to bring in white workers from other places, supposedly because of the unreliability of the Aleuts, thus following racial prejudices, even though, as the author asserts, white workers are unreliable in the same degree. Together with other national minorities of Alaska the Aleuts are characterized by the operating companies as "lazy, ignorant, unreliable, useless" (Jones 1976:35).

White foremen often give rein to their racist feelings and outbursts, offending the Aleuts with coarse invective. Thus, apart from the difficult conditions (the cold, the damp, the assembly line), among the Aleuts the work is associated with a feeling of humiliation. The difficult labor pays them (as the most unskilled) poorly at the same time that the cost of produce and goods in Unalaska is very high: they can cost 75% to 125% higher than in Seattle (while in Sand Point only 25% higher, due to the influence there of the Aleut organizations). Therefore, the Aleuts often leave work to go hunting, fishing, or drinking. As a result, in 1969 only sixty-seven Aleuts worked in crabbing enterprises—the chief sources of income in the village (Jones 1974:34, 42, 45, 46).

On the whole, writes Jones, the working adaptation of the Aleuts of Unalaska reflects a position of economic debility. The whites, who comprise 36% of the population, have an unusually high standard

of living, while many Aleuts do not attain the national poverty level. It is no accident that throughout the post-war period there was a significant emigration of young and educated Aleuts from Unalaska. This indicated in turn a lack of leadership in Aleut organizations, as well as their political passiveness. The whites hold the majority in the local council (municipality) and usually put through their own programs, controlling all the important resources in the village. It is characteristic that in Unalaska in the 1980s part of the public utilities and services and the maintenance of public services and facilities still had not been restored to pre-war levels, and the hospital destroyed during the Second World War was still not restored.

The opinion of most of the natives on Unalaska about this position seems to be right. Jones cites the words of one respected Aleut on this—that white people come and make "lots of money," but when the affair begins to fail (that is, when resources are exhausted), they move on, leaving to the Aleuts to deal with the resulting problems. Another Aleut, an unofficial leader of the village, said that the more the white people increase, the fewer the chances are among the Aleuts of obtaining anything from their land or of living in accordance with their desires and expectations rather than by an order imposed upon them (Jones 1976:62).

The history of the Aleuts of Sand Point was different. The war did not disturb the course of economic life there. The art of commercial fishing endowed by the whites' ancestors gave the residents a solid economic position, created satisfaction, and gave them pride. The company, managed by the canneries, depended entirely on the work of the Aleuts in the commercial fishery, and therefore its directors could not operate, with regard to the Aleuts, in accordance with racial prejudices in this case. Control over the political and economic situation in the village was in the hands of the Aleuts, and other aspects of life in the community ensued from this. But at the same time, even there in the fish-processing factories a discriminatory system of hiring the workforce prevailed. Aleuts were seldom hired for higher than the unskilled level. Such a practice resulted in the fact that the young people who had gotten an education left the village, and this created much anxiety among the locals.

Almost half the Aleuts of Sand Point, writes Jones, look white in comparison to the Unalaskans, who to a significantly large degree preserve the characteristics of the Aleut physical type. But the differences in physical type have little influence on their identification as Aleuts within the village. Visiting whites have a tendency to consider every person Aleut who has traces of Aleut heritage. If they are not able to do this by outward appearance, color of the skin, and so forth, then they use other criteria: place of birth, who the parents and relatives are, whether the person is a ward of the Alaska Native Service. Thus, Aleuts can look and act like whites but cannot escape being determined as Aleut (Jones 1976:24, 25).

In her conclusions Jones proposes the central factors for understanding the place of the Aleuts in the predominating society of the whites: their position as members of a culturally distinct group and members of a racial minority, and their economic and political efforts within the community to control resources and a whole way of life. The blending of all these factors, the author thinks, determines the formation in each village of degrees of adaptation to the Western world (Jones 1976:88). Jones speaks of the adaptation of the Aleuts to a culturally subordinate status, that whites try to instill in them their culture and social norms, clearly pronouncing their personal (and, on the whole, their cultural) level as inferior. All this "is combined with the fact that they, as Indians, are a racially marked group of American society" (Jones 1976:89). Like other racial minorities in a racist society, the Aleuts are caught in a caste-like system, where their separation from the limits of the dominating group is uncompromising—which has

not been done to European immigrants. And assimilation does not lead to a noticeable social mobility; therefore, the Aleuts are entirely deprived of the possibility of reaching the "mainstream of American society." It is striking, Jones notes, that even in Sand Point in the presence of education and a distinct eagerness on the part of the Aleuts, the access to managerial, professional, technical, or any skilled work in processing plants is closed. In the entire Aleut area only two cases are known where Aleuts obtained work in enterprises of a higher than unskilled level. An exception is a small number of Aleuts who have their own very small businesses (a store, workshop, and the like). And in the Pribilof Islands an Aleut can never direct the operations in spite of excellent knowledge and experience, nor command a ship.

Jones notes that the basic economic factor in the Aleut area (independent of differences by village) is the position, analogous to a colony, of its native population, that the chief direction of the use of natural wealth there goes outside the interests of the Aleut people. Companies from other states in the United States exploit the sea reserves, the only natural resources of the region, and decide the course of their economic development. The author believes that without capital for development of their own enterprises the Aleuts are entirely powerless to change their economic fate. Even in Sand Point, where Aleuts have some economic strength, they are dependent on companies managed by enterprises that can deprive them of loans and credit, and exert other economic pressures. In order to improve the economic position in a given village, it is necessary, writes Jones, to be released from the control of the companies, and to achieve this release, native organizations need to find lenders and cooperative markets. Alternative employment for the Aleuts, regarding work in companies on Unalaska, can be in their own small scale cooperatives for the procurement of fish in the home waters (not requiring a large fleet) and the corresponding processing.

Jones also raises the question: is something changing with regard to the appearance and development of native corporations since the acceptance by the United States Congress of the 1971 Act concerning the settlement of the land claims of the native population of Alaska [ANCSA]. Hoping for an increase in Aleut economic strength in the region and an improvement in the prosperity of natives, she notes at the same time that land regulations play a small role in their economic development, since no serious land resources are there, except the territory of the southwestern part of the Alaska Peninsula. The money being paid by the 1971 Act will have more significance for the Aleuts, since this gives the Aleut regional organization the possibility of providing social services and making investments in Aleut economic enterprises. But, the author stresses, the amounts will not be so large (taking into consideration that the amount of money is determined by the percentage of natives from all populations in the area, and that is 3.5%), and it will be paid to them over the course of twenty years. Jones considers the mounting political power of native organizations a more important factor for the future, since they now have favorable conditions for the creation of their own enterprises. These organizations run into many difficulties, but, in the opinion of the author, a potential now exists for resolving the terrible problems of poverty and economic debility (Jones 1976:98, 99).

The Act of 1971 in legislative form ordered the natives to accept the structure of private corporations with orientations toward the receipt of gains and the Western system of land use. The Aleut Corporation, one of twelve created in Alaska on a regional principle, now has a subdivision in each village. Shares were paid to natives registered in village corporations. Some of the corporations began to engage in business, though it had already become clear that many difficulties could be expected through competition with various firms.

The Aleut Corporation was one of the smallest in Alaska, and its bankruptcy was predicted. But in spite of the violent struggle of the corporations, for survival "reminiscent of Aleut wars of the past," it survived and began to show promise (*The Aleutians*, 1980:171). Among the Aleuts, just as among other natives of Alaska, a substantial number of educated and energetic leaders began to rise from the ranks. But at this same time, a new form of relationship between the natives and the authorities activated the process of class and socioeconomic stratification. Administrators and contractors appeared and a petty bourgeoisie emerged, while the bulk of the local population remained poor as before.

A part of the Aleuts takes a stand against conducting business and instead favors of the traditional mode of life on their own islands with the affirmation and preservation of their cultural heritage. Change up to now still has not been made, though such problems had on the whole been raised years ago. In distinction from other natives of Alaska, the Aleuts basically strive less for a change in mode of life; they prefer to remain in the villages, suffering the painful condition of urbanization (Jones 1974). A strong tendency is now observed among them to preserve their own cultural status with a striving for improvement of life in their settlement. However, the lack of necessary material security provided by jobs is preventing this. The village economy is connected with the sea and fishing or work in the enterprises that process the products of the sea, but such enterprises are still clearly insufficient in the Aleut region or they are scarcely favorable to the Aleuts.

In recent years active commercial exploration of the Aleut area began, a region with a great deal of wealth in fish, crabs, shrimp, and other products of the sea. Fishing in deep water was mastered. In addition, reconnaissance of the possibilities of underwater procurement of oil in the region of the Aleutian shelf north of the Aleutian Islands has been conducted, as well as prospects being examined for the resumption of procurement of gold on Unga, and silver and some other useful minerals in several areas in the region. In connection with this quick pace the rush of the white population increases, being attracted by profits and many jobs. The native inhabitants as a whole find themselves in a marginal position under such conditions, since this happened before on Unalaska, or they venture to take their chances in other villages.

The corporation of Unalaska was the first, among the others in Alaska, able to pay (in 1977) dividends to the shareholders, since it received into its possession buildings from the time of the Second World War (excellent docks and air strips) that could be leased for a high fee. But it is impossible to say now that the position of the basic majority of the Aleuts was noticeably improved. Contemporary problems, in particular on Unalaska, are connected with the ever more enlivened industry of procurement (including deep-water) of products of the sea and the processing of fish, crabs, and shrimp. The population here has sharply increased due to newcomers. By 1980 there were already more than 700 residents in Unalaska. The Aleuts comprised less than one-quarter part of the new arrivals, specifically of the temporary white population, which did not establish (with few exceptions) a permanent residence. Many of the arrivals live in houses or barracks of the company. As the old residents say, fifteen to twenty years ago all Unalaskans knew each other and the custom of mutual aid existed; five to ten years ago the local resident and the workers in the fish plants (cannery people) differed; now the majority of the population consists of workers and employees of the companies and plants, and no one knows anyone. The newly arrived people have good earnings, and Unalaska becomes a "city of much drunkenness." By 1980 television and the installation of telephones appeared in Unalaska (*Unalaska Today*, 1980).

Unalaska is turning into a small city with all the problems, with an ever-decreasing percent of the local population and with dominating economic and cultural influence of the white Americans. For this reason the Aleuts remain in a marginal position both economically and culturally. Their standard of living is not uniform: there are several individuals who are well off and who have their small businesses, as well as employees, but the basic population occupies low-paying positions in the fish plants, on ships, and in the sphere of services. The part of the city populated by the Aleuts, Iliuliuk, deriving from the early Aleut village, is segregated.

The economic interests of the Aleuts in the contemporary city are maintained by the Unalaska Corporation, which is occupied with commercial activity. Social problems enter into the sphere of the nonprofit corporation, for example, the Iliuliuk Family and Health Services. In recent years this service was headed up by the Aleut F. Tutiakov. Its director, M. Melson, confirms that the condition of the health of the people in the community is very serious. Changes in life are so great and violent that among many people stresses emerge that lead to severe illnesses (hypertension, heart disease, alcoholism) and accidents. The Iliuliuk service is occupied with aiding the sick, old people who are alone, and uncared-for children. Since 1973 there has also been in Unalaska the Alcohol Program Service of the National Institute of Alcohol and Alcoholism working jointly with the Iliuliuk service and the clinic in Anchorage.

In the Pribilof Islands after the 1971 Act two village corporations were created. The corporation of St. Paul Island, called Tanadgusix (which means "Our Land" in Aleut), is the largest of all the village corporations of the Aleut area. The corporation of St. George Island, called Tanaq, is small. By the Act of 1971 all the land in the islands was to be owned by the corporations, with the exception of the fur seal hauling grounds, which are government owned. On the 9th of June 1978, the corporations of the Pribilof Islands obtained the resolution of payment to them of $11,239,604 in compensation. It is only a recent attainment that the Aleuts direct their own community (while in previous years their entire life was regulated by government officials, even to the prohibition of leaving the islands) and have representation in the administration of the basic industries of the islands—fur seal farming and control of the school.

