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The Russian Molokan Colony at Guadalupe, Baja California: Continuity and change in a sectarian community

Muranaka, Therese Adams, Ph.D.

The University of Arizona, 1992

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THE RUSSIAN MOLOKAN COLONY AT GUADALUPE, BAJA CALIFORNIA: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN A SECTARIAN COMMUNITY

by

Therese Adams Muranaka

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Therese Adams Muranaka

entitled The Russian Molokan Colony at Guadalupe, Baja California: Continuity and Change in a Sectarian Community

and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Raymond H. Thompson	9/21/92 Date
J. Jefferson Reid	9/21/92 Date
Jeffrey S. Dean	9/21/92 Date
	Date
	Date

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Dissertation Director — Date 9/21/92

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This dissertation has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under the rules of the Library.

SIGNED: Therese Adams Muranaka

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As a foreign student at the Institute of Archaeology in Bucharest, Romania in 1975-76, I had one year to study the archaeological candidates thought to be the bearers of Proto-Indo-European speech to Eastern Europe. The Romanian Cucuteni C (in Russian Tripolye) culture troubled me in that the meaning of the variation seen in the archaeological record was unclear. I think I have found a useful case for answering questions about prehistoric migration in the following study of the archaeology and ethnicity of a modern Molokan Russian community in northern Baja California.

An exceptional group of Committee members spent many hours reading draft after draft of this research over many years. Thanks go to Dr. Raymond H. Thompson, Dr.Jeffrey S. Dean, Dr. J. Jefferson Reid, Dr. Hermann K. Bleibtreu and Dr. Nancy Parezo of the Anthropology Department of the University of Arizona. Dr. Lynn Christenson of the Anthropology Department of San Diego State University analyzed the animal bone pro bono. Dr. Leland A. Fetzer of the Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies at San Diego State University provided Russian translations and insight into Molokan lifeways. Dr. George Teague of the National Park Service and Dr. Glenn Farris of California Department of Parks and Recreation consulted on historic ceramics and maker's marks.

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ABSTRACT

Migration, ethnicity and cultural pattern are reviewed. The research questions how accurately the prehistoric archaeologist can interpret migration and ethnicity by means of a review of the modern migration of a group of Russian sectarians to Baja California, Mexico. Excavations undertaken in seven households at different levels of assimilation with their Mexican and Indian neighbors suggests that material culture does reflect ethnicity under these best of all archaeological circumstances. A methodology for the determination of prehistoric migrations is suggested. It concludes that "cultural pattern" is a more useful concept than "ethnicity" in the determination of archaeological migrations.

I. INTRODUCTION

As a foreign student in 1975 and 1976 in the East European city of Bucharest, I was overwhelmed at first by the diversity of speech, faces and clothing. I remember taking tram rides through the old city observing Macedonians, Hungarians, Jews and Gypsies interacting with each other in polite but limited conversations. I remember having a conversation with a Romanian employee at an embassy library. Although a very unassuming woman, she wore a garish, silver bracelet with swirled engravings that contrasted with her professional image. When I asked her about the bracelet, she smiled and said her grandmother had been captured by pirates as a child and taken to a Black Sea market. Purchased and raised by a Romanian family, the grandmother had no memory of where she was born except the bracelet that she wore on her wrist. Her grandaughter always wore this piece of material culture, a clue to the family's ethnicity, in the hopes that someday someone would recognize it. It was her dream that someone would notice the style, the quality, or how the silver was worked and tell her who she was.

The grandaughter assumed to be true the question concerning us here: can the things people own give us clues to their origins and prior movements? This paper attempts to work around the details of an artifact that are due to function (bracelets being bracelets) and to look for the specifics, "necessary and sufficient," to distinguish ethnic origin (decorative touches, quality of the silver, and so on).

It is complicated to sort the movements and points of origin of human populations from the objects they leave behind. What, if anything, is left from a prehistoric migration thousands of years ago that can be traced today? How can one identify ethnic groups, their movements and their acculturation into a new society by means of the architecture or

other material objects they leave behind? What guidelines are acceptable? Which researchers in the U.S. and throughout the world have attempted answers to these questions?

In 1985, these general anthropological considerations prompted me to undertake the excavation of an ethnically Russian village in Mexico. This ethnoarchaeological research, involved tracking a "recent" human migration, the 1904-1908 flight of a group of Russian religious dissenters, the Molokanye or Molokans, from southwestern Russia to Mexico. Today, approximately 10,000 Molokans live throughout the Western world, some of whom still have photographs, letters, visas, and best of all, personal memories, that document their journey from Russia. With their help (which is the best of all archaeological circumstances,) could an archaeologist uncovering their Mexican village document their arrival and subsequent history as accurately as we think we do for the prehistoric record? Or will our best interpretation of the archaeological data, as evidenced in this clear-cut case, be far from the documented situation? Can one match material cultural finds with ethnic groups with any certainty? What thought processes do we go through to conclude migration and ethnic change in archaeology and how much diversity is "enough diversity" to hypothesize it? How is ethnicity understood in social science today? How much should the cultural resource manager, for example, review the current social science literature on ethnicity? How credible or accountable are archaeologists when they accept as fact the arrival of a prehistoric ethnic group based upon their own intuition or perhaps upon the general reputation of the colleague who noted its arrival? Finally, what methodology, if any, is there as a guideline in investigating human migrations, as indicated in this particular instance of recent and remarkable ethnic contrast?

II. MIGRATION AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Sorting Archaeological "Migrations"

Archaeologists have long hypothesized and positively identified human migrations on the basis of a general rule of thumb: one unusual object in a collection, ("unusual" in the sense of unexpected or atypical in style, raw material or technology) was enough to consider diffusion (for example Ezell 1961: 148, Rouse 1986: 9-12). One object out of place in both style and raw material was probably exchanged or traded. One object different in style but not raw material was the interchange of ideas, perhaps the arrival of someone at the site with new techniques in mind. The sudden appearance of an entire complex of artifacts unique in style, morphology, and raw material, was thought to be the migration of a new group of people (Haury 1958). Prior locations were sought, perhaps argued about, but rarely was there an agreed upon point of origin. This was from a lack of understanding of culture change. A review of how these "formulae" for the discovery of diffusion developed in archaeology is useful before a discussion of modern techniques in the discovery of ethnicity.

Historic Development of Migration Studies in Archaeology

Early Studies

Even as early as the fifth century B.C., the Athenian Greeks, although not archaeologists in a scientific sense, concluded the identity of people uncovered in grave sites to be Carian due to their style of burial and armaments (Daniel 1967: 33). It was with the much later discovery of the spectacular cave paintings of Western Europe, however, that archaeologists really began to understand that groups of people did not evolve in the same way at the same time and that population movements among them (with the resulting

spread of innovative traits such as cave art) would be factors in unravelling European prehistory (Daniel 1964: 62). Danish scholar J.J.A. Worsaae wrote in The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark in 1849 that the later bronze period "must have commenced with the irruption of a new race of people possessing a higher degree of cultivation than the lower inhabitants (Daniel 1964: 63)." Like their assimilationist colleagues in the social sciences who assumed the "melting pot" of immigrants to the higher cultures of the U.S. and Great Britain, archaeologists following Worsaae assumed that higher civilizations with these new innovations shed their light on the "lower" civilizations of which Europe was originally composed. It was for Worsaae therefore to question the mechanisms by which this took place. "Worsaae raised one of the dominant concerns of nineteenth and early twentieth century archaeology: Did the culture changes of prehistory result from diffusion, migration, or independent invention (Fagan 1974: 23)?"

The so-called "trait approach," that is, tracing the presence or absence of specific attributes, was considered to be all that was necessary to trace the infusion of "higher culture" from the Near East, Greece and Italy into Central and Northern Europe. In 1899 Oscar Montelius published Der Orient und Europa which quickly became a major work in tracing the diffusion of cultural traits. Archaeologists often selected weaponry, jewelry or pottery for study because each had design elements that were embellishments and clearly separated from function. Whenever the trait appeared, it was assumed that a migration had taken place. Not considering other explanations such as trade or the independent invention of similar traits, the outcome was many publications on the links between the Near East and North and Central Europe.

The theoretical background of this migration-diffusion model is clear (Lowie 1937: 177-195). In Europe, as a response to the unilinear evolutionary schools of the 19th century, the Kulturkreise or "culture-circles" group (for example, Graebner 1911) traced

"large complexes of traits which had lost their former geographical unity and were now dispersed throughout the world (Harris 1968: 373)." This descriptive, particularistic focus was attractive to the British as well, for example in the work of early theorists such as W.H.R. Rivers (1914, Fagan 1974: 25, Lowie 1937: 169-176).

V. Gordon Childe, an Australian trained in Britain, was considered a more sophisticated proponent of these themes and under a social evolutionary paradigm used the migration-diffusion arguments to argue for Marx's dialectic (The Dawn of European Civilization [1925], The Danube in Prehistory [1929], and New Light on the Most Ancient East [1934]). For Childe, ethnicity had an obvious material cultural side (1942: 17), as illustrated in the following comment:

> The babel of tongues is painfully obvious to-day; it will suffice here to recall that each language is the product of a social tradition, and itself reacts upon other traditional modes of behaving and of thinking. Less familiar is the way in which divergences of tradition affect even material culture. Americans use knives and forks differently from Englishmen, and the difference in usage finds concrete expression in subtle differences in the shapes of the knives and forks themselves.