The corporations invested a great deal of resources in schools, education in general, and public health. On the island of St. Paul a high school was opened, and now there is no necessity for students to leave the island for the continuation of studies. Modern equipment is delivered and better instruction is provided. The first community stipends even appeared, assigned by the corporations for the acquisition of an education in economics at the University of Washington, at the end of which they direct work in the corporation.

But even here the Aleuts face the problem of selecting their future course. By the Act of 1971 the village corporations are committed to striving for gains. And such a course, as the manager of the corporation of St. Paul Island, Paul L. Merkulev, asserts, "can destroy our culture" (qtd. in Johnson 1978:42). What is more, according to contemporary investigations the Pribilof Islands have been determined to be the center of the area with the wealthiest reserve of bottom fish, mollusks, and other products of the sea. Some large companies have already become interested in this supposed multi-million dollar business (with the construction here of a harbor for ships). But even this frightens the Aleuts of the Pribilof Islands, for indeed it again creates the danger of them losing control over their resources. In addition, such business attracts a huge number of temporary, casual residents, which will mark the end of their particular (Aleut) mode of life. And yet, oil companies tried to drill on the shelf of the Bering Sea between St. George Island and the Aleutian Islands. How will the development of this branch of industry influence the life of the Aleuts?

Tourism: this branch of the economy that does not exhaust natural resources and gives employment to the population, in distinction from other places in Alaska, has not yet become widespread in the Aleut area and has not developed into a reliable source of income. It exists only in the Pribilof Islands with their unique natural complex, including fur seal hauling grounds, bird rookeries, and other noteworthy Subarctic zones. About 1,000 tourists visit these islands every summer. Specialized groups and individual visitors arrive some days, using the mediation of a tourist company in Seattle that has contacts with the corporations of the Pribilof Islands. In addition, attempts are made to establish tourism, including hunting and fishing, in the Aleutian Islands as well. At present sport hunting for brown bear and caribou on Unimak is popular. Tourism has become possible due to the existence (since 1948) of an airline (the company of R. Reeve, a former Arctic aviator) with regular connections between Anchorage, Cold Bay, Attu, and the Pribilof Islands.

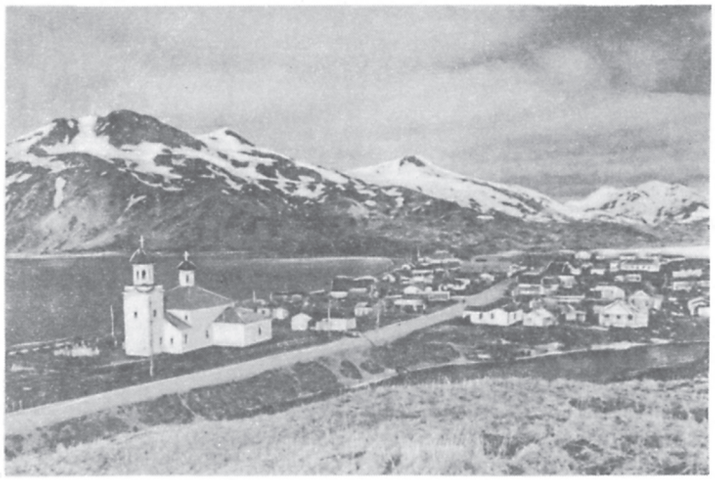

Figure 15. The Aleut part of the village of Unalaska (The Aleutians, Alaska Geographic, 1980).

On the southwestern part of the Alaska Peninsula some fish canneries (processing crab and shrimp as well) passed to the ownership of the village corporations after the Act of 1971. The latter, along with the advantage received, encounter problems of competition from large firms. In addition, there appeared there many workers from Asian countries. So, for example, in Squaw Harbor the majority of the population now consists of Philippinos, the Aleuts in the settlement remaining in the minority. How does this influence the socioeconomic and cultural processes?

All groups of Aleuts even today continue to depend for their livelihood on fishing for sea creatures, primarily salmon, but also on hunting sea lions, ducks, geese, sea birds, and from the collection of birds' eggs, octopi, etc. Still preserved in Nikolski Village and on Atka is the tradition of leaving for the seasonal laying-in of runs of spawning fish at the summer village by the stream where the traditional semi-subterranean dwellings—*barabaras*—are preserved. Guns replaced harpoons and spears at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, and in the pre-war period wooden boats (dories) superseded skin baidarki and baidary (even in the most remote villages). Later, boats with motors appeared. Today fishing from a boat has spread everywhere. At the same time the main source of subsistence for all Aleuts is wages, which are meanwhile difficult to acquire in the area.

Among specialists and among the Aleuts themselves up to the present time there has not yet developed a unified point of view on the course of further development of the people. L. Milan, as we have already mentioned, considers it most expedient to resettle the Aleuts, with their consent, in a place in the Aleut region where they might continue their traditional mode of life and obtain medical aid and education. W. Laughlin optimistically asserts that even though the last forty years of Aleut history proved destructive to their cultural tradition, the existence of such Aleut communities as in Nikolski village and on the islands of Atka and Akun expresses historical constancy, a mutually connection between the environment and adaptive capacity, and the old, distinctive features of Aleut culture. In his opinion, rural Aleut communities are viable and prophecies of their destruction are "more fragile than the villages themselves" (Laughlin 1980:183).

D. Jones estimates, as we have already noted, the growing political force of native organizations. M. Lantis rests her hopes on the fact that the differences in the economic and cultural life of Aleut communities after the Act of 1971 will be leveled, not only because they received funds, but because the corporate organization required new conditions (Lantis 1984:183).

Aleut leaders, in particular L. MacGarvey (born and raised on Unalaska; her mother was part Aleut, her father English), are completely confident that the Act of 1971 would help the Aleuts join forces in order to change the prospects of their people: to keep those prospects from hopelessly dying in a state of hoping. They believe the economic base for development, acquired by the bill, along with the wealth of the region in natural resources is the basis for this. The leaders hope that commercial activity will help the Aleut people attain prosperity to "enter and take part in the main stream of contemporary American society." They are convinced that favorable possibilities will contribute to the unification of the Aleuts as an ethnically separate group with the preservation and affirmation of valuable features of their cultural heritage. And then, writes MacGarvey, "we can always be proud that we are Aleuts" (*The Aleutians*, 1980:142).

Aleut leadership in recent years is noticeably stronger. The first general Aleut organization, the Aleut League, which began the fight for native rights, was created in the 1960s. Its goals were well defined in 1964 by the president of the organization, the Aleut F. Lekanov: preservation of its culture through economic development (Lantis 1973). One of the initiators of the creation and the active works of this league was L. MacGarvey. Now she is a member of the Health Services of the native population of the state of Alaska and a member of the board of directors of the Association of Aleutian and Pribilof Islands. Somewhat later than the Aleut League, the Aleut Planning Commission emerged.

In 1966 the eight regional native organizations of Alaska, which included four Eskimo, three Indian, and one Aleut, united in the Federation of Natives of Alaska. In this same year the natives, led by the federation, proposed their land claims. Because of a large percent of admixture of Russian blood, the Aleuts and Eskimos of southwestern Alaska were at first denied the right to propose their claims with the natives of the rest of the state. But in 1968 the Commission on Indian Suits of Alaska accepted the decision to identify the Aleuts and Eskimos as Indians as the basis for their part in this legislation.

The struggle of the native population of Alaska for socioeconomic emancipation is being accomplished by a rise in ethnic self-awareness, interest in their traditional culture, and determination of the course of its further development. The Act of 1971 recognized the right of the Aleuts to "conduct the traditional way of life." Questions of cultural development are now managed by the inter-village nonprofit organization—the Association of Aleutian and Pribilof Islands, created on the principle of the

Aleut League and the Aleut Planning Commission. In 1977, the first conference of the association, with participation of representatives of the Aleuts of the entire area, was held in Unalaska. The association set as its goal the realization of economic, social, and cultural development of the Aleut region. It devoted considerable attention to the introduction in 1972 of a bilingual program of instruction through which children study their own native language in school.

However, not a few difficulties arise in the realm of culture. On the one hand, there was no teacher for the implementation of the bilingual school program, knowledge of the native language being substantially lost in the community, while on the other hand the habit of being ashamed of being a native still exists. Also, the bilingual program is more difficult to implement in more advanced grade levels, since the possibilities of work are limited and racial discrimination have not disappeared.

The Aleut linguistic program was worked out by the National Center of Scholars and Bilingual Materials at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. This same place publishes books in English on the traditional life of the Aleuts and on the ethnographic peculiarities of their culture, as well as on the simplest texts in the Aleut language.

Figure 16. S. Suvorov and P. Merkul'ev—representatives of the village of Nikolski (Umnak Island) at the first conference of the Aleutian Pribilof Islands Association. 1977. Unalaska (The Aleutians, Alaska Geographic, 1980).

K. Bergsland (University of Oslo, Norway), together with the Atka Aleut M. Dirks, worked out a program of instruction in the western dialect of the Aleut language. More than forty books were published for this program and introduced into the school on Atka. The eastern dialect of the Aleut language is taught as a second language in villages in the area of the diffusion of this dialect. For this program a still greater number of books was published. The author of many of them is O. Mensoff from the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska. Members of the Association of Aleutian and Pribilof Islands, teachers, clergy, and the Aleuts themselves actively take part in the creation of the textbooks.

Thus, for example, in 1975 the textbook *Aleut Language for Beginners* was published for the Unalaska school. It was prepared by the priest I. Gromov (an Aleut by birth) and the teacher R. Hudson, with participation of the Aleut V. Cherepanov. In the textbook are short stories from the history of the Aleuts, including some about I. Veniaminov, whose memory is highly respected by all in Alaska. Recently school dictionaries of both dialects were published.

The program of lessons and textbooks was put together so that while teaching language (using English and Aleut texts) the children gradually become acquainted with the history of their people, culture, and folklore. For students in high school (available in Unalaska and on the island of St. Paul) textbooks have been published in English with stories about the archaeological antiquity of the Aleutian Islands, the Aleut traditional culture, the history of the region and its occupants. There are many illustrations in these books. Many Aleuts took direct part in the descriptions in the textbooks. Also, the series *Aleuts of the 18th Century*, prepared by P. Partnov and published by the Alaska Native Language Center, was intended for high school students. It consists of books on the history, archaeology, folklore, and flora of the Aleutian Islands. A collection of Aleut folklore was published by R. Hudson (1979). All these books serve as manuals for teachers as well.

The chief complexity in bilingual instruction is represented by the fact that the Aleut language is vanishing from use. Until recent times there remained approximately 700 Aleuts who used their language. In Unalaska the children do not speak Aleut, though the adults know the language, and some elderly people even still read texts in the Aleut language with the alphabet based on Cyrillic, introduced by I. Veniaminov. To a large extent the Aleut language (even the children know it colloquially in the family) was preserved in communities on Atka and on the Pribilof Islands. In Unalaska the Aleut language in school is taught by the priest I. Gromov and his wife P. Gromova, active representatives of the association and Aleuts by birth. In Nikolski village the students are instructed in the Aleut language by the local priest, the Aleut P. Merkulev; on the island of St. Paul—the mayor of the settlement and priest, the Aleut M. Lestenkov. The question remains: is it possible to preserve the Aleut language? M. E. Krauss (1981:171, 175) assumes that the most favorable conditions for a long existence of the Aleut language is only on Atka.

In the program of study of the Aleut cultural heritage in school, Aleut masters are engaged who show students how to make model baidarki, construct a traditional dwelling, pass on the skills of weaving, etc. In the classes the children who are occupied by this with enthusiasm are not only Aleuts but whites as well (instruction in the schools is combined). For restoration of the remarkable art of Aleut weaving, special groups supported by the Institute of Native Art of Alaska were organized, in which adult women participate. No less important, significance is now attached to the "Aleut Cultural Project," which includes a collection of materials on the cultural heritage of the Aleuts (information and photo materials on the ethnographic collections in museums around the world, folklore, and archival sources). These materials are intended to be used for acquainting the Aleuts with the lost features of their culture and the reconstruction of ethnic traditions and art on a new foundation. Works by professional scholars on the original culture and traditional art of the Aleuts are published by the associations. In particular, L. Black's book *Aleut Art:* Unangam aguqaadangin*, Unangan of the Aleutian Archipelago* was published. It contains research on art and a catalogue of Aleut materials from almost all the museums of the world, including the MAE, the repository of which preserves the wealthiest collection from the end of the 18th century through the first half of the 19th century (Black 1982).

Among contemporary Aleuts, a high level of acculturation under the influence of American mass culture is noted, along with the presence of stability of some features of Aleut-Russian culture. Dress, dwellings, and objects of use are entirely contemporary American (it goes without saying, along with a corresponding standard of living). The applies to instruction, language, food, and entertainment activities. By cultural orientation and striving, present-day Aleuts are in many ways like white Americans (Jones 1972).

But at the same time, the processes of interaction between Aleut and Russian cultures (as a result of which many individuals entered the first), which took place during the time of Russian America, often in their own way transformed Russian cultural traditions and left their mark up to the present. Such culture, called by American authors Aleut-Russian, now comprises a recognized stratum in the culture of the Aleut that is carefully preserved and is set off against mass American culture. Above all, the Orthodox Church factors into it, with Aleut innovations, which the Aleuts themselves call the "Aleut Church": accordingly, they call their own faith the "Aleut faith." (Based on the contract of the sale of Alaska, the Russian Orthodox Church retained the right to continue its activities in Alaska.) As we have already noted, the characteristics of the "Aleut Church" were created historically. The Aleuts considered and consider now this church their own national institution, firmly defending adherence to it against the encroachment of missionaries from other churches. And now this is part of the struggle for national rights. Considerable attention is devoted by the local communities to the organization of public services and amenities in the church, and in it are carefully preserved, as Aleut national treasures, the old Russian icons and those painted by Aleut masters of the past (in particular, in Unalaska, icons of the Aleut V. Kryukov, who worked under the direction of I. Veniaminov), and church books. Veniaminov is still considered the "good father of the Aleuts" (Shenitz 1967). What has been said attests to the fact that the Orthodox Church in its Aleut embodiment actually became the original national institution. Priests in the church are primarily Aleuts by birth, and they are now all members of the Association of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands, active champions for socioeconomic rights of the native population, and for the preservation of its cultural heritage. Many of them, as already mentioned, are still occupied by instruction of the Aleut language in the schools (inasmuch as there are no cadres of professional teachers). To some degree all the priests possess the Russian language since only in recent years have services begun to be conducted in the English language (and not in Church Slavonic and Aleut).

The Aleuts recognize, along with the American national holidays, the Orthodox ones as well. For example, they celebrate the New Year twice: first by the American calendar and then by the Orthodox. In Atka the tradition of celebrating Christmas is preserved: The children go from house to house with large, brightly decorated Christmas stars (an old custom of the southern regions of Russia). Russian Orthodox weddings now are one of the characteristic institutions of the Aleuts. The custom of match-making is preserved as well.

Aleut homes are uniquely painted with colors of bright hues (red, yellow, blue, green, light purple) and pastels, which is usually employed on the trim of the church. The custom of constructing the traditional Aleut hallway, called a *kollidor*, in front of the entrance of each Aleut home is still preserved.

Russian twin baths not only entered securely into the Aleut way of life, but owing to the special ceremony accompanying them, which were clearly already Aleut, they became a genuine communal cultural institution. Even the Russian customs of the sit-around gathering are distinct (Laughlin 1980:133–140). Among the Aleuts, Russian first and last names are preserved up to the present, with the exclusion

of families with fathers (their own or those who took the children to bring up) of other nationalities. This same custom of easily being devoted to the upbringing of children goes back to traditional family relations. In the Aleut language almost 30% of the words are of Russian origin. Up to the present Aleuts continue to use widely recipes of Russian cooking, but again in Aleut variation, which were acquired in the early years along with their names: *kaklyunakh*—cutlets of sea lion meat, *piroks*—usually a pie of unleavened crust with a fish filling, *studinakh*—jellied meat of sea lion flipper, *alodiks*—fritters mixed in eggs of guillemots or ducks or geese and fried in seal or sea lion oil, soup with fish and wild fowl, meat pies, Easter cakes, etc.

Evidence of the stability of Russian peasant traditions in Alaska was noted by an employee of the Alaska Museum of History, H. Shenitz, as well as by the American archaeologists and anthropologists J. VanStone and W. Oswalt (Shenitz 1967; VanStone and Oswalt 1968).

Regarding the souvenir industry in the Aleutian Islands, the weaving of elegant Aleut baskets of grass now begins again to prosper. The best examples are made on Atka, but there are excellent weavers both on Unalaska and in Nikolski. The usual cost of such baskets in stores is from $100 to $300; the artisans do not even get so little for their work; but this is the reward for long and painstaking labor. In some examples the Aleut masters construct models of baidarki.

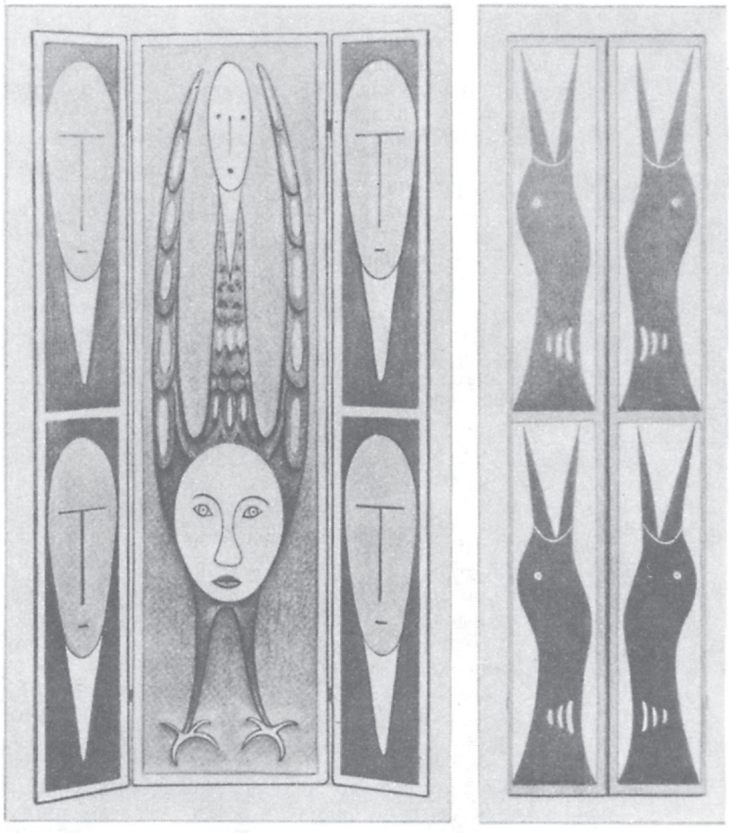

Figure 17. A triptych. Artist J. Hoover (Ray 1981).

There are even contemporary Aleut artists whose art has Aleut cultural traditions at its base or is their immediate continuation. On Atka is the young artist, the Aleut M. Dirks, who studied in the school of arts on Adak has created a series of engravings of landscapes and images of life in his village. The artists F. Anderson and J. Hoover are connected by birth with the Aleuts, but they have never lived in the Aleut area. Anderson makes masks based on materials available in the literature and museums, but he does not imitate, rather creating original productions according to their motifs. Hoover is considered the Aleut national artist and engraver of wood. His mother is an Aleut from Unga. Aleut-Russian culture and Aleut legends find an interesting reflection in Hoover's works. The productions of Anderson and Hoover have been presented in exhibitions of the native art of Alaska in Anchorage, and Anderson's masks were exhibited in 1978 in the first show of Alaskan contemporary art in the National Collection of Fine Arts at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The engraver of wood from Unalaska Island, P. Tutiakoff, in greater degree than previous artists, is a continuer of the traditions of the Aleut masters since his productions, on the one hand, go back to carvings that decorated former Aleut head-gear, and on the other, serve as objects of utilitarian assignment. Among the works of this master are representations of animals, snuff boxes, letter openers, spoons, cups, bowls, etc. The materials that serve him are wood collected along the shore—driftwood.

In 1976, in Fairbanks, the Alaska Institute of Native Art (a nonprofit organization) was organized, the goal of which is the preservation and development of both the traditional native art of Alaska and contemporary art. It renders aid and support to Aleut, Eskimo, and Indian artists, sculptors, writers, and poets. The institute publishes a monthly journal-pamphlet with information on new works (with illustrations), with short excerpts of literary works of writers and poets from among the natives. From among the members of the institute's board of directors, G. Sverny, in 1985 a resident of Unalaska Island, was elected vice president of the Unalaska Village Corporation. Having inherited from her Aleut mother the mastery of weaving, she now actively promotes the revival of this art. She is also occupied with carving on soap stone in the traditional Aleut style of small plastic arts (*Journal of Alaska*, 1985).

The contribution of the Aleuts not only to American but to contemporary world culture as well is the kayak [baidarka], which has entered into the important sporting life of peoples of the world (though such kayaks are constructed using contemporary materials). In 1978 members of the British-Alaska Expedition made their trip in kayaks in Aleutian waters. In the United States, Canada, and England there are societies that occupy themselves with the construction of kayaks after museum models, undertaking trips in them. In January 1984 in Canada the Kayak Historical Society was organized, which set as its goal the study of the history of the exploration of Alaska by the Russians; of the role that kayaks played in these explorations; of the collection of the most detailed historical, literary, illustrative, museum, and archival materials on the construction of the kayak; and of helping members of the society in the furthest development of this type of skin boat and the organization of trips in them (Dyson 1986).

The modern period in the history of the Aleuts is connected with the rise of a national emancipatory movement, with the growth of general Aleut self-awareness that leads to the furthest integration of the Aleut ethnic community.

We would like to note as well the contemporary special ethnic self-awareness that has formed in the native population of southwestern Alaska on the whole and that is connected with the ethnonym "Aleut." In the scholarly literature a specific ethnos is meant by it—Aleuts (the extent of whose settlement we discussed above). But these things are now related to the Aleuts in a socio-political and admin-

istrative relationship, being based on their self-determination, like the Eskimos of Kodiak, the Alaska Peninsula, and the coast of the Gulf of Alaska (that is, the Aglegmiut, Koniag, and Chugach Eskimos). This self-determination goes back to the times of Russian America when all these peoples were called Aleuts. (The membership of just such Aleuts appears often in data of official censuses and, in connection with this data, is expressed in sharply growing figures, which brings on bewilderment even among some specialists.) It is characteristic that in the indicated region the influence of Russian culture was preserved as well in the form of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Figure 18. Gorel'ev "Puffins." Artist M. Dirks (The Aleutians, Alaska Geographic, 1980).

The above-mentioned occurrence of the term "Aleut" is connected with the existence of a positive contemporary self-awareness: to be an Aleut now signifies being the descendant of natives of the region with an admixture of Russian blood and being a bearer of mixed native-Russian culture, as well as professing the Orthodox religion.

Similarly, the language of the native population of the indicated region exists in the way of life and is reflected in the official censuses. Aleut is the name given both for the Aleuts' own language and for the Eskimo dialect "Yupik" of the Gulf of Alaska—known as well under the names "suk," "sugpiak," "alutiik," and in part "central Yupik" (Krauss 1981:171).

The hypothesis of G. I. Menovshchikov cited above—on the origin of the ethnic name "Aleut" from the word designating community, detachment, crew (depending on the context)— thus receives another confirmation in that Aleuts proper indicated even groups of Eskimos who made up hunting parties organized by the Russians at the end of the 18th century and first half of the 19th century. However, it follows that the name "Aleut" includes social content as well.

The indicated special ethnic self-awareness, connected with the concept "Aleut" (in its broad usage), speaks of the process of consolidation taking place that began in the Russian Period both for the Aleuts themselves and for groups of natives of southwestern Alaska who called themselves Aleuts.