His studies of archaeological materials from around the Mediterranean Sea produced a series of migration histories, the delineation of which he considered to be his task as a prehistorian. No doubt skilled at regional syntheses, Childe developed migration models tracing "cultural influences" from key artifacts, a technique more polished than the Kulturkreise approach, but still limited by the inability of its trait-list approach to see the "forest for the trees". Childe's method was to break site assemblages into "components" characterized by typical artifacts and to trace these artifacts to other sites. He gave the assemblages and the "culture," that is the population that left them, the name of the type

site. This further confused the relationship between what he considered a diagnostic artifact and a population (Rouse 1970:280). Rouse (1970: 280-281) calls Childe's technique "chorological classification" which he defines as mapping by geographical distribution.

The culture area concept was also popular in the U.S. As early as 1907 Mason wrote of "twelve ethnic environments" in his article "Environment" in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Working with mapped distributions of material culture and their significance, his work is still the basis of controversy. He noted that one cannot emphasize geographic regions exclusively because geographic determinism is not valid; similar environments support peoples with very different material cultures. Mason also wrote that one cannot emphasize contiguity in material cultural traits to trace populations because boundaries defined by material culture alone (without an understanding of the real circumstances of the situation) may be blurred (Harris 1968: 375).

Clark Wissler (The Relation of Nature to Man in Aboriginal America, 1926) attempted to define a culture center and diffusion from it by laws of diffusion. An example was the age-area principle which was the suggestion that the distance a trait had diffused from the original location was an index of how long ago it left its original source area. Under Wissler's guidance, researchers working with both archaeological and ethnographic collections in U.S. museums began to map this culture area approach. The approach was objective and precise to them; the trait was either present or absent with comfortable implications. If the trait was present, the population's influence had been there. If the trait was absent, the population's influence had not.

Boas, and after him Kroeber, as international scholars, were certainly aware of the problems of tracking an individual artifact's appearance out of its original context (Boas

1932). For example, Kroeber's 1931 article "The Culture-Area and the Age-area Concepts of Clark Wissler" followed explicit guidelines for mapping culture-areas in context. Boas, however, argued with his former student (1932, Lowie 1937: 153-154) that historic events dictated the existence of material cultural items within a functioning culture and that the age-area concept, for example, was inoperable. The influence of Franz Boas' dictum that to map descriptive detail in context was the essence of scientific enquiry has guided both ethnologists and archaeologists of North America since his day. Arguing with the extreme diffusionists and their counterparts the "parallelists (Lowie 1937: 146)," Boas was known to be interested only in the "demonstrability of contact" (p.148) and the association of material objects as a functioning parts of the culture as a whole. His influence was immeasurable in warning those tracking migration solely by key or index artifacts. Between the two world wars, the detailed particularism of his students, however, produced isolation as some scholars focused upon regional emphases (Wells 1989:68) that few (with the exception of Europe's V. G. Childe [1942]) would break through.

Post World War II

After World War II, detailed ethnological and archaeological descriptions of material culture began to be productive. Successful individual cases seemed to indicate that attention to detail (that is, the careful recording of where and when cultural traits appeared) was all that was necessary to discover the nature of prehistoric migration. An example was MacNeish's well-known article "Iroquois Pottery Types" (1952). By careful observation, ceramic sherds of types known to be of Huron Indian make were located in Seneca villages. Supported by historic documentation that the Hurons and Senecas did not trade but took captives, MacNeish tracked Huron captives through Seneca

settlements.

Emil Haury's work at Point of Pines pueblo ruin on the San Carlos Apache Indian Reservation in Arizona is another classic study in archaeology and migration (Rouse 1958: 64-65, 67). Haury's article (1958) "Evidence at Point of Pines for a Prehistoric Migration" is a sensible, clearly-written exposition of a method and a collection of traits that add up to a well-documented case for prehistoric migration.

Haury uncovered an estimated 800 room ruin, which he thought dated from A.D. 1200 to about A.D. 1450. His evidence for prehistoric migration at Point of Pines was the architecture of a two-story, L-shaped block of about 70 rooms dating from the thirteenth century, which contrasted with the rest of pueblo. This 70 room unit lacked the stone-lined fire boxes, mealing bins and masonry storage of other contemporary structures nearby and had an unusual "D"-shaped kiva. Cucurbita mixta, an imported domesticate, was also in association. Perhaps the best evidence of all was the ceramics, which were locally made but with design elements unknown for the region. Artifacts such as these with attributes from both the giving and the receiving societies are worthwhile in the testing of migration hypotheses. Haury was also fortunate to have evidence that the 70 room ruin was burned and the population left shortly thereafter.

> A migration is the probable though not the only explanation in the archaeological record of past people:
> 1) if there suddenly appears in a cultural continuum a constellation of traits readily identifiable as new, and without local proto-types, and
> 2) If the products of the immigrant group not only reflect borrowed elements from the host group, but also, as a lingering effect, preserve unmistakable elements from their own pattern.
> The probability that the phenomena outlined above do indeed represent a migration, rather than some other force that induces culture change, is increased:

> 1) if identification of an area is possible in which this constellation of traits was the normal pattern, and
> 2) if a rough time equivalency between the "at home" and the displaced expressions of the similar complexes can be established (Haury 1958: 1).

How one deciphers migrations from the archaeological record was a topic discussed often among the methodologically-oriented professionals in the United States. More typical of Childe's work (cited above) is Rouse's discussion of methods (1970: 284) in which the word "ethnic" is used in an archaeological context:

> In summary, I would suggest that the procedure of distinguishing peoples be termed "ethnic classification." The traits diagnostic of each people may similarly be called an "ethnic complex" in order to avoid confusion with burial or religious complexes, for example. The procedure of ethnic classification is as follows:
> First, each site must be broken down into components, as is currently the practice in both Europe and America. If the site has yielded a homogeneous assemblage of artifacts, it should be treated as a single component, but if not, it will have to be divided into several different components, each with its own homogeneous assemblage. All components that have yielded similar assemblages are grouped together. Each group is defined by listing its distinctive traits and is given the name of a typical site. The name applies not only to the group of components but also to the traits which characterize it and to the people who lived in the components. The traits constitute a complex which is indicative of a people. Whenever one discovers a new site, one can identify the people who lived there simply by determining which complex it contains.

Rouse's 1986 work Migrations in Prehistory: Inferring Population Movement from

Cultural Remains is a restatement of this method with an elaboration of "the problems of origin (1986: 1)" as being degrees of interaction from population movement to small-scale immigration to cultural borrowing.

Trigger's 1968 research (published 1970: 298-299) was a relatively late effort to sort out how many traits were necessary for migration/ethnicity in the archaeological record. Similar to the trait-list approach of cultural anthropology and a direct result of the historical particularism of Franz Boas discussed above, these attempts were feeble efforts to reassess a methodology whose shortcomings were becoming more and more obvious. Parallel in time with Naroll's effort (1964) to salvage the trait-list approach in cultural anthropology is Trigger's (1970: 299) conflation of the diffusion of traits with a mere collection of objects found clustered in space and time:

> A cluster of traits which spread together may or may not be functionally interrelated...clusters of traits may not be functionally related but merely travel together since various contacts exist between groups which permit them to do so (emphasis added).

Trigger (1970: 304,310) cites Graebner (1911), a proponent of the Kulturkreise school, that the quality and the quantity of compared traits as well as the similarities between regions are guidelines to ethnicity. His method is still like that of Boas, that is, the emphasis on the careful tallying of descriptive details that gathered properly will indicate different populations. He does, however, admit problems with this technique: "These statements, however, almost invariably turn out to be personal judgements (Trigger 1970: 304)."

As Trigger noted (1970: 311), "What are the criteria that can be used to determine

whether similar objects in non-contiguous cultures are historically related?" His solution is (1) similarity in form and function, (2) non-convergent evolution, (3) a continuous distribution over space, and (4) general demonstration of related traits for regions like islands for which criterion 3 is not applicable (pp. 311-313). Trigger (1970: 298) defines diffusion as "the name given to the process by which an invention gains social acceptance. He furthermore splits diffusion into primary diffusion, (in which the spreading of a trait within the culture of origin takes place) and secondary diffusion, (in which the trait passes on outside of the original group's influence). Trigger's work with diffusion also owes a debt to Barnett (1953).