In conclusion, the Aleuts, as well as other natives of Alaska, continue to struggle with the difficulties of determining their place in the world of the white man. They still face the problems of choosing a direction for developing their people and overcoming the emerging complexities of social and ethnic order—including the complexities of national discrimination, painful contradictions in new social unions, limitations in obtaining and realizing an education, and the destruction of old ethnocultural commonalities (Agranat 1982). At the same time, already tangible achievements show how persistently the Aleuts strive to obtain socioeconomic equality, to end poverty and a lack of rights, and to include the values of their national culture in contemporary life. They strive against simply being assimilated and swallowed by the contemporary American capitalist economy and culture and by the American mode of life together with national discrimination and racism.

CHAPTER IV

THE ETHNIC HISTORY OF THE COMMANDER ALEUTS (FIRST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY–PRESENT)

The Aleuts of the Commander Islands are one of the minorities of the Soviet north. Their special ethnic history began over 160 years ago with their settlement of those islands and their isolation from the remaining Aleuts.

It should be remembered that their colonization of the previously uninhabited islands, discovered in 1741 by the crew of the ship *Svyatoi Petr* [St. Peter] lead by V. Bering, was connected with the activities of the Russian-American Company. When this company concluded its existence in 1867 and when Russian possessions in America—Alaska and the Aleutian Islands—were sold to the United States, the Commander Islands remained within the borders of Russia.

As already noted, for procuring furs the company used Russian promyshlenniki, but its main workforce during the entire period of its existence was the native population of the Aleutian Islands—the Aleuts, and the native population of Kodiak Island with the islands near it and parts of the Alaska Peninsula—the Koniag Eskimo.

The ethnic history of the Commander Aleuts, by virtue of its specific character, also represents a special case of the formation of a minority, extremely curious for consideration. The available literature permits the tracing of their history right up to the present; in our day the Commander Aleuts have become the object of research by anthropologists, linguists, and ethnographers.

The beginning stages of ethnic history of the Commander Aleuts are illuminated (it is true, extremely poorly) in works on the history of the Russian-American Company (Tikhmenev 1861, 1863; Okun' 1939; Alekseev 1975; Khlebnikov 1979). In addition, there is a rather broad pre-Revolution literature on the Commander Islands, which attracted researchers, businessmen, government officials, and administrators to the unique natural riches: fur seal hauling grounds, sea otters, Arctic foxes. In these works the populations of the islands are also listed (by their history, businesses, economic situation, and distinctiveness of life and culture, as well as the problem of degeneration of the population), but, as a rule, only incidentally. Two early works belong to the naturalist N. A. Grebnitskii, who from 1877 to 1905 was director of trade in the Commanders, and later was head of the Commander District (1882–1902). In 1879–1880 and in 1882 the doctor of the Petropavlovsk District, B. I. Dybovskii, incidentally gathered natural historical and ethnographic materials and collections there (see: Dybovskii 1884, 1885). In 1881 an official of the chief administration of eastern Siberia, P. Sulkovskii (1882), visited the islands. In 1882, 1883, 1895, 1897, and 1922 the fauna of the islands (especially the fur seal hauling grounds) were examined by the American researcher from the National Museum of the United States, L. Steineger

(1883, 1898). In 1884–1885 the government ordered an investigation of the islands regarding the question of the expediency of prolonging the lease of the islands by American companies (1886, 1889). In 1892 the biologist N. V. Slyunin was on the islands. He had studied marine fauna of the northern part of the Pacific Ocean and was truly interested as well in problems of the condition of the native population of northeastern Siberia (1895a, 1895b, 1900). In 1893 K. I. Savich (1894) from the Department of Commerce and Manufacture of the Ministry of Finance was ordered to the islands. And finally, in 1910 and 1911 E. K. Suvorov (1912), sent there by the Department of Agriculture, wrote a detailed work on the Commander Islands. Owing to the works of the authors mentioned that are at our disposal, there is now valuable historical and demographic information on the population of the Commanders of these times, as well as photographic materials and ethnographic collections.

The literature of the Soviet Period begins with articles on deep sea fishing ordered for the Commander Islands by the well-known researcher of the Far East, writer, and energetic representative for the exploration of this region, V. K. Arsen'ev. The literature contains interesting historical information and important proposals on the rise of farming on the islands and on the culture of the inhabitants (1923). The same can be said for the works of the director of trade in the Commanders, K. V. Kulagin (1927a, 1927b), and the teacher L. I. Kulagina (1928). A detailed article by B. A. Red'ko, who worked for three years as an aid to the director of trade of the Commanders (and lived permanently in the islands), kept many valuable materials on the population of those years (1927). I. I. Barabash-Nikiforov (who studied the biology of sea otters in the islands in 1930–1932) talks in his book of the remarkable suitability of the Aleuts to a life in the severe conditions of the islands and about new features of their social life (1934). The well-known researcher of history and economics of regions of the Far North, M. A. Sergeev, discloses in detail the fate of the Commander Aleuts in complex research of the character, population, history, and economy of the Soviet islands of the Pacific Ocean (1938).

In our time a significant number of special articles by historians, linguists, ethnographers, and anthropologists is dedicated to the Commander Aleuts, which attests to the scholarly interest in this small group of people and its fate (Antropova 1956; Orlova 1962; Bondareva 1966; Mukhachev 1968; Miropol'skii 1968; Menovshchikov 1964, 1965; Gurvich 1970; Agranat and Kuzakov 1971; Rychkov and Sheremet'eva 1972; Kyzakov 1974; Lyapunova 1979c; Alekseev 1981; Asinovskii, Vakhtin, and Golovko 1983). And finally, we find in the book of the writer L. M. Pasenyuk (1974, 1985) a fascinating and well-illustrated description of the history of and contemporary life in the Commanders.

Speaking of the history of the permanent population of the Commander Islands, it must be mentioned that the first people on Bering Island were members of the crew of the ship *Svyatoi Petr* led by V. Bering, who were shipwrecked on 9 November 1741 in one of the bays and forced to winter over. Bering was buried on the shore of this bay, which in his memory was named Commander Bay (at first the island itself was called Commander, but eventually this name passed to the whole group of islands). In the final years of the 18th century (beginning in 1743) the islands at first annually, then somewhat more rarely, were visited by ships of private trading companies, often wintering over there and carrying away the wealthy cargo of furs (Berkh 1823; Berg 1946; Makarova 1968). As a result, the sea otters were almost destroyed in the islands and the fur seals and Arctic foxes greatly reduced in number.

In 1805, by order of the Okhotsk office of the Russian-American Company, under whose authority the Commander Islands (including the Atka District) were situated until 1823, the pilot Ya. Potapov set ashore on Copper Island an artel of thirteen Russian promyshlenniki (some with their wives) led by

the baidarshchik Shipitsyn. This artel was occupied with the procurement of fur seals and Arctic foxes, moving to hunt on Bering Island as well. Even after a visit by the pilot I. V. Vasil'ev on the brig *Finlyandya* of the islands in 1812, this artel continued to remain there. In 1881 N. A. Grebnitskii (1882:44) wrote that the ancestors of two families that presently live on the islands settled there before 1812. Once more Shipitsyn asked the Okhotsk office to send Aleuts to hunt, since sea otters had again appeared there (Khlebnikov 1979:182). The artels of Russian promyshlenniki with variable composition were brought to the islands in the following years. In 1819, on the southern part of Copper Island at Cape Palat, a colony of fifteen men was located; on the northern part of Bering Island lived thirty men (at Old Harbor, Saranna River, and at the site of Nikolski Village).

The appearance of a continuous population in the Commander Islands occurs only after the joining in 1823 of the Atka District to other districts of Russian America, being placed under the administration of the main office of the Russian colonies in America located in Novoarchangel'sk. It is known that the director of the Atka District, Mershenin, took from Attu Island to Bering Island 17 Aleut promyshlenniki with their families (Khlebnikov 1979:176). This was no later than 1825 (Mershenin died on Atka Island just after his voyage on the brig *Finlyandya*—and not in other years, 1826 and 1827, as cited in the literature), to which time the Commander Aleuts assign the origin of their existence on the islands as well. In 1826 the company additionally moved to the island Aleuts and Creoles from the islands of Attu and Atka. At the time of K. T. Khlebnikov's visit to Bering Island in 1827 on the brig *Baikal* seventeen Russian promyshlenniki, thirteen Creoles, and twenty-four Aleuts were living there, and with them thirty-five female Creoles and twenty-one Aleuts. The total on the island amounted to 110 people. These went to hunt on Copper Island (Khlebnikov 1979:160–168), where a permanent population appeared only in 1828 (Table 1).

Table 1

The Permanent Population of the Commander Islands in the 19th Century.

Year	Bering Island	Copper Island	Total
1827	110	—	110
1860	300	90	390
1863	—	—	387[?]
1867	254	146	400
1868	245	142	387
1869	234	147	381
1870	237	153	390
1871	241	157	398
1872	247	161	408
1873	258	161	419
1874	270(297)	168(154)	438(451)
1875	271	171	442
1876	281	176	457
1877	285	179	464

1878	293(313)	187(166)	480[479]
1879	309(310)	186(190)	495(500)
1880	309(303)	192(200)	501(503)
1881	309(310)	200(203)	509(513)
1882	319(314)	202(214)	521[528]
1883	326[337]	220(209)	535(546)
1884	333(340)	230(220)	563(560)
1885	345	230	575
1886	329	242	671(?)
1887	353	244	597
1888	326	280	606
1889	354	283	637
1890	345	274	619
1891	328[378]	281(238)	609(616)
1892	330	296	626
1893	332	289	621
1894	326	286	612
1895	354	244	598
1896	354(356)	244(249)	598(605)
1897	356(353)	249(256)	605(609)
1898	342	270	612
1899	292	254	546
1900	279	253	532

Note: The data used here are from P. A. Tikhmenev (1863), N. A. Grebnitskii (1882), L. Steineger (1883), B. I. Dybowski (1885), N. Voloshinov (1886), K. I. Savich (1894), N. V. Slyunin (1895b), E. K. Suvorov (1912), S. Patkanov (1912), K. T. Khlebnikov (1979). It should be noted that in the information from the various authors there is some discord (see the figures in brackets; those without were computed by the author) and that the historical evidence of alteration of the number is not always confirmed by data in the present table.

In the literature there is information that in subsequent years Aleuts were brought to the Commanders from the island of St. Paul (in the Pribilof Islands where, as we know, they were taken from the Fox Islands), the Fox Islands, and the Andreanof Islands; the Eskimos were brought from Kodiak; and the promyshlenniki from Sitka and California (regarding the last two places, a number of Fox Aleuts and Koniags were taken there earlier as well). From the 1840s pensioners of the company (workers who finished the term of service and were collecting their pension from the company) began to settle on Bering Island. The majority of the pensioners were Russians married to Aleuts. Together with these, Russians, Creoles, and, on isolated occasions representatives of other nationalities of Russia (Komi-Zyrians, Gypsies, and Kirghiz), were brought there into the islands as workers. The last settlings on the island are assigned to 1872 when thirty Aleuts were brought from the island of Attu, and in 1888 when twenty-six Aleuts, Koniags, and Kuril Islanders (Ainu) were brought from Cape Zheltov on the Kamchatka Peninsula. These were a remnant of the population of the Russian-American Company in the Kurils. In addition,

in the 1880s by order of the administration, which had decided that the residents were becoming too much related to each other, some young Aleuts took for themselves female Kamchadals from Petropavlovsk.

In addition to the permanent residents of the islands, there were the director and his aide, a priest, an agent of the company leasing the fur seal trade, and some soldiers.

The population of the islands, differing in the beginning in its social status, was gradually leveled. It should be remembered that from 1821 the Aleuts, Koniag Eskimos, and Kuril Islanders were assigned to the class of "islanders" and were engaged to serve the company from age eighteen to fifty. According to the statutes of the Russian-American Company, in 1844 the "islanders" were moved in category to "inorodtsev" [foreigners] (which included the other national minorities of Russia), remaining all but technically in the former status. The majority of the Creoles were supposed to serve the company fifteen years (beginning at age seventeen), after which they became "free" and might work for the company only at their own wish and for wages. Company pensioners were in some privileged positions, the so-called colonial citizenship that formed in Russian America. But with the liquidation of the company and the joining of the Commander Islands to the Petropavlovsk District of Kamchatka, all of the permanent population of the islands without exception was classed as foreigners (though in the birth registers at the Nikolski church on Bering Island and Preobrazhensk on Copper Island the tradition of separating Aleuts and Creoles was maintained until 1905, after which all became identified as foreigners). Later, up to the establishment of Soviet rule, the residents of the Commanders were considered hunters for the state, comprising a peasant community (but without paying state or territorial taxes).

A steward governed during the times of the Russian-American Company. In the following period a mayor and a council with him was selected on each island; the statutes of Russian rural communities were the foundation for their activities.

A peculiarity of life of the permanent population in the Commanders up to four or five decades ago was the isolation from the outside world of both islands together (only one or two ships arrived there in summer) and of one island from the other over the course of half a year. Under these conditions the structuring of the groups was supremely important for ethnic development within the population that occupied an island on the whole, and within each group individually. It should be noted that the information contained in the literature is too general and also rather contradictory concerning the present topic.

Above all it remains unclear how many Aleuts (and other foreigners) and how many Creoles there were in the islands. B. I. Dybowski wrote that the Aleuts on both islands (in 1879) numbered 168 people (on Bering Island—68, on Copper Island—100), Creoles on both islands—332 (on the first—241, on the second—91), and Kamchadals—9 (3 and 6, respectively). According to this data, Creoles comprised two-thirds of the population, those on Bering Island significantly predominant over the Aleuts, while on Copper they existed in approximately equal numbers. At the same time, Dybowski notes that there were 39 families of Aleut descent on both islands: 24 from Atka and other Andreanof Islands, 9 from Attu, 2 from the Fox Islands, and 4 Aleut who had earlier been taken to Sitka (from the Fox Islands) and California (Kodiak Eskimos); only 4 families are indicated as having Russian fathers (the distribution of the families by island is not given). Thus, a calculation by family indicates that only 10% of the population was non-Aleut. Dybowski generally does not consider the division into Aleuts and Creoles sufficiently substantiated since even "pure" Aleuts, in his opinion, were not such, and Creoles are little distinguished from these Aleuts (Dybowski 1885:25).

N. A. Grebnitskii, as a result of calculations he conducted in 1881, reported that 23.9% of the total number of residents of the Commanders comprised Aleuts, and 76.1% were descendants of marriages of Russians and Aleuts, that is, Creoles (1882:45). N. Voloshinov wrote that "the population of the islands does not present any whole commonality, homogeneity," and this results from its origin in the diversity of unions of Russians, Aleuts, and Creoles (1886:8).

According to the data of the 1897 census, cited by S. Patkanov, the Aleuts and Creoles are shown together as those speaking the Aleut language. Of nine Kamchadals one woman knew the Itel'men language, three men and five women used Russian, and fourteen Ainu spoke Aleut. The residents of Copper Island, calling themselves Aleuts, comprised 35%; the remaining 65% called themselves Creoles (Patkanov 1911:148–153; 1912:906, 976, 977). Such information does not exist for Bering Island.

Based on the characterization (of the residents of the Commanders of this time) contained in the literature, the majority can best be placed among the Aleuts, especially in cultural connections, since mainly Aleut ethnic traditions predominated even among the Creoles (including the language). As we have already indicated, Aleuts at the end of the 18th through the beginning of the 19th century all generally accepted Christianity and began to acquire features of Russian culture. And Creoles, who were raised by Aleut mothers in Aleut communities, were not so very strongly distinguished of course from the Aleuts proper. But since to be Creole was considered respectable, it is entirely possible that people having even the slightest bit of European blood registered as Creoles. It is probably just this that accounts for the contradictions in conclusions of the indicated authors. The calculations according to the list, where the majority of the residents were identified as Creole, shows one image, while an actual review of the families basically gives the idea of an Aleut population.

Of especially great significance for the ethnic processes was the composition of the group that settled each island. Indeed, geographical isolation of the islands from each other was accompanied by (as it was in the Aleutian Islands) preferential marriages within the limits of one island (inbred groups), isolated from the life of other island communities. Even some antagonism was noted that was particularly manifested in protests by the residents of both islands upon the movement of families by the administration from Bering to Copper Island at the end of the 19th century (Grebnitskii 1882:49; Voloshinov 1886:10; Slyunin 1895b:170). In the literature beginning with N. A. Grebnitskii (1902:34), it is noted that Bering Island was settled predominantly by immigrants from Atka and other Andreanof Islands, and Copper Island from Attu. Calculations we have made, from the register worked out in 1881 by Grebnitskii, indicates the following structure for the residents of each island. Of thirty-one families on Bering Island sixteen were indicated as originating on Atka and other Andreanof Islands, from the Fox Islands (but in this group, correcting Grebnitskii, we include as well the immigrants from St. Paul and from Sitka, whither earlier only Fox Islands Aleuts were taken)—five, from Attu—four, from the Aleutian Islands (without precise indication of place)—two, from California—one (from here we ascribe Koniag Eskimos of Kodiak, from where, as we know, hunters were dispatched to California); in addition to this, those with Russian fathers—three families. Thus, by this data the primary structure of the colonists of Bering Island are immigrants from the Andreanof Islands, but a significant part (16.1% of the total number of families and 31.2% of the number of families of Atkans) was comprised of Fox Islands Aleuts (Grebnitskii 1882:46–48). This calculation of course is not quite exact since we do not know the origin of two Aleut families and three with Russian fathers (that is, the origin of the mothers). But still it should be noted that there was a significant percent of Fox Islands Aleuts.

Of thirteen families on Copper Island, N. A. Grebnitskii indicates four as originating on Attu, five on Atka; it is said about one family only that its members were born on Copper Island; about two, that they moved from Bering Island; about another, that the father, from Sitka, was Russian. Of this data there is nothing to confirm that on Copper Island immigrants from Attu predominated. In the small colony of 1888 there were only a few Attu Aleuts and not all of them were sent to Copper Island. It can be assumed that the picture would be somewhat different if one took into consideration the origin of the mothers and certain Aleut customs, such as matrilineal descent and the raising of children (by the tradition of giving or exchanging children) in an unrelated family. It is possible that historical data was partially lost as well.

In the presence of some opposition to historical evidence, especially interesting are the results of investigations of the contemporary Commander Aleuts by anthropologists, linguists, and ethnographers.

In 1970 an examination of the native population of the Commanders was undertaken by expeditions from Moscow University with the aim of studying its population genetics. The results indicated that in spite of the historically noted heterogeneity of the Commander Aleuts, by their genetic structure they are nevertheless Aleuts. The admixtures indicated in the literature for the Aleuts are imperceptible in the gene pool of the population. In addition, the presence of two sub-populations was noted, that of Bering Island and that of Copper Island, in the formation of which appeared the influence and composition of the settlers, the isolation of the islands, and their characteristic conditions. Further, the Commander population was determined as a special group as compared to other populational groups of Aleuts who inhabited the original places of their settlement. And it was distinguished from the other groups just as they distinguished between themselves. The greatest similarity of the Commander population (and especially the Copper sub-population) is shown to be with the eastern (Unalaska, Fox) groups. The latter accounts either for the inaccuracy of the historical evidence (that is, the lack of data about the presence of Fox Aleuts, especially on Copper Island), or some temporary changes, micro-evolution (Rychkov and Sheremet'eva 1972).

V. P. Alekseev (1981), according to the present somatological investigations of the Commander Aleuts conducted in 1973, came to the conclusion that European admixture was distinctly revealed even in the composition of those Aleuts who do not remember Europeans among their ancestors.

Contemporary linguistic studies also ascertained the composition of two island groups. Thus, G. A. Menovshchikov as a result of the study of the language of the population on Bering and Copper Islands determined the existence in each of their own dialect of the Aleut language. He relates the Bering dialect to Atka and notes the preservation of the grammatical structure without change and the most used words of the lexicon. The Copper Island dialect itself, according to his determination, is a rare and interesting formation. As a result of the long contact between the two fundamentally different languages—Russian and Aleut—there occurred the process of interference at the level of the grammatical system of the language. With the remaining Aleut (Attu dialect) lexical composition under the influence of the Russian language, the Copper Island dialect lost some of the essential features of the original grammatical system (verb forms) and adopted corresponding norms (verbal affixes—person, number, time, mood) of the Russian language. By such course a separate island language of the Creole type was formed. Russians did not understand it at all. The Aleuts of Bering Island who knew the native language, along with the Russian, understood it but with great difficulty (even in the literature it is repeatedly noted that the people of Bering and Copper Islands understood the dialects of each other very poorly and in conversation more often changed to the Russian language). Menovshchikov (1965) suggests that in the

initial stages of its development this transitional language was the intermediate language between the Russians and the Aleuts.

In 1975–1977 we reported that among the Commander Aleuts native ethnic knowledge was still preserved about those groups of Aleuts who had settled the islands according to former territorial subdivisions and about the origin specifically of the Commander Aleuts. Thus, in the words of S. S. Grigor'ev, concerning the old Aleut hunters from Copper Island, they at first took Creoles there, and then people who were called *saksinnan*, and then the Aleuts were formed from them. The informant was in his own way right: this is how it looks from the point of view of contemporary Commander Aleuts. Indeed, the Russians actually began to call only this people Aleuts (this was begun, it is true, significantly earlier, with the Russians' first acquaintance with them). Among the Aleuts themselves there previously existed, we suppose, only the names of the individual territorial groups. *Sasignan* is, as old Russian sources and maps attest, the name of the Aleuts of the Near Islands of the westernmost Aleutian chain (Veniaminov 1840:II:2, 3; Lyapunova 1975a:122, 123). The population that was formed from a mixture of Creoles and Saksinnan came in time to be called Aleuts (that became their name for themselves as well). And it is entirely possible that even if there was no numerical predominance of the Attuans on Copper Island, their influence on ethnic tradition (including language) was begun only in 1872.

Among the Bering Aleuts the autonyms *unangan*, *negosis*, and *negogakhvs* were reported (and this has been stated by other researchers as well). The first is the autonym of the eastern (Unalaska and Fox) Aleuts (sometimes being transferred to the autonym of all Aleuts): the second and third are undoubtedly the autonyms of the Aleuts of the Andreanof Islands, who are known by old Russian sources as *nigigusy*, *nigigun*, *niyagungin*, *negbo*, and *nego*. According to the list of N. A. Grebnitskii, both indicated groups lived on Bering Island and together with the Creoles became named Aleuts. The transition to this one name on the whole occurred approximately in the first decade of the 20th century.

It is interesting to cite the list of old Aleut surnames that we reported from the words of an Old Dweller in 1975. For each island they were different, coinciding only in one or two cases. The Bering Islanders were called by the following surnames: Ladygin, Pan'kov, Mershenin, Korsakovskii, Pesenkov, Udachin, Khoroshev, Stepnov, Proshev, Nevzorov, Myakishev, Nozhikov, Shadrov, Grigor'ev, Pakhomov, Yakovlev, Galkin, Shangin, Budakov, Berezin. The Copper Islanders: Zaikov, Golodov, Kulikalov, Durishin, Kichin, Kadin, Klimov, Badaev, Aksenov, Khaborov, Popov, Timon'kin, Grigor'ev, Sushkov, Terent'ev. Several of these surnames are not encountered in the Commanders today.

The assertion regarding the amount of mixing of the Commander Aleuts that is often encountered in the literature is apparently still exaggerated. But at the same time the separate stability of physical type and the ethnic traditions of the Aleuts, which are observed in the Commanders, without question exist. Thus, for example, B. A. Red'ko wrote, pointing to the mixture of the native population of the island:

> In spite of recent circumstances and the continuing marriages with different foreign elements, this small group admirably and firmly retains many essential national Aleut features of the physical type, character, custom, and way of life, though it lives at present separated from the main mass of its tribe, not having any connection with other islands occupied by Aleuts. Especially sharply pronounced is the stability of the Aleuts as a people, being concentrated on islands and with marriages to Europeans, among whom the children retain characteristic Aleut features in their appearance and character, though

> often having three-fourths foreign blood. The inhabitants of the Commander Islands up to the present day fit almost all principle features given in the description by Veniaminov at the beginning of the last century for the Aleuts of the Unalaska District (1927:70).