The "New" Archaeology

Careful, critical, and lucky examples of migration in archaeology like those of MacNeish (1952) and Haury (1958), were not the norm, and dissatisfaction with the methods used after World War II was being expressed in comments such as those of Thompson (1958: v):

> A remarkable feature of archaeological interpretation is the fact that a migration is one of the most common ways of explaining a wide variety of evidence. Indeed, the inference that a group of people has moved from one place of residence to another seems to be considered by many laymen as the major goal of archaeological research. Unfortunately, the eagerness with which migrations are accepted and even demanded by this reading public is matched only by the ease with which migrations are inferred by many archaeologists. The fascinating accounts which result from the oft-proposed but seldom documented movements of prehistoric peoples only whet the public appetite and lead to an expectation that more must be forthcoming. It should be emphasized that the primary responsibility for this situation rests fully upon the uncritical archaeologist

> ...There is, of course, no easy solution. On the one hand the investigator who successfully infers a migration must assume the responsibility for converting his experience into a clarification of the concept of migration itself. On the other hand, archaeologists as a group must examine their collective conscience in an effort to expose the basic causes for the present unfortunate status of migration research

Steward (1955:82) reflected these complaints in more detail (Harris 1968: 378) and gave the culture area concept a critical review. First, he noted that both the center and boundaries of a culture area are in flux. Second, he noted that the culture within a culture area is not static but changes. His third point, as others before him had noted (Kroeber 1948: 341-343, 364-367), was that material objects reflecting the culture are not unique to that culture alone. These are the research questions that archaeologists reflect upon today. Their satisfactory solution has to do with limitations in the archaeological record and imperfections in the match between cultural groups and material objects they use, questions which are still difficult to answer.

Questions similar to those of Thompson (1956, 1958) and Steward (1955) were the theoretical background of the New Archaeologists' objections (Binford 1962) to inductive reasoning. During this time, the injudicious use of the word "migration" was discouraged, as it had been overused as an intuitive stretch of the archaeological imagination. According to Binford (1973: 251) among others, migration was a concept used too often for cases in which archaeologists found more diversity between contemporary assemblages than they could explain otherwise. Like be from the same tradition. The indiscriminate use of intrusive types (Binford 1973: 251) socioeconomic conditions, diffusion and migrating populations were old standards for use in those "emergencies" when two assemblages did not "look enough alike" to 1) to distinguish

movements of whole populations, as opposed to the independent invention, trade, or movements of individuals, was at issue. The concept of migration was avoided in some New Archaeological circles, as it was in wider social science circles, for example Adams, Van Gerven and Levy (1977), in an effort to counterbalance its abuse in times past.

Characteristic of this period were the Bordes-Binford debates in which Binford, among others (Binford 1973, Binford and Binford 1969), challenged Bordes' interpretation of Mousterian scraper typology (Bordes and de Sonneville Bordes 1970) as evidence of diverse cultural-historical populations, that is, the migrations of people. Rather these scraper types were reinterpreted as functionally- specific tool-kits. Binford noted (1973: 228):

> We are therefore inevitably faced with the problem of determining whether the behavioural differences result from differences in the response repertoire of the actors or to the differences in the character and distribution of stimuli presented differentially to varying segments of a culturally homogeneous population.

Binford's arguments appear to be that Bordes' types were created by the same people doing different tasks and not tools left behind by unrelated populations. Binford's arguments were satisfying in that alternative explanations could be made to fit Bordes' data and some archaeologists' willingness to see migration anywhere was pointed out significantly. The debate was classic, however, in that reputations of four well-known archaeologists (Binford and Binford and Bordes and de Sonneville Bordes) were at stake in verifying the answers. It reinforced the subjectivity in archaeology. Which archaeologists did one actually believe? The same evidence supported both explanations; it was the methodology which was not present to clarify the issue.

To a New Archaeologist, there was nothing inherently wrong with the concept of diffusion (for example Trigger's [1970: 298] definition of "the process by which an invention gains acceptance.") As a whole, however, it was too general a concept for their research designs. To speak of a trait diffusing seemed as if the isolated trait had a life of its own. Archaeologists are particularly susceptible to this personification because they see inert artifacts left in residual circumstances from which they trace attributes without the life which produced them. Archaeologist David Clarke (1968) is an proponent of the school of New Archaeology who argued for the intrusive trait being relegated to a system of culture traits interacting with a system of behavior, the cybernetics model. Some of these systems theory models were quite productive, such as Wobst's (1977) work with artifact styles as information systems visible at great distances. Some of these models were quite unworkable, as Binford himself (1986: 464) noted.

New Approaches to Migration Questions

Childe defined an archaeological culture as a "constantly recurring assemblage of artifacts (Renfrew 1991: 407)." Wherever this carbon copy assemblage did not appear as a whole was an instance in which human migration may have occurred. As with all things, human taste and fashion dictated a change, and such issues as "material cultural evidence for migration" began to be called "archaeological indicators of ethnicity" with the same limitations.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the concept of migration was virtually ignored in archaeology, although every archaeologist knew that migrations had existed in human history. It is difficult to accept that archaeological modeling had thrown aside a process which was recorded in every history text written, that is, the movements of people from place to place. Currently, archaeologists seem prepared for a more careful assessment

(under the rubric of "ethnicity") for what are actually the same old migration problems.

The term "ethnic" (from the Greek ethnos meaning "nation") had appeared prominently in U.S. anthropology as early as 1907 in Otis T. Mason's article "Environment" in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. It was Rouse who wrote in 1965 (published 1970: 284) that "distinguishing peoples be termed 'ethnic classification." But it took the processual school to switch the focus from the specifics of behavior (migration) to the sociocultural processes activated in culture contact situations, in particular, the creation of ethnic groups, the various forms of acculturation, and the assimilation that may or may not follow.

The Curious Chain: Ethnicity-Acculturation-Assimilation

What is ethnicity? Eisenstadt (1954) was one of the earliest to identify ethnicity as the immediate result of migration (Charsley 1974: 354). There are other ways to create ethnic groups, such as the redefinition of historic borders as has occurred many times in Alsace-Lorraine, but ethnic groups are most often created by the actual migration of peoples (Francis 1976:169). Anthropologists, among other social scientists, now hypothesize that this begins a continuum of possible reactions. Yinger (1981: 251-255, Scott 1982), for example, breaks the results of these movements into structural assimilation (known as integration), cultural assimilation (acculturation), psychological assimilation (known as identification, but not of interest here), and biological assimilation (gene flow). At the risk of one more definition, assimilation is "a process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies... meet (Yinger 1981: 254)."

To understand the specific events in the reduction of these boundaries requires a short review of the social science literature and an update on ethnicity as understood

today. No better introduction exists than the quotation from Calvin Redekop who spent a lifetime studying ethnic sectarians such as the Mennonites:

> Ethnic minorities will pass away but new ones will emerge for man is continually becoming possessed by a vision which is different from others around him (1969: 243)

As visions of the world and concepts of how society should be organized change, followers of each new vision will exclude others from their group (deliberately by attitude or accidentally by geographic isolation) and new ethnic groups will emerge (Francis 1976: 169). That this ethnic group is not necessarily a "conjugal group" of real kinship, shared customs and language but a social group with merely a "subjective belief in their common descent" was noted by Weber (1947, 1961: 307). That the organization of any social group was the "activities of strategizing individuals (Salamone 1982: 476)" was the contribution of Firth (1954). That these strategies were the result of environmental or ecological choices for the best adaptive situation was pointed out by Barth (1956, 1964, 1969). With the studies of these three men, it became apparent that ethnicity, acculturation, and assimilation were a continuum that did not progress in one direction but operated like a slide rule; members of an ethnic group may move back or forth, flaunting, withholding, or changing at will what they consider appropriate displays of ethnicity.

There are many examples of this "situational" nature (Cohen 1978: 388-389, Salamone and Swanson 1979: 169) of ethnic boundaries, ethnic choices being made for a variety of expressed and unexpressed reasons. Case studies abound on the switching of ethnic affiliation under many circumstances (Despres 1975: 199, Hjort 1981: 55, 64, Moerman 1965: 1222, Nagata 1974: 332, Spicer and Thompson 1972, Vincent 1974: 376). Hodge (1969) wrote about Navajos of the U.S. Southwest who register their

children in school as Mexican-American to avoid the Native American label. Foster (1974) wrote about the Mons of Thailand who survive as traders between communities often at war. The Mons flaunt ethnicity by brightly colored or distinctive clothing (visible at long distances) which is adaptive for them as traders between factions at war. Naulko (1978) watched Soviet ethnic enclaves which displayed regional cultural differences (linguistic, material cultural and so on) most prominently at the edges of their traditional territories, locations in which the interface between groups was the most aggravated, the most significant.

Ethnic awareness seems to be a given: that people perceive (or choose) at will the characteristic expression of this social distance. When threatened (Foster 1974, Naulko 1978), they grasp more or less evidence of both the symbolic and material cultural traits of their way of life. Culturally dictated choices of appropriate behavior are some of the many decisions the members of a community make each day. Perhaps there are more upon the first arrival of immigrants into a new society (Portes 1984: 384), perhaps there are more on the periphery of an established ethnic group. It seems safe to hypothesize, however, that because material culture reflects the social system of the behavior that produced it (Binford 1962), archaeologists theoretically can use the flaunting or withholding of ethnic behavior to determine the geographic ranges and arrival times of members of that ethnic group.