The following factor, which influenced the peculiarity of the ethnic fate of the Commander Aleuts, is connected with the wealth of furs in the Commander Islands. The change of companies who controlled the fur trade affected not only the immediate fate of the occupants but their culture as well. The history of the permanent population of the islands under these conditions was very dramatic and could have caused its complete extinction, as authors predicted, by the end of the 19th through the beginning of the 20th century if changes that arrived with the establishment of Soviet rule had not occurred in the life of the Commander Islanders.

I. S. Gurvich, using as a basis literary data and information collected in 1968 in the Commander Islands, evenly divided the ethnic history of the Commander Aleuts into three stages: the first—up to 1867; the second—from 1871 to the 1920s; the third—the Soviet (1970).

In the first period the position of the colonists of the Commanders was common with the position of the remaining natives of the Aleutian Islands. All the Aleuts were obliged to work both directly at hunting and for the company in preparing provisions from local resources and materials for sewing clothing (bird skins, furs, etc.). The sole source of financial income for the Aleuts was wages procured from animals at the existing rate of the company per skin. In the report of the committee, which in 1860–1861 revised the activities of the company, we read: "the position of the Aleuts closely approaches the former position of the Russian bond serfs," but it was worse since with the money obtained for their work the Aleuts were supposed to buy the goods necessary for them in the same company for the high prices arbitrarily set by it (*Doklad Komiteta*, 1863:159).

It would be criminal, however, not to take into consideration the other side of the consequence of the activities of the Russians in northwestern America in general and among the Aleuts in particular: cultural enlightenment (as this has already been noted in Chapter II). The peasants who arrived in America from Russia, the lowest levels of urban populations, established good relations with the natives, entering into their lives. Among the colonial administration and employees were people with a progressive view, who strived to improve the position of the Aleuts, introducing expedient changes in their way of life and culture. They turned a number of Aleuts and Creoles into artisans of various professions, navigators, office workers, school teachers, and priests. Attempts were made to introduce into the economy of the Aleuts kitchen gardening and livestock breeding. More comfortable above-ground dwellings were constructed instead of the previous semi-subterranean ones; elements of European dress and ways of life were introduced; and, finally, literature was used to teach the Aleuts how to read and write. I. Veniaminov, the founder of literature in the Aleut language who is the recognized educator of the Aleuts, did much to inculcate in them new cultural skills and instruct them in grammar and trades (Veniaminov 1840, 1846; Okladnikov 1976, 1983a; Arsen'ev 1979). Christianity was spread among the Aleuts.

It was exactly during the time of Russian America that the tradition of literacy arose among the Aleuts. On Bering Island there were schools provided by the Russian-American Company, and almost all adult men of the population knew how to read and write. In addition to teaching the Russian language in the parish school, some of the adult Aleuts instructed the children in their own grammar. At the same time, kitchen gardening was first established in the Commanders (they planted potatoes, turnips, and two

kinds of radishes), as was livestock breeding (they kept cattle, pigs, and goats) and raising domestic birds (chickens and ducks).

The economic activity and cultural traditions of the population of the Commanders for the first period is little distinguished from those that were characteristic for the Aleuts of the archipelago (Veniaminov 1840:II; Lyapunova 1975a). The specific economy, material culture, and norms of living established by the Aleuts in their former homeland were transferred to the new dwelling place (the Commander Islands, similar in natural conditions to the Aleutians). The hunting of sea mammals from skin baidarki continued to exist (with harpoons, thrown with a throwing board). As in the Aleutian Islands, the chief problem of the population of the Commanders was preparation of local products in large quantities for the provisioning of intensive fur hunting both at home and in other places in Russian America not so rich in natural resources. The sea otters here were hunted not only from baidarki, but with the aid of nets as well. From October to January hunters and their families were sent out to hunt Arctic foxes on various parts of the islands where yurts were constructed (called at that time *odinochki*). With regard to foxes, the Aleuts usually made their living with *kulemki* (wooden traps of the dead-fall type). But the primary trade animal was the fur seal. They were obtained in large quantity by driving groups of animals into special slaughtering areas. The meat of fur seals, sea lions, seals, and sometimes even whales, cast upon the shore, served the inhabitants as a steady diet (they dried and salted these meats). They prepared fish of the salmon type (during the spawning runs in the streams, especially on Bering Island) by drying (yukola) and salting. Cod, halibut, and fish of other types were caught in the sea from baidarki (especially by the inhabitants of Copper Island since there streams with spawning grounds were few) and stored for winter as well. Sea birds served as seasonal food (they were dried for future use on Copper Island) and were hunted in the rookeries with the aid of *chyuchi* (large butterfly nets on a pole), nets, and guns. They collected eggs as well. Along the streams and lakes they took ducks, geese, and swans. The products of seashore collecting (the roe of sea urchins, octopus, various mollusks, crabs, and seaweed) were obligatory additions to the rations, just as were tuberous vegetables (especially sarana, prepared for the future) and berries (crowberry, bilberry, red bilberry, and cloudberry).

The dwellings of the first period are represented by several varied traditional semi-subterranean Aleut yurts. They were constructed in a pit in the ground; the walls and roof were made of poles, blocks, and planks, and were covered with sod; a hole was left above for light, but the entrance was not as before, through the upper hole, but in the side, through a small hallway. Even a stove was placed in such yurts. Just as in the Aleutian Islands, the company built barracks for their workers in the Commanders. One to two families lived in the yurts. The dwellings were lighted with oil lamps.

In the first period the dress of the Aleuts still preserved its traditional features, which were especially convenient for carrying on their daily business. From the skins of birds (primarily puffins) they sewed warm watertight parkas; from sea lion intestines and throat— kamleiki and jackets with hoods; from seal skin—trousers (*lavtashny*). They wore waterproof boots. On the hunt they used as well *brodni*—trousers of sea lion throat to which the boots were sewn. But as every day dress they often used Russian imports.

Among the household objects were woven grass bags, baskets, and mats; for keeping oil, yukola, supplies of crowberries in oil, etc., they used sea lion bladders (stomachs). At the same time metal kettles, teapots, and other imported vessels appeared in domestic life.

The Commanders in their natural environment are the same as the Aleutian Islands. However, there are some differences; therefore, the Commander Aleuts in adapting to them acquired even earlier elements of a culture they had not previously had. Winters in the Commanders are more severe and have more snow. Bering Island in the northern (inhabited) part is exemplified by comparatively level tundra, while Copper Island in contrast is composed entirely of mountains with rocky cliffs and precipices. On Bering Island during the first period sled and dog harnesses of the promyshlenniki (borrowed from Kamchatka, but with some variations) were widely introduced into use. They traveled on these even in summer. On Copper Island, however, it would have been impossible to use even horse-drawn vehicles, and the people themselves carried all the freight. Communication from various parts of the island (predominantly in summer) was maintained with the aid of traditional baidarki and boats. However, for movement in winter through the mountains the Copper Aleuts had excellently mastered skis, the Kamchatka type, short and broad, covered with the skin of seals and retaining the hair (the nap prevented the skis from sliding backward when ascending a hill) and were used with separate poles with iron hooks (for movement along ice-covered slopes).

The Aleuts, even in the new homeland, preserved several traditional norms of life and many elements of spiritual culture (the remains of which can be observed even among modern Aleuts): cross-cousin marriage, polygyny and polyandry (in spite of the protests of the church), and the education of children (preferably by the mother's brother), as well as oral, aural, and performed folklore. The Aleuts used their language during this period, especially on Bering Island; the Russians did not control all the producers, not to mention the female part of the population.

Thus, for the first period, Aleut life in the Commander Islands was characterized by the preservation of traditional culture on the whole and the acquisition of new elements necessary for adaptation to the peculiarities of the local natural environment. Only by traditional skill to maximally use all means for existence in severe Subarctic insular conditions, by the skill to adapt themselves (including physically) can the relative stability of the life of the Commander Aleuts in the following, more difficult years be explained. The undermining of the traditional bases of culture in the second period began to tell on them disastrously.

After the cessation of the activities of the Russia-American Company, a three-year period of neglect set in for the Commander Islands. Russian and American businessmen, merchants, and adventurers poured into the islands. They bought up furs for trifling sums and made contracts with the Aleut hunters (as if they were the owners of the fur trade), paying with everyday goods and vodka. Making the inhabitants drunk was horrifying. Under these conditions the hunt for animals reached unprecedented dimensions: fur seals were taken without distinction of sex or age, without consideration of regeneration. Sea otters and Arctic foxes were annihilated. (Then, as with the company, especially in the later period of its activity, there existed strict regulations for taking animals. This operated on a system of closures, that is, of hunting prohibitions during certain periods and of other restrictions needed for the preservation of wildlife.) Under the influence of opportunists who craved only personal enrichment, the Aleuts themselves began to destroy rapaciously the sea animals vitally necessary for them.

The real threat of complete annihilation of the wealth in furs on the islands, in the presence of an unwillingness of the government to become involved, was the reason for the change regarding hunting in 1871 to the twenty-year lease to the American trading house of Hutchinson, Kohl and Co. (belonging to the same firm as the Alaska Trading Company, which leased the fur trade in the Pribilof Islands from

the government of the United States). This company regulated the management of the hunting economy and began to obtain huge profits.

The second period in the life of the Aleuts in the Commander Islands, which began with the activities of the indicated American company, is characterized by a rather sharp break up in the features of traditional culture. Outwardly, this was a time of relative prosperity for the Aleuts, but their severe exploitation, though in veiled form, continued. Furs were taken from the population at a very low valuation, whereas the cost of items of primary necessity, imported products and goods common to the colonial assortment (decorations, perfumes, fancy goods, spirituous beverages, etc.) was very high. With comparatively high earnings (especially on Copper Island where the population was smaller and the hunted animals more plentiful, including sea otters, which were the most profitable to hunt and which were lacking on Bering Island) the inhabitants did not get money in hand. They obtained the necessary goods at the company through special account books. Clothing was almost entirely imported from America, and in its acquisition they plunged a large part of their money. But, as N. Voloshinov (1886:21) writes, the "goods" imported by the company "do not conform to the conditions of life of commoners in the Commander Islands either in their quality or selection; rather, they are suitable for the life of a townsman." Instead of bird parkas, on the hunt they began putting on some warm (expensive) shirts, and instead of torbasa [boots of leather]—long rubber boots, stylish in appearance, but undoubtedly worthless and unhealthy in the local climate. As a result, the inhabitants, having become accustomed to purchase factory-made boots and dress (frequently little suited to the conditions of their life), forgot how to do almost everything necessary for their way of life and now were unable to carry out any Christian work (Voloshinov 1886:20). The existing wages were scarcely sufficient to purchase dress, tea, sugar, crackers, flour, and fuel, and the especially necessary oil was now entirely lacking (Sulkovskii 1882:9). The purchasing capability of the population on Copper Island was higher than on Bering Island, but the working conditions for the women and children were incomparably difficult there (boys eight years old helped in the hunt and twelve-year-olds carried bundles of five or six skins weighing from eight to twenty pounds each through the mountains for four miles) (Grebnitskii 1882:60).

The "American homes" supplied during this period (as evidence of the "concern" of the company for the inhabitants), the walls of which were composed of two rows of thin narrow planks, were of little use and even harmful in the conditions of cold and the extremely severe climate of the islands. They were heated with cast-iron stoves, and the air in the rooms, being warmed during the heating to a very high temperature, quickly dropped to a temperature comparable to out-of-doors when the heating stopped. N. Voloshinov (1886:21, 22) noted that in sanitary and economic regard (because of the expense of fuel and the difficulty of acquiring driftwood) it was better to live in good yurts with stoves, if it was not possible to build log homes. Really, even in later years people sometimes preferred in winter to remain in hunting camps and live in yurts than in cold homes in the villages of Nikolski and Preobrazhensk.

The economic cycle of the pursuits of the inhabitants during the second period was organized in the following manner (based primarily on the data of N. A. Grebnitskii [1882]):

April–May—Circuit of the islands, fishing in the sea, hunting birds (the men); on Copper Island hunting sea otters as well (the men), and tilling the gardens (in May, the women).

June–August—Hunting fur seals, curing skins, baling, transporting, and shipping them (the whole population), catching salmon during the annual run (primarily the women and children).

August–September—Putting up hay, collecting driftwood, catching fish in the sea (the men); on Copper Island, in addition, stocking up birds and sea fish for winter (men and women), preparing sarana, berries, and the harvest of the gardens for future use (the women).

November–December—Trapping Arctic foxes, hunting seals (the men); the remaining inhabitants traveled to the hunting places for supplies of food.

January–February—trapping Arctic foxes and bringing supplies of driftwood to the village (the men).

Consequently, the economic occupations remained approximately as in the past. But the equipment for hunting had changed. On Copper Island, for example, many residents now had guns, and whaleboats had gradually replaced baidarki. Hunting sea otters was now done almost entirely with nets.

The changes that occurred at the end of the 19th century in the lives of the Aleuts by no means improved their position. N. A. Grebnitskii, B. I. Dybovskii, N. Voloshinov, and others agreed that the unfavorable conditions of life brought on a very high percent of illness (tuberculosis, rheumatism, illnesses of the respiratory and the digestive systems, skin problems, urinary infections, etc.) and death. Child mortality was especially high. On these islands there was no medical aid. The average life expectancy was twenty-three years. The data of Grebnitskii and Dybovskii on the number of the population during the period from 1873 to 1884 and the calculations of natural increase and decrease determined by them indicated a slow growth (to 2%). However, S. Patkanov noted that in spite of this, periods of negative natural increase of the population are characteristic for the islands, caused by unfavorable conditions. So, from 1886 to 1891 the annual decrease of the Aleuts averaged 3.2 persons. And even the good earnings of the population contributed little to the improvement of the conditions of their lives, since the better part was used up on whims and the acquisition of items of luxury (Patkanov 1911:150).

N. V. Slyunin, analyzing the number of the population over twenty years, noted that an increase in the population on the closest examination of the lists of residents turns out to be insignificant, and in fact just the opposite—the extinction of entire families predominates. For five years (1886–1891) on Bering Island there were 111 births, and 127 deaths. On Copper Island over twenty years (1872–1892) the population did not increase at all (though families from Bering Island even settled there), and two families of Aleuts completely died out. The companies, happy with their profits, encouraged the "wish for children and the involuntary striving" of the Aleuts, the "carefree children of the severe north," and the acquisition of expensive and luxurious goods instead of those most necessary, not looking to cultural or educational supervision. Slyunin writes that neither low productivity nor influence of European civilization ruined the Aleut; rather, socio-sanitary conditions that were created by the activity of fur sealing companies oriented only toward extracting bigger personal profits from the hunt and returning the earnings of the foreigners [Aleuts], having exchanged them for goods, creating luxury and whim, but "being unsatisfactory as rational provisions" (Slyunin 1895b:167–177).

According to the observations of E. K. Suvorov, the extinction of the Commander Aleuts began in the 1880s. The authors mentioned above unanimously noted that this process was caused by excessive work (especially on Copper Island), bad food, ill-constructed dwellings, and ruling unsanitariness, and that attention should be drawn to the conditions of life of the population in order to change its high death rate.

Figure 19. Nikolski village on Bering Island. Photo by B. Dybovskii, 1885.

Figure 20. Prebrazhenskoe [Transfiguration] village on Mednoi [Copper] Island. Photo by B. Dybovskii, 1885.

With the lapse of the twenty-year term of the lease contract with the Hutchinson, Kohl and Co., it was not extended by the Russian government, despite proposed more profitable terms. One of the motives for rejection of the proposal, in addition to the unprofitability of the contract with the lease holder and the unsatisfactory state of the fur seal herd, was the fear of Americanization of the population on the Pacific borders of Russia, which were found to be filled with American merchants and businessmen after the liquidation of the Russian-American Company.

From 1891 the islands were leased by Russian companies. At first these were Russian associations of fur seal hunters. In the first years, the conditions of the contract with the new lessees created a significant increase in earnings (the Aleuts now beginning to get money in hand), but the collapse in the procurement of furs that followed (since in the last year of the lease of the islands the American compa-

ny carried out rapacious destruction of the herd of fur seals, having harvested them, predominantly the young, twice as much as was stated) entailed a new low in the standard of living. The position was aggravated by the fact that, as in former years, the goods were sold according to clearly speculative prices.

Figure 21. Aleuts in baidarki on Mednoi Island. Photo by B. Dybovskii, 1885.

Now repeatedly voices in print were heard to say that the lack of concern by the government about preserving the fur seal herd (as well protecting the populations of sea otters and Arctic foxes) it was because the government itself would have had maintain the Aleuts (indeed, the hunt of fur seals, in addition to providing earnings, also supplied the population with meat, which comprised the basis of the livelihood; of course, some support for the inhabitants was the reindeer brought and raised on Bering Island) (Prozorov 1902:331; Sil'nitskii 1910:514, 515).

From 1901 the islands were leased to the Kamchatka Commercial Hunting Association. This lease coincided with the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and the unprecedented, rapacious destruction by the Japanese of fur seals and sea otters. The Aleuts, with weapons in hand, protected the hauling grounds from Japanese raids and endured a truly heroic struggle for their islands. However, in the words of A. P. Sil'nitskii, a journalist of the Far East and head of the Kamchatka District in 1903–1904, who visited the islands before the war, their position during these years was deplorable:

> The Aleuts who live in the Commander Islands should have been the most well-to-do people of Russia since they are the promyshlenniki who monopolize the Commander sea mammals: the fur seals, sea otters, and Arctic foxes. For each procured animal they, in accordance with the contract of the government with the association [for] exploiting the fur seal and sea otter hauling grounds, obtain a large recompense. But in fact, the Aleuts are the poorest people in the world, and are now dying out. The reason for this is that the association clearly deceives the Aleuts, giving them for the procured animals only rubbish, for example, spirits, gramophones, trinkets, as well as alcoholic spirits, rum, whiskey, and other intoxicating drinks, though importation of these into the islands is

> prohibited. Payment for animals with goods is like taxes placed on the soul by God, but most importantly—welding the foreigners [Aleuts] to the root of their poverty (Sil'nitskii 1910:514).

From 1912 to 1916 the last pre-Revolution lease holder of the islands was the Vladivostok Commercial Company of Churin and Co., which was given the rights to hunt only sea otters and Arctic foxes. As a result of the report by E. K. Suvorov to the government on the critical condition of the fur seal herd (the injury to which had been inflicted both by killing the animals in the ocean and by the poaching of foreign ships around the shores of the Commanders), a five-year prohibition against hunting fur seals in those years was declared. The sharp decline in hunting connected with this prohibition led to a final impoverishment of the Aleuts.

Predatory extermination of the fur wealth of the Commanders and relentless exploitation of the Aleuts delivered them into a class of people becoming extinct. The laborious condition of the work, continual starvation, and alcoholism entailed numerous illnesses, high death rates, and low birth rates (although finally, at the beginning of the 20th century on the islands, there appeared a permanent medical service). According to the calculations of E. K. Suvorov, the number of Aleuts from 1890 to 1909, that is for nineteen years, diminished by 118 persons. "If extinction goes at such a pace and farther," he writes, "then in fewer than fifty years there will remain in the islands only one district administration, but there will be no population in the district. Some individual years, for example 1899, give a shocking picture of the continuous pestilence, when in one year as much as 12% of the population died" (Suvorov 1912:105). In 1917 in the Commanders there were 449 Aleuts (Table 2).

Table 2

The Number of Permanent Population of the Commanders at the Beginning of the 20th Century

Year	Bering Island	Copper Island	Total
1901	278	252	530
1902	267	256	523
1903	255	254	509
1904	260	252	512
1905	263	251	514
1906	257	242	499
1907	275	245	520
1908	272	247	519
1909	267	234	501
1910	271	232	505
1913	281	235	516
1917	262	187	449
1921	206	171	377
1922	210	171	381
1923	204	160	364

The loss of traditional features of material culture in the region, becoming intense in the year of the lease of the islands to the American companies, lasted all of the second period of ethnic history of the Commander Aleuts. Besides the indicated reasons, the lack of traditional materials contributed to this. So, the hunt for sea otters from baidarki in the sea in 1895–1896, being considered the most effective, was stopped once and for all, because there were no skins of seals (necessary for covering the baidarki)—seals were almost extirpated (in 1910, according to a report by E. K. Suvorov, there was only one baidarka on Copper Island, now unsuitable for use). Because of the destruction of this animal, which was valuable to the Aleuts, the materials for making kamleiki, pants, jackets, boots, and shoes from the intestines and throats of seals ceased to be available (Prozorov 1902:280, 281; Suvorov 1912:129). But the traditional hunting dress nevertheless continued to be retained, though not entirely in former appearance: instead of sea lion throats, fur seal throats were used, and into the jackets went rejected fur seal skins.

However, the changes that had occurred seriously affected only the traditional material culture. The social and family-matrimonial relations were preserved in the way of life far longer (remnants of this can be observed even up to present). Interesting in this regard is the system of distribution of earnings, which existed (with some changes) throughout the indicated period. Thus, on Bering Island the inhabitants comprised one artel and the general earnings were distributed not proportional to the amount of labor of each, but by a special share system, taking into account all members of the family and, in addition, solitary widows, the aged, and orphans (that is, all members of society not able to work) (Voloshinov 1886:27; Suvorov 1912:112–120). It was this very system that was maintained in Russian America by all the Aleuts, and it was based on traditional rules of Aleut society, namely, that procured food belonged to the whole community and not just to the hunter and his family. On Copper Island the share principle of distribution concerned only a small part of the income, with each primarily working for himself and keeping his earnings (Voloshinov 1886:27).

The traditional family-matrimonial relations, according to the testimony of N. A. Grebnitskii, was firmly preserved during the years of his stay in the islands (according to reports of other authors, they were preserved even longer). He writes that, just as in the Aleutian Islands, the man in the Commanders considered it shameful to carry water to the house or take fire into the dwelling himself. His affair was hunting and trading. The duty of the woman was to sew boots and kamleiki for her husband and to sew together skins for a baidarka cover. The harness for dogs was often the woman's work also. The man only fed them. The woman was also supposed to prepare fish, sarana, berries, etc. for the future for herself and the dogs (Grebnitskii 1882:781). For a long time the traditional norms of marriage were preserved (cross-cousin marriage and free premarital associations, as well as in the marriage—with the husband's permission), with kinship being calculated by the mother's lineage and her fundamental significance in the family (even up to now children sometimes take the surname of the mother). Spared as well was the custom of giving and exchanging children (almost up to recent years).

Fewer of the national traditions in the works of the people remained—folklore and dances were forced out by the Russians. But there are indications that ancient dance-pantomimes were nevertheless preserved (even in the Soviet Period, though these were usually hidden from the Europeans for fear of ridicule), which were performed with the traditional tambourine. More and more Russian customs, ideas, and beliefs entered into the life of the Aleuts, though all the islands during the pre-Revolution Period were entirely cut off from the mainland—this affected the influence of the Russian administration, the church (including the parish schools at the churches), and others. Definite influence from Kamchatka can be traced in the spiritual culture, as has already been noted in relation to the material culture. Even some

Ainu motifs are maintained in the folklore. During the second period, bilingualism spread through the islands (the second language was Russian).