Perhaps an archaeologist is best able to test the hypotheses of social scientists such as Portes (1984: 384) as to whether there is social distance at first upon arrival of the ethnic group into a new community. (Social distance could be defined, for example, in the point of origin of raw materials, or the continuity of stylistic elements in ceramics or stone tools, or perhaps in burial treatment, to name a few possibilities.) It may be, however, that there is more social distance with the surrounding community as the ethnic populations'

members begin to break out, realize limitations of different types and ethnicity flares. Evidence for the first hypothesis would be that the greatest differentiation of ethnic symbols and decorative arts would be found early (at lower levels) in the community's archaeological record. Evidence for the second hypothesis would be the maintenance and enhancement of regional ethnic differences in response to adversity. Perhaps two kinds of social distance will be reflected archaeologically. The first type is geographic with non-native raw materials and other traits reflecting ethnic diversity at its beginnings. The second type might be merely the symbolic enhancement of ethnic differences in which things shared by all members of a community regardless of ethnicity may be selectively used in different, perhaps quantitatively measurable amounts. These are the parameters of the current research problem.

Ethnicity and Archaeology: State of the Art

Perhaps hundreds of examples exist of the current trends in tracking ethnicity (McGuire 1983, Schuyler 1980, Teague 1980, Teague and Shenk 1977, Wobst 1977). Cheek and Friedlander's work (1990) is noteworthy as a contemporary example. It illustrates a processualist approach to ethnicity with an applied social science focus. It also has an interesting data base. The following is a Victorian reformer's description of turn-of- the-century African-American life in the back alleys (as opposed to the main streets) of Washington, D.C.:

> These names [Slop Bucket, Pig Alley, Louse Alley] suggest that alleys are communities distinct from the life around them. Their denizens are isolated to some extent. Thus the social and moral characteristics of alley life become as distinctive as the arrangements of their hidden roadways (Weller, cited in Cheek and Friedlander 1990: 34).

Victorian commentators like Weller concluded that the alleys of the capitol city were subcultures of urban poverty in need of reform. The recent Quander Alley Archaeology Project in southeast Washington, D.C. explored the thesis that the so-called deviant behavior of 19th century African-Americans was really a cultural difference and not social deviance. Recording the recent social science findings that ethnicity (here, a difference in adaptational pattern [p. 34]) was present, archaeologists tested the alleys for ethnic diversity as defined by material culture. Comparing back alleys to city streets where middle class whites resided, showed a distinctive alley culture. Controlling for economic differences, sheet midden and trash piles and median artifact ages were analyzed for ethnic diversity in a variety of ways. The absence of stoneware in alleys was noted. Glassware of few types in alleys was contrasted with plates, butter dishes, wine glasses, etc. in the street collections. Characteristic butchering practices (to saw bone) and cut-selection (for example, pig's feet and possum) were found in alleys. Large numbers of buttons lost or discarded in alleys is an interesting trend for African-American sites in the U.S.(p. 55). These distinctive patterns of artifact deposition blur later in the sequence but are obvious in the post Civil War years and meet the criteria for ethnic diversity as understood here. This study has the added benefit that the material cultural evidence illustrates not poverty but a fully-functioning ethnic life that existed in the back alleys and byways of Washington, D.C.

The preceding review of archaeologists' attempts to deal systematically with the questions of diffusion, migration and more recently, ethnicity, has been provided as background for the anthropological questions asked in the first chapter. In order to deal with these questions, I focused my attentions upon the Molokan Russian sect and its well-documented presence in North America. Keeping in mind the ultimate goal of identifying

prehistoric migrations and ethnic groups more clearly, I will attempt to clarify how a relatively recent migration appears in the archaeological record, a kind of ethnoarchaeological study of migration. No one but a Molokan Russian will ever understand their culture and ethnos completely. The following chapter provides a brief overview of the Molokans of Baja California as gathered by a ne nash ("not one of us").

III. CASE STUDY: SPIRIT JUMPERS OF BAJA CALIFORNIA

Molokan Sectarians: General Development of the Sect

Russian Religious History

The history of Russian Christianity dates back only to the 9th century A.D. when a Christian church dedicated to St. Elias was built in Kiev as a result of contacts with Christian merchants of Constantinople (Palmieri 1913: 253-4, Maloney and Wuyts 1967: 749). The facts are agreed upon by historians: It was in A.D. 955 that Olga, widow of Prince Igor, went to the Byzantine Court of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 912-959) and requested to be baptized, bringing the Christian faith in a more way through the royal family. Olga's grandson, the Emperor Vladimir (A.D. 980-1015), finally established Christianity as the religion of the Russian State upon his marriage in A.D. 987 to Anna, sister of Basilius and Constantine, emperors of Byzantium. Returning to Kiev with relics of Pope St. Clement, the Emperor Vladimir is said by legend to have thrown the pagan idol of Perun into the Dnieper River and commanded that all his subjects be Christianized. The City of Novgorod refused and was punished severely, but Christianity in a formal sense still had little hold on the Kievan Rus (Palmieri 1913).

Less than a hundred years later, the official schism between Latin and Greek Catholicism, under Michael Cerularius in A.D. 1054, affected the Russian churches to a great degree (Palmieri 1913: 254; Maloney and Wuyts 1967: 749). Tied to the Eastern rites by closeness of contact to the Byzantine Empire, Russian emperors had always invited Bulgarian and Byzantine missionaries and artists to come north to educate their people (Madariaga 1981: 122). Liturgical books were those of Cyril and Methodius in Old Church Slavonic, and the metropolitan or religious leader of Kiev was always eastern

in outlook because the patriarch of Constantinople appointed all bishops in Russia until 1458 (Maloney and Wuyts 1967: 749).

With the isolation of Kiev and its surroundings from the rest of Europe by the Tartar invasions, the Russian Church took on its own characteristics (Bolshakoff 1950, Lane 1978, Kolarz 1961). For a short time, the Russian clergy attempted to reunite with Rome when the Metropolitan Isidore joined the Council of Florence in A.D. 1439. But returning to Russia, Isidore was imprisoned by the Czar, who preferred his own partriarchate free of outside political controls (Maloney & Wuyts 1967: 749). With the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, it became more and more clear that Russia, in the name of orthodoxy, was on it own. Claimed as the third Rome (the first having been "corrupted by papism," the second [Byzantium] having been "profaned by the Turk"), the Patriarch Job (based in Moscow) was made the first Patriarch of Russia in 1589 (p. 749).

Raskol and Russian Sectarianism

Of the ten patriarchs of Moscow from 1589 to 1800, the most well-known was the Patriarch Nikon (1645-1676), appointed in 1652. His efforts to reform poor translations in the Old Church Slavonic liturgical texts and in the Orthodox liturgy caused a great schism in the Russian Orthodox Church (Fadner 1967: 755, Maloney & Wuyts 1967: 750). Calling a council in 1654 to conform more closely to the practices of the Greek Church, Nikon argued for using three fingers instead of two in making the sign of the cross, using a four-branch crucifix instead of an eight-branch crucifix, marching religious processions against the sun rather than with the sun, and spelling "Jesus" Iisus as opposed to Isus, as the Russians had always done it (Young 1932: 63). Nikon's actions aggravated masses of illiterate peasants as well as members of the middle and upper classes, who preferred tradition and the Russian way in all things (Klibanov 1965: 45).

Known as the Staroveri or "Old Believers," they formed bands of schismatics knows as Raskolniki.

> Orthodox peasants were wont to say that among the Raskolniks "every moujik formed a sect, and every baba (peasant woman) a persuasion" (Stepniak 1888: 266).

Splintering, rejoining and splintering again, the raskolniki basically divided themselves into two sections: The popovtsy ("with priests") and the bezpopovtsy ("without priests"). Those "with priests" were close to the Russian Orthodoxy with the exception that they defied the liturgical reforms of Nikon. The "priestless" divided into many groups. Famous among them were the Stranniki or "Wanderers," the Sredniki who debated the correct day of the week to celebrate Easter and the Skoptsy or "Castrates." The line of priestless that is of interest here is the Khlysty "Twig-Beaters" or "Flagellants" (Fader 1967) (Figure 1.).

The Khlysty or Khristovoverie began as an outgrowth of Russian feudalism and as a protest against the domination of Russian Orthodoxy (Lane 1978: 91, Klibanov 1982). Unlike the Old Believers, who began in opposition to liturgical reforms of 1652, the Khlysty are documented as early as 1630 and are native-born sectarians. They believed that the second coming of Christ occurred during a person's life and that Christ could possess the soul of any member of their community: man, woman or child (Lane 1978: 92). Following selected leaders or "Christs" to glory in this world was a basic premise. The presence or absence of wealth was not an issue, as many Khlysty were from the

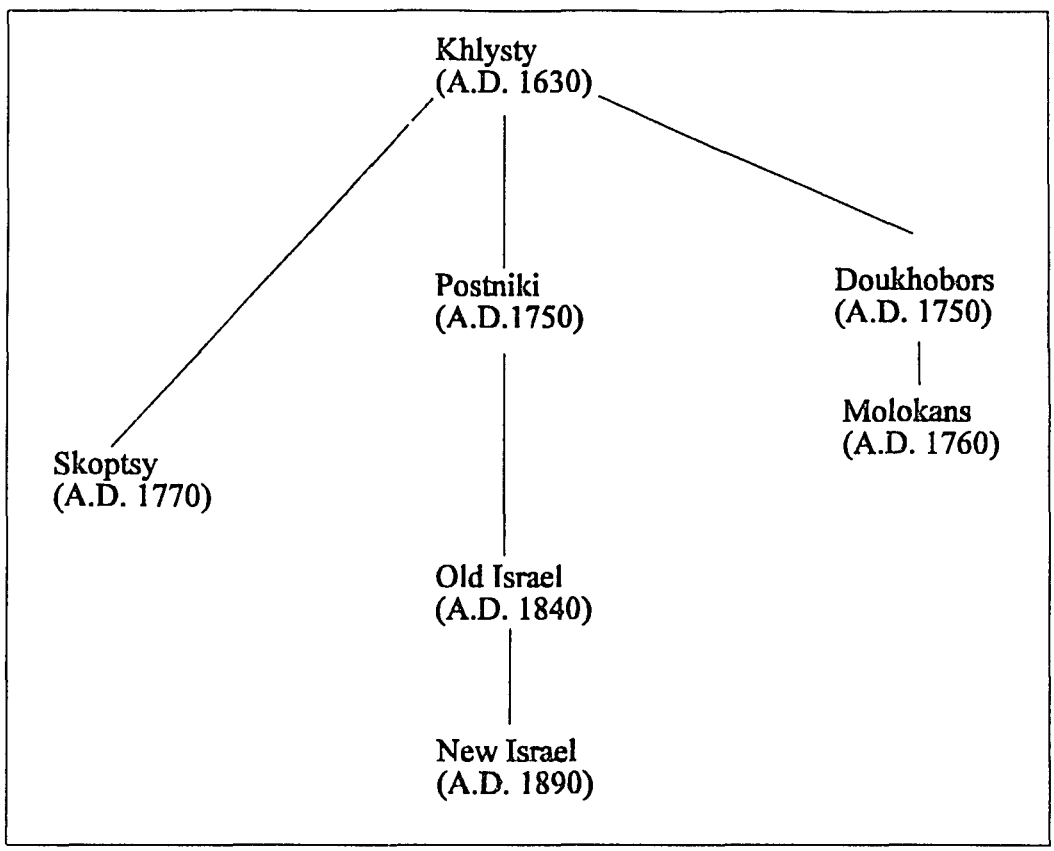


Figure 1. Russian Sectarianism (after Lane 1978: 91)

wealthy classes. The Khlysty group evolved to the Postniki, also known as the "Fasters," in 1750 under a new "Christ," a leader named Kopylov. The next sect, Old Israel, was formed in 1849. It was a less stringent gathering, a counter-reformation that held 25,000 followers in the 1880's (Lane 1978: 93). The New Israel (1890) was more politically-oriented than the rest of the movement. In the pre-Gorbachev Soviet Union there were recorded perhaps only twenty Postniki or Israelite followers in the late 1970's. About 10% of the New Israel emigrated in 1911-1912 to Uruguay (Lane 1978: 93).

The Doukhobors (Dŭk ă bōrz)

The Doukhobors or "Spirit Wrestlers" (Dukh= "Spirit", borotsia= "to fight") have an uncertain origin. Some religious historians say they are descended from the visits of an English (Conybeare 1962: 290) or Quaker (Struve 1967: 227, Stepniak 1888: 311) doctor to the Russian Court of Ivan the Terrible (1530-1584). Conybeare (1962: 347) cites the story of the English doctor but argues that their origins are like the Cathar or Albigensian movements and probably out of Bulgarian Bogomilism through the trade routes from Kiev to Moscow. (p. 263). Seton-Watson (1967: 33) proposes a German-Protestant origin, and he is supported by Tschizewskij (1978: 171). Kolarz (1961: 347, supported by Dunn 1967: 137) on the other hand, argues that the Doukhobors are a completely native development, growing out of protest to the Muscovy aspect of the Russian State. It is hard to imagine that Doukhobors were not influenced by the Old Believers because 100 years had passed since the start of the Great Schism in 1652 and the 1750-1755 citing of the first Doukhobor protestors (Stepniak 1888: 311). Their intellectual similarities to the native-born, rationalistic Khlysty movement must also be emphasized.

As to their philosophy,

> The Dukhoborsy...believe that God does not exist as a separate personal being. The Deity, according to them, dwells in the souls of men, inseparable and undistinguishable from them, and unable to reveal its substance and glory otherwise than through them (Stepniak 1888: 312).

They believe in the pre-existence and transmigration of souls. Their leaders, like the Khlysty, are "God-Men" who are venerated and whose orders are followed because they are divine. The Bible to them is a collection of dead words (Lane 1978: 97) and they have their own literary tradition called "The Living Book." They completely abandoned the rituals of the Orthodox Church and await the Holy Spirit's inspiration in a communal service of preaching by any member (regardless of age or sex) and simple prayer.

First cited in the arrest records of the Imperial Police in 1750 to 1755 for the Kharkov region (Stepniak 1888: 311), pockets of faithful members grew around Ekaterinoslav near Dneprpetrovsk in the southeastern Ukraine and in Tambov Province (Figure 2). The sect spread through Matthew Semanov, a servant (Conybeare 1962: 290), and through the work of Sylvanus Kolesnikov (Struve 1967: 227). Cited at Melitopol on the Molochnaya or Milk River at Sea of Azov in 1801 (Kolarz 1961: 354, Lane 1978: 97), they were forcibly settled in the Tbilisi region at the Turkish border with Georgia in 1837-1841 (Seton-Watson 1967: 217, Struve 1967: 227, Lane 1978: 97). At the 1926 census there were 5,000 Doukhobors in eight villages like Goreloe, that hugs the highway along the

Turkish-Soviet border. In 1939 in the Bogdanovka area of Georgia, many had still refused collectivization. In 1898-1900, some 7,000 migrated to western Canada where they later became famous for sensational protests against the Canadian Government and Canadian Board of Education.

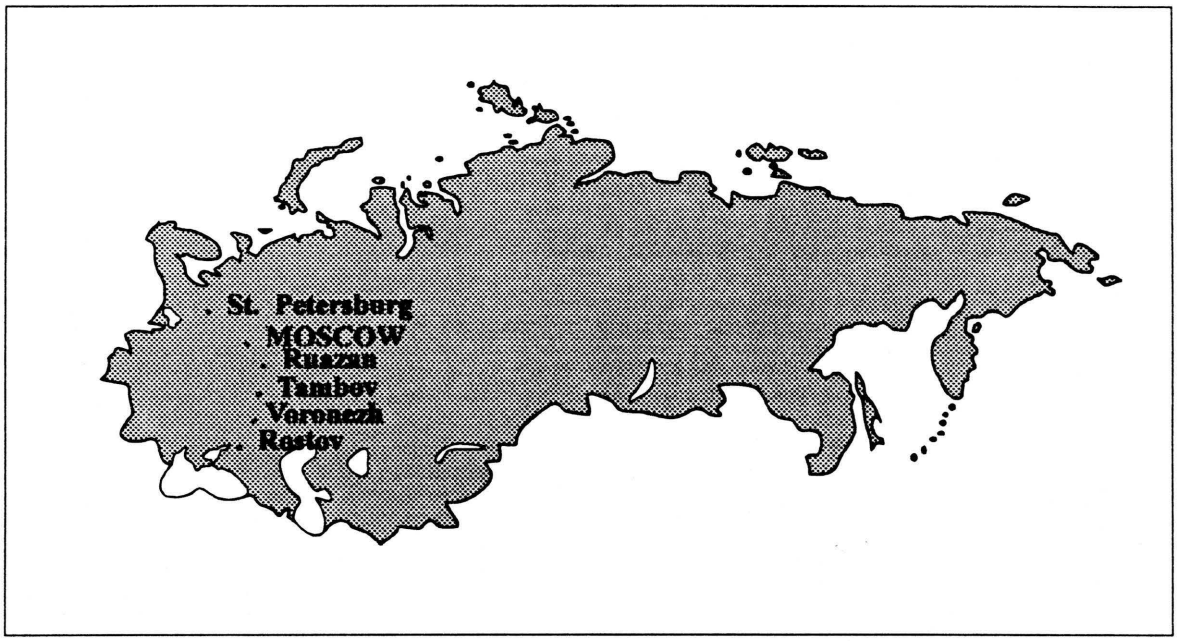


Figure. 2 - Map of the Soviet Union

The Molokans (mŏl′ŏ käns)

In 1760 a tailor, Semon Uklein, argued with his father-in-law, the "Christ" of the Doukhobors, Savva Poberikhin, that among other things the Bible was a useful source of inspiration in Doukhobor life (Stepniak 1888: 323). He split with the Doukhobors, taking seventy followers and formed a rationalistic sect know as Dukhovnye Khristianye ("Spiritual Christians") or, as they came to be known, the Molokans (Lane 1978: 100).

Their name, Molokan, has a confused etymology. Some scholars suggest it derives from the location of Doukhobor settlements near the Molotchnaya, or "Milky" River, a

turbulent or muddy river in southern Russia. Others note it comes from the fact that the Molokans ignored Orthodox fast laws by drinking milk during Lent. The Molokans themselves have since accepted their name as meaning the "drinkers of spiritual milk" from Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians 3:2 (Kolarz 1961: 349), a popular explanation they give today.

Writing his own text, The Ritual, the tailor Uklein set out the revised principles of the faith: no priests, no sacraments, no formal church organization, no status differences, and an opposition to material progress (Young 1932: 83-84). Bratsvo, or "brotherhood," and obshchestvo, or "community," were central ideas. Unlike the Doukhobors, however, who were almost solely peasants, the Molokans drew some early converts from literate townspeople (meshchane), merchants and industrialists (Lane 1978: 100, Klibanov 1982: 155). Pacifism, reason and self-perfection through work were highly valued (Lane 1978: 102) and the Molokans have been characterized overall as Utopian (Wilson 1970: 47). The Molokans qualify as a sect in that they are at war with the world, claim divine inspiration, set themselves off by plain dress and speech, and have a codified body of laws considered sacred (Young 1932: 56-57).

The sect spread with Uklein from Tambov to Voronezh, to Mihailovsky, to the Cossacks on the Don River, to Saratov, and from there to the Caucasus with Isaiah Ivanov Krylov, and across the Volga River with Peter Dementev (Conybeare 1962: 291). Further spreading is cited at Nizhegorod and Vladimir and to the area of Ryazan with a follower named Moses the Dalmation (p. 291).

Doctrinal divisions soon arose in the sect (Young 1932). Split from the sect were the Subbotniki or "Sabbatarians" (who followed Jewish law more closely), the "Evangelical Christians" of the River Don (who eventually allowed themselves to be drafted), the "Communists" (who made various efforts at total equality through a sharing of personal

property), the Postoyanyi or "Steadfast" (who did not "jump" in ecstacy with the Holy Spirit at religious meetings), and the Pryguny or "Spirit Jumpers" (also called Maksimisty after Maxim Rudometkin (Lane 1978: 102).

Actual population estimates are hard to obtain and are not always accurate because religious sects such as the Molokans are sensitive to government interference. Post-revolutionary "adjustments" by some Soviet scholars to pre-revolutionary statistics of religious groups are also a problem. Conybeare (1962: 305) quotes the 1842-46 State Census of Tambov Gubernaia as identifying 200,000 Molokan (1962: 305). Stepniak (1888: 242) is in agreement. Kolarz (1961: 349) notes 1,200,000 countrywide in 1900. Soviet expert Klibanov (1965: 181) notes that the figure of one million followers is too high, but that it is stated as such for 1913. For Georgia in the northern Caucasus Mountains, Lane (1978: 105) has found statistics for 10,000 Molokan at the end of the 1920's. Marxist expert Putintsev's work (Kolarz 1961: 352) showed 118 Molokan groups of 7,433 people in the Far East. Estimates vary but range around 13,000 known Molokan for the Soviet Union today (Lane 1978: 105), the Postoyanyi or "Steadfast" being the largest group, followed by the Pryguny or "Jumpers" and the Maksimisty.

Occasional references to Molokans have appeared in the Soviet press since the Revolution (Kolarz 1961: 349-352). In 1920, the All-Russian Congress of Molokans was monitored. In 1923, the All-Russian Union of Religious Communities of the Spiritual Christians decided to oppose military service. In 1924, the group dropped its official antimilitary stance and allowed for individual conscience. In 1929, at the Fourth Congress at Vladi-Karkaz, the group accepted military service for the Red Army on the grounds that it opposed the Pope.

In 1952, the Molokan conference of Zagorsk noted tens of thousands of Molokans still living in Azerbaijan (especially the area around Baku) in the Far East and in Soviet- and

Romanian- held Moldavia (Struve 1967: 228). In 1961, the Soviet press, Russkaia Mysl (October 2, 1962) reported that 2,000 Molokans living in Kars (now in Turkey) were repatriated to the Soviet Union. Villages mentioned as still being predominantly Molokan are Zolotova in Georgia (Lane 1967: 105), Schemachin in Transcaucasus, Nikitino in Armenia, Fioletovo-Lermontova in Azerbaidjan (Struve 1967: 229). Kolarz (1961: 351-352) makes reference to Khilmili in the Shemakha district (60 miles from Baku), Kedabed on the Armenian-Azerbaijanian border, Kalinino (formerly Vorontsovka) in Armenia and the villages of Novo-Ivanovka in Armenia and Novo-Aravtovka near Krasnoselsk. Scattered groups have been noted at Ordzhonikidze in the Ossetian Autonomous Republic, near Ashkabad in Turkmenistan, in the Orenburg region (Lane 1978: 105-106) and in the Soviet Far East (Kolarz 1961: 352).

With the post-Gorbachev era, professionals in the Soviet superstructure have acknowledged Molokan heritage and the search is on to rediscover Molokan believers "hidden" within Soviet society. New estimates as to numbers and degree of assimilation should soon be available.

Predictions and Hiatus

Religious persecution of the Molokans started each time the displaced Molokan settlements grew prosperous or, with the exception of the Evangelical Christians, at the times when the Imperial Russian Government went to war and needed conscripts, whom the Molokans refused to give up. At these times, severe laws against Molokans were enacted (Conybeare 1962: 293-294). On January 25, 1836, for example, the Ministry of the Interior refused Molokans internal passports to move about within Russia. On January 23, 1839, they were denied land more than 30 versts (one verst = one kilometer) away from a homestead and in the same uezd (a territorial division). In 1839, Tsar Nicholas I

(1825-1855) exempted some Molokans from military service if they would settle Transcaucasia, a frontier territory east of the Black Sea now divided between Armenia and Turkey (Lane 1978: 101) (Figure 3.) They were promised a fifty year exemption from imperial duties (Moore 1973: 41). But by 1857 Imperial Statute 82 dictated that Molokans could not marry non-Molokans. Statute 83 would allow no Orthodox work forces for the Molokan farms. Other statutes denied the Molokans not under exemptions the privilege of buying out their sons' military obligations.

Figure. 3 - Map of Kars and vicinity, origin of Molokan exodus to the United States at the turn of the century (Muranaka 1988: 4)

The Molokans speak with more respect of Tsar Alexander II (1855-1881) who in 1858 freed them from some rules, especially the military service so in conflict with their religion. In 1861 he declared that Molokan children could go to any school they chose (Conybeare 1962: 293). The uneasy peace he created with the Molokans lasted until the Chinese and the Russo-Japanese Wars of 1900 and 1905, in which Molokan sons were once again needed for the war effort. The outcome of these of events, their long migration to the New World, is best described in their own words.

> In ancient times it is shown in the Old and the New Testaments the movements of people from one land to another- like Abraham, Izaac, Jacob, Moses and others- and of their worthy trials and tribulations before God...(Shubin 1963:2)

Prophecies of the "transmigration" of the "Woman Clothed in the Sun," a name of the Molokans for themselves (Shubin 1963: 22), seem to circle around the mid-nineteenth century prophecies of Efim Klubnikin (Shubin 1963:17).

> In the middle of all this movement, a twelve year old prophet beckoned to the call of the Lord, Efim Garasimovich Klubnikin. In the small village of Nikitina, he received God's revelations in 1855 and for seven days and seven nights he was in the Holy Spirit during which time he fulfilled the writing of what the Spirit told him. The Lord makes everything possible- a child that didn't know how to write, wrote; he drew plans in a picture form. Wrote revelations and prophesies for songs and prayers. He foretold by prophesy in 1855 the life imprisonment that Maxim Gavrilovich [Maxim Gavrilovich Rudometkin, a leading prophet of the Molokans] was to suffer in a dungeon with these prophetic words found in the book of Spirit and

Life.

"Goodbye, goodbye Maxim Gavrilovich, this is our last meeting.
They will banish you to a far-off strange land beyond the steep mountains, the high and dark forests, in the grave-like earth.
You will live with snakes, walk through wolves gates.
We will not see each other except through scanty letters.
Your gladness and rejoicing deserted you, your paths awaiting you weaken and go on their own thoughts.
Goodbye, goodbye, while we still see you (Shubin 1963: 17)."

In the late 1880's (especially in response to the Tsar's Autumn of 1888 call to arms) word began to circulate in the villages of the Transcacausus that the time to leave was at hand (Shubin 1963: 21-22). Phillip Mihailovich Shubin with the help of the prophet Klubnikin began to look for the three signs to emigrate: the people gathering for midnight prayers, a light flashing in the heavens at night and seen throughout the land, and singing from east to west in the night like the Coming of Christ had occurred. In 1899, after the Doukhobors had left Russia for Canada the year before, Shubin and Ivan Gureyevich Samarin went to Leo Tolstoj for advice on migration. Tolstoj wrote on May 2, 1900 two known letters (Tolstoj 1933: 351-354) in their behalf. Samarin and Shubin came to the U.S. and Canada to find the area which would be their refuge in 1900. Searching the South American consulates in New York for freedom from armed service and for available land, the two were met by a translator sent by Tolstoj and by Peter Demansoff whom some refer to as a literary agent of Tolstoj's and who resided in Los Angeles (Shubin 1963: 25). To this day, the Molokans of Guadalupe such as long-time villager Mary Rogoff say that Los Angeles was always their destination because Klubnikin revealed they would be safe when their journey was with the angels.

Their third petition to leave Russia as a group having been denied (Shubin 1963: 28), groups began secret preparations to emigrate and began in the Spring of 1904 to leave for the "Land of Refuge", that is, Los Angeles, California. Due to the secret nature of the flight, few statistics exist on this family by family exodus from Russia. Fleeing in all directions, as many as 10,000 people may have migrated to the United States. It is, however, more likely that the total number of emigres by the end of 1908 reached only 2,000 to 3,000 people. Berokoff (1969) said 3500 were in southern California by 1912. Two routes were followed: Tiflis to Hamburg, New York and Los Angeles or Tiflis to Marseilles, Panama and Los Angeles. The former route was shorter, costing $200 per person and requiring 35 days (Jackson 1962: 43, Young 1927: 54, 1932: 14). Some families were turned back from Ellis Island by sickness and some were taken advantage of by unscrupulous ship captains; some unlucky families (such as the Kalpakoffs, Bogdanoffs, Lidyoffs, Sisoevs and Seleznovs) found themselves in Buenos Aires without funds. Walking over the Andes to Chile under great hardships including the kidnapping of a wife whom they never found and the burial of a seven year old boy between the rails of the train tracks ("the remains of a sacrificed child in the name of Pahod [flight],") they obtained passage to Mexico and from there to Los Angeles (Samarin 1990: 3, Figure 4).

Molokans in North America

Arrival and History

As early as 1900, a party of Molokan elders came to Los Angeles, looking for the promised land. Along with Alexay Ivanich Agalsoff, this party returned to Russia and preached the wonders of southern California at the turn of the century. Peasants tired of the harsh climate of Armenia were attracted by the tales of this land of refuge. Arriving in Los Angeles at the Santa Fe Station by the Los Angeles River at the First Street Bridge,

they were observed by Dr. Dana Bartlet, a Protestant minister. With his help for housing, schools, health care and translations, Molokan families regrcuping in Los Angeles continued to arrive until 1911 (Samarin 1947: 22). A total of 3300 Molokans is noted for 1915, of which 3100 were the Pryguni or "Jumper" sect (Sokoloff 1918:1). An interesting aside was noted in the San Diego Union newspaper of August 26, 1905 (p. 1, col. 6):

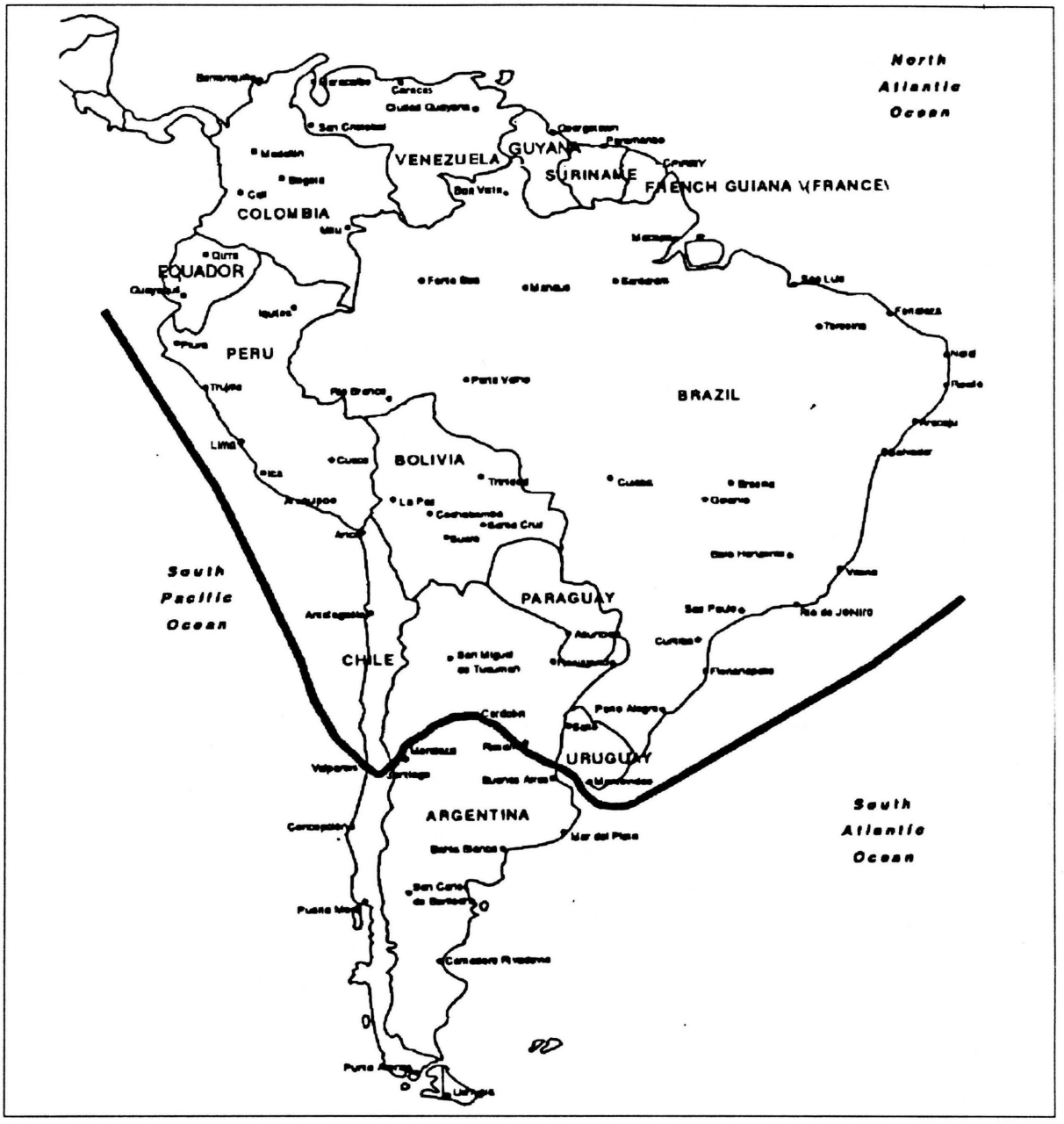


Figure. 4 - Route of Molokans crossing the Andes Mountains (Samarin 1990: 4)

> Russian Immigrants to California
> San Francisco, Aug. 25.-On the Pacific Mail steamer Newport, arriving today from Panama, were forty-seven Russian immigrants bound for the colony of their countrymen near Los Angeles. Like other Russian immigrants recently arriving, this party hails from Black Sea province and came from Odessa by way of Marseilles and the isthmus of Panama. All hands were sent to the quarantine station at Angel Island for examination. On the way up from Panama a 10-year-child died of bronchitis and was buried at sea.

The Molokan families settled in the Belvedere, Maywood, Bell, Huntington Park, San Pedro, Lynwood, Palomar Park and especially "The Flats" or Boyle Heights (also called Hollenbeck Heights) suburbs of Los Angeles. Two or three families lived together in a single household. The children went to the Utah Street School and had a special relationship with the principal who cared especially for them (Sokoloff 1918: 11). Taking jobs which required no English language skills, men worked in the lumber yards and as garbage collectors. The women worked in the fruit canneries or as domestics, and children worked in biscuit and candy factories after mandatory school hours. The heart of the Molokan settlement was the Vignes and First Streets section where the Rudometkin grocery store was located. (Molokan businesses are identified by names ending in -in, -off or -eff.) Seven Molokan churches were noted in research done in 1915 (Sokoloff 1918: 8).

Molokans in Los Angeles Today

Two directories published in the 1980's list the now thousands (8340 tallied) of Molokans living outside of the Soviet Union (Conovaloff 1981, UMCA 1986). From Alaska and Canada to Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay and Australia, Molokans are listed by

name, father's name, address and phone number, as well as by specialty businesses. The Molokan Resident Center on Percy Street in Los Angeles is a retirement home for members. The United Molokan Christian Association (UMCA) in Hacienda Heights is a modern complex providing socialization and classes for Molokans of all ages. The Heritage Club, an association for Molokan businessmen, provides Molokan college students scholarships, among other philanthropies. Publications such as the Heritage News or Heritage Gazetta, The Molokan, and The Christian Molokan Besednyik keep communication alive between L.A. and the splinter communities such as Kerman, Shafter and Porterville, California, plus Glendale, Arizona and Woodburn, Oregon.

Scholars such as O'Brien-Rothe (1989) and the leading Molokan ethnographers in the United States Dr. Stephen and Mrs. Ethel Dunn (E. Dunn 1967, 1970, 1973, 1976; Dunn and Dunn 1967, 1977, 1978, 1982-1989) continue to monitor acculturation and change in the Alta California communities. For example, there are six Los Angeles churches known commonly as Persian Church, Milikoy Church, Big Church, Freeway Church, Samarin Church and Blue Top Church. The number of churches still attended alone, is an indicator of the ongoing sense of community among the Molokans of Los Angeles. Endogamous marriage rules are followed about 50% of the time. One can not convert to Molokanism without a great deal of difficulty. One is just a "Russian" and not a "Molokan" if one stops attending sobranie or Molokan meeting. Young incorrectly noted in 1929 (p. 393):

> The Molokan community in Los Angeles for over a
> quarter of a century has struggled ceaselessly
> to maintain unimpaired the peculiar communal
> life and native cultural organization which
> it brought from northern Caucasus. It is
> increasingly evident that the battle is lost.
> The defenses of this group against the assimi-
> lation of the younger generation are more
> powerful perhaps than those of any other peasant known

> to American life. They have a long tradition of social isolation, deeply rooted habits of collective action, social customs which are backed by well-defined religious sanctions, intelligent native leadership, and a consciously developed and oft-repeated determination to avoid contacts with a "sinful world." Nevertheless, they are unable to maintain the cultural integrity and strikingly exhibit the effects of American urban life upon native cultures. Their fate lends further weight to the thesis that American city life permits no permanent segregation of cultures...

Further information on the acculturation of Los Angeles' Molokan communities and other U.S. based Molokan groups such as the Postoiannye or "Steadfast," is available in Dunn (1976), Dunn and Dunn (1978), Moore (1972), Sokoloff (1918), Stack (1924) and Young (1926, 1927, 1929, 1930a, 1930b, 1932).

Molokans of Mexico: The Guadalupe Valley Colony

Land Purchase

Almost immediately upon arrival in the U.S., Molokan elders began praying and looking for a place to settle in the southern California vicinity. Looking for rural settings where their children would not be tempted by a materialistic way of life and for areas where vast tracts of land could be obtained cheaply, they settled upon a tract of land in Baja California Norte. Known as the ex-Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, it was located on the Río Guadalupe north of the Mexican port of Ensenada, approximately 35 miles southeast of Tijuana (Figure 5).

The valley was the home for Indian populations for approximately 10,000 years and was settled by European missionaries in 1834 when Dominican missionary Felix Caballero built Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (the second and northernmost of two Baja California

missions named "Guadalupe".) The mission was almost an afterthought as the 1833 Secularization Act was already written, but the mission was established for a military outpost already in the area. The mission was raided and destroyed by the Kumeyaay (Tipai) Indians under Chief Jatañil in 1840. By 1845, Don Juan Bandini had a rancho there but due to his support of the U.S. takeover of Alta California, lost the rancho to José Matías Moreno, whose family held sections of the land until the 1940's (Long 1976).

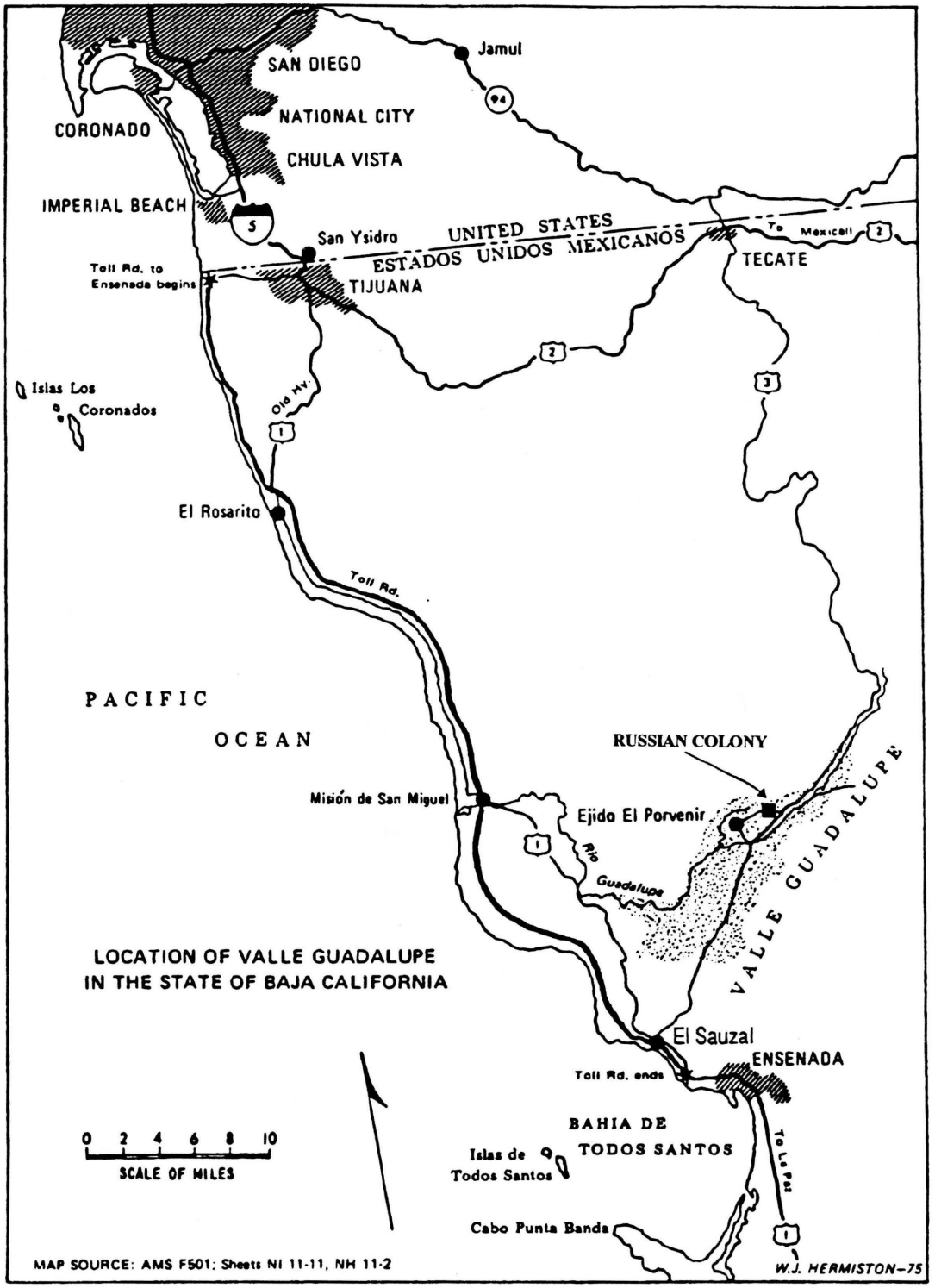


Figure 5 - Map of Northern Baja California, showing location of the Guadalupe Valley and the Russian Colony (Post and Lutz 1976: 142) 1976).

By the end of the gold rush era in the 1870's, Baja California had been introduced to international efforts at mining, fishing and colonization. English and American corporations were seeking permits from Mexico City for tent cities. Japanese fishing and French mining, for example at Santa Rosalía, were continuing farther south. On September 5, 1905, the San Diego Union (p. 7, col. 6) noted the following Russian sectarian investment in the Mexico of Porfirio Díaz:

> Russian Colony at Guadaloupe
>
> A Ranch of 13,000 Acres
> Was Purchase d (sic) for
> That Purpose
> Saturday
>
> The deal was closed Saturday by which the Rancho ex-Mission Guadaloupe, which consists of 13,000 acres in the northern part of Lower California was sold to 104 Russian Families. C.P. De Blumenthal carried on negotiations for purchasing the property...Mr. De Blumenthal passed through San Diego from Los Angeles last week on his way to Guadaloupe.
> Several hundred head of cattle and horses are included in the sale. The land is well watered and timbered and several Russian families already living on it find it well adapted for agriculture. Farming and stock raising will be the first pursuit of the Russians while later a flouring mill will be built and a town laid out. Nearly 100 families are expected at the colony soon. The price paid for the land is understood to have been well up in the thousands.

The organization which formed the colony communally in the name of all members was the Russian Colonizing Enterprise of Lower California, Cooperative Society, Limited (Empresa rusa colonizadora de la Baja California, sociedad cooperativa, limitada [Deway 1966: 35]. Representatives Ivan Gureyevich Samarin and agent P.C. (C.P.?) Blumenthal

contracted March 20, 1906 with the Mexican Secretary of Public Works (Deway 1966: 35). On July 20, 1907 three Molokan representatives (Basilio Pivavoroff, Basilio Tolmasoff and Simeon Babichoff) bought from Donald Barker, an American, 5266 hectares and 83 ares for $48,000. The terms for the colony were $5700 down, $1300 within 30 days and the rest of the sum from harvested crops to the amount of half of the harvest each year until the debt was gone (Deway 1966: 36). Although this official deed dates from 1907, the settlers remember an established colony there at an earlier date (Deway 1966: 36 and App. A, San Diego Union September 5, 1905).

Immigration

Approximately 104 families moved to Guadalupe between 1905 and 1911. The original families included children of the two major leaders of the migration to the United States, I.G. Samarin and Phillip Shubin (Figure 6). (Family names included Mohoff, Samarin, Pivovaroff, Afonin, Agalsoff, Rogoff, Samaduroff, Shubin, Tolmasoff, among others.) The leaders of the new colony divided the land equally with each family receiving an equal share of good and poor land.

The Molokans built a village in the Strassendorf or street village pattern (Post and Lutz 1976: 140, Schmieder 1928:417), with houses arranged side by side along a single, straight, tree-lined road (Figs. 7 and 8). Houses were made of bricks of sun-dried mud and straw stacked with mud mortar and whitewashed in the fashion of the Mexican adobes of Baja California, but roofs were shingled and steeply-pitched in the old Russian way to keep out the snow. Every family had the same-sized strip of land on the main street and each homestead had a house entered by means of a narrow passage with a room on either side, one of which was the kitchen