The third, Soviet, period in the ethnic history did not begin for the Commander Aleuts in 1917. Soviet rule in the Commanders was finally established in 1923, after the termination of foreign intervention in the Far East. But the final pre-Soviet years were some of the most difficult. The supply of produce and everyday goods to the islands was almost completely disrupted, and the permanent change of the White Guard [Tsarist] governments of the Far East was accompanied by almost unpaid-for imports of furs. Systematic famine began, and the number of deaths was even larger. In addition, in these years rapacious raids on the fur seal hauling grounds and places of sea otter reoccupation were again increased by the Japanese and other foreign poachers. Despite all these difficulties, during the period from 1918 to 1923 the Aleuts actively, often with weapons in hand on the side of Soviet authority, fought for their islands.

The organized guards on the hauling grounds endured actual combat with bandits (Mukhachev 1968).

The number of Aleuts in 1923 was reduced to 364 people. A system of various measures, adopted in this year were directed toward saving a people becoming extinct—the restoration of an entirely destroyed fur economy of the islands and maximal use of all natural resources of the Commanders with the development of other branches of economy at their base: farming, livestock breeding, fishing, and sea mammal hunting.

The process of revival of the Aleuts was very difficult. As some authors attest (of course, after short-term visits to the islands), the Aleuts represented in these years a morally degraded population—as a consequence of exploitation and neglect of their human dignity and cultural growth in the period that had preceded (Arsen'ev 1923; Kulagin 1927b; Kulagina 1928). Other authors point to the fact that such an impression developed because of the reserve of the Aleuts and their distrust of employees who had arrived in the islands. Upon greater acquaintance with the Aleuts a whole series of attractive features of their national character was found: development, inner nobility, honesty, a sense of comradery, and other positive qualities (Red'ko 1927). The opinion of latter authors finds confirmation in how energetically the Aleuts, including the women, joined in the struggle for a new life and cultural construction, manifesting great social activity (Antropova 1956; Bondareva 1966; Miropol'skii 1968; Mukhachev 1968; Gurvich 1970, 1980; Agranat and Kuzakov 1971; Kuzakov 1974).

The Aleuts began to take the most active part in the reconstruction of the economy of the islands (a tributary work force from the mainland began only after 1935). In 1924 an Arctic fox farm was established on Bering Island; in 1925 an animal breeding *sovkhoz* was created, which then grew into an animal conglomerate; today this large multi-branched business is an animal industry. The realization of full equality (constitutional and real) with other peoples of the Soviet Union and participation in the construction of a new life lifted the working enthusiasm of the populace. In 1928 the Commander Islands were divided into a separate Aleut national region within the borders of the Kamchatka District with its center at Nikolski Village on Bering Island (Sergeev 1938; 1955:223–391; Gurvich 1970:3–9), and from 1935 the gazette *The Aleut Star* began to be published, the printed organ of the region. From the first years of Soviet authority the Aleuts began to occupy leading posts in the government of the region and the economy of the islands; there grew a cadre of national intelligentsia and technical specialists from the young people sent to schools.

However, stabilization, and even then an increase in the number of Aleuts, was still far from immediate. A difficult past left a terrible inheritance: 20% of Aleuts were ill with tuberculosis, the majority suffered chronic gastro-intestinal and cold related (especially rheumatism) illnesses; the results of alcoholism were also evident. In 1926–1927 345 Aleuts were counted. Up to 1935 the death rate exceeded the birth rate, and only in 1935 did it reach the turning point and an increase in the population begin. In this year there were 367 Aleuts (Sergeev 1938:127–129 et seq.).

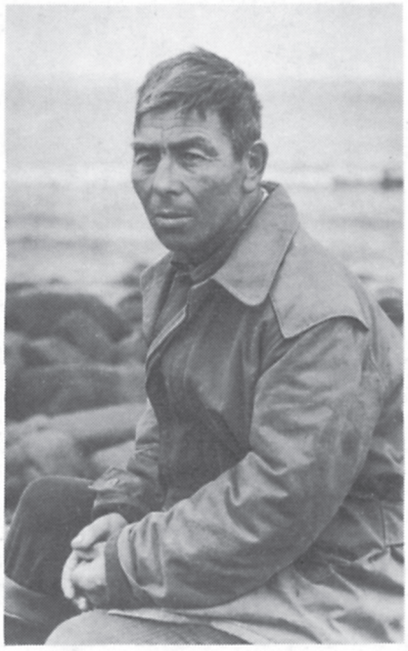

Figure 22. The old hunter P. I. Zaikov. Photo by V. E. Balakhnov, 1975.

However, since 1926 the process of dispersal of the Aleuts continued (especially characteristic for the present day). This included the departure from the primary Commander group of individual families and persons moving to the mainland (Gurovich 1970:121, 122). The people were receiving high and middle specialized education and forming nationally mixed families on the mainland.

According to the 1959 census there were 421 Aleuts within the boundaries of the RSFSR—399, in other republics—22. By the 1970 census there were 441 of them. In the 1979 census—546 (*Chislennost'*. . ., 1985:73).

The main factor in the modern life of the national region was overcoming island loneliness. At present, approximately five times as many Aleuts as Russians (and other nationalities of the USSR) live there in the population. The socio-professional structure of the Commander Aleuts is approximately the same as the population of the USSR as a whole (including new-comers to the islands). Among the Aleuts there are leading workers of the party and Soviet organs, doctors and nurses, teachers, mechanics, captains of ships, workers with sea mammals, mink farmers, etc. Of the Aleuts living in the Commander Islands, there are well-known captains of deep sea voyages, scientific workers, teachers, etc. The manner of life of the Aleuts and their social position cannot be distinguished from permanent and newly arrived

Russians (and other nationalities) in the population. Since 1969 all the inhabitants of the Commanders are concentrated in Nikolski Village, which was transformed into a settlement of the urban type. Here permanent construction is carried out, due to which all the inhabitants have well-furnished quarters in two story houses or single homes. The islands are uninterruptedly supplied with all necessities. In addition, there are dairy, poultry, and hog farms that completely provide the population with fresh products. The Aleuts make use of all governmental privileges that are granted in the USSR to ethnic peoples of the north. Due to these privileges, they can lay in for winter the necessary quantity of salmon to feed each family, they can hunt wild fowl, and they are free to take fur seal and sea lion meat for their national kitchens.

Figure 23. Yu. S. Ladygina with daughter V. T. Timoshenko (chairman of the Old Dwellers Club). Photo by V. E. Balakhnov, 1975.

Figure 24. Nina Grigor'eva (Popova) with daughter Galei. Photo by the author, 1977.

Figure 25. A conversation with long-voyage captain S. V. Timon'kin. Photo by A. N. Anfert'ev, 1976.

In Nikolski there is a well-constructed hospital with medical specialists of all types and equipped rooms, a kindergarten, a day care, and a middle school with a hostel. Nikolski also features a museum of local lore, a children's school of art, and an Old Dwellers' club that contributes to the preservation of Aleut national traditions in folk crafts and traditional use of nature. Frequent guests in the House of Culture are artists from the Petropavlovsk theater, as well as other theaters and artistic collectives of the country (including Moscow and Leningrad). Art works using the Aleut national tradition are developed in the region. In 1976 the ensemble Aleutochka from Nikolski Village was the winner of the Soviet Union review of amateur artistic performances in Moscow. In 1980 the Aleut folklore ensemble Unangan received there the title of winner.

In the recent decades, increased rapprochement of the Aleuts with the newly arrived population has occured; the predominant number of marriages are with representatives of other nationalities, the majority of which are Russian. (Here it should be noted that in the USSR generally the quantity of nationally mixed marriages continues to grow; now more than 14% of the total number of families are of mixed nationality.) A young family sometimes goes to the mainland. The process of dispersal of the Aleuts continues also because of their departure for training, after which they not infrequently choose another region for residence, as well as for various family reasons. Now it is possible to confidently state that the Commanders are entirely included in the dynamically developing migration processes of the country, contributing to rapprochement of all nations and peoples. With some mixed marriages, or unmixed, some families remain in the Commanders. The number of Aleuts there in the recent years has fluctuated below 300 individuals: someone annually leaves and someone returns. About 200 Aleuts live in Kamchatka and in the most diverse regions of our country. As it came to light in an inquiry, those of mixed blood and living now on the mainland often do not call themselves Aleuts, whereas their near relatives, returning to the Commanders, refer to themselves as Aleuts (this is the way it usually goes in our country even in other mixed marriages: the ethnic sphere in which the family lives primarily influences the selection of the nationality). In the Commanders the process of transition from bilinguality to the Russian language continues. But, as was noted by I. S. Gurvich, it can be concluded from observations in recent years that

the Aleut nationality is not yet merged with the Russian peoples. At the present time both the separate anthropological type and national consciousness are preserved, as well as several special cultural features.

Such are the general features of the formation and contemporary composition of the permanent population of the Commander Islands. The history of its formation and data from anthropological, linguistic, and ethnographic research attest that it is impossible to view the Commander Aleuts only as part Aleut and part Creole, formerly settled from the Aleutian Islands and gradually merging with the Russian nation. There are all the elements to be viewed in their separate nationality with the features of anthropological type, language, and culture characteristics, with its own ethnic history. Its rapprochement in this stage of development with the Russian nation is a process purely voluntary. And this is part of the objective process of rapprochement of all nations and nationalities of our country, being comprised of a single Soviet people.

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GLOSSARY

-i and -y are the plural endings of most Russian nouns.

Amanaty—hostages, predominantly children of toyony from 8 to 14 years of age.

Artel—a cooperative association of promyshlenniki living and working together.

Baidara—large open skin boats.

Baidarka—Aleut kayak.

Baidarshchik—an organizer of hunting-gathering operations on the individual islands.

Barabara—the traditional dwelling used by the Aleuts. It lay partially underground with a roof made from sod and grass layered over a frame of wood or whalebone and contained a roof doorway for entry.

Brodni—high peasant boots with the boot leg tied over the ankle and below the knee.

Chyucha—a large butterfly net on a pole.

Daba—a Chinese cotton fabric.

Dregalki—special clubs.

Gagat—jet.

Inorodtsy—non-Russian peoples of Russia.

Kalgi—slaves.

Kamleika—gut raincoat.

Kayur—a person in perpetual servitude, a slave for all intents and purposes.

Kollidor—a traditional Aleut a hallway.

Korol'ki—large beads.

Kulemki—wooden traps of the dead-fall type.

Laftak—sea lions or sea lion hides.

Lavtashny—trousers of seal skin.

Makarsha—*Polygonum Bistorta* (snakeweed).

Odinochka—literally a "loner" or "singleton." Refers to a one or few-nights camping structure.

Partoshchik—party leader.

Pekulka—the Eskimo's ulu or woman's knife.

Peredovshchik—foreman or crew leader.

Promyshlennik—hunter/trapper/trader.

Pud = 16.38 kilos, 36.11 lbs.

Raznochintsy—non-gentry intellectuals of the 19th century.

Russian leather—a particular form of bark-tanned cow leather.

Sarana—*Lilium Camschaticum* (Kamchatka lily), a food tuber.

Sazhen'—7 feet or 2.13 m (a marine sazhen' = 1.83 m or 6 feet).

Shitik—a ship sewn together with thongs, bark strips, willow withes, etc.

Sovkhoz—Sovetskoe khozyaistvo [Soviet farm or state farm].

Toen—leader or chief.

Torbasa—high topped skin boots with the hair on the outside.

Toyon—leader or chief.

Ukaz—decree.

Versta—0.6629 miles, 1.067 km.

Yasak—tribute.

Yukola—dried fish.

Yurt—a tent or native dwelling.

Zhil'e (Zhily)—a dwelling (dwellings).

ABBREVIATIONS

ANCSA—Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

IVGO—Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva [News of the All-Union Geographic Society].

MAE—Muzei antropologii i etnografii [Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography].

RSFSR—Rossiiskaya Sovetskaya Federativnaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika [Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic].

SE—Sovetskaya etnografiya [Soviet Ethnography].

SMAE—Sbornik Muzeya antropologii i etnografii [Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography]

TIE—Trudy Instituta etnografii [Works of the Institute of Ethnography].

ZGDMM—Zapiski Gidrograficheskogo departamenta Morskogo ministerstva [Notes of the Hydrographic Department of the Maritime Ministry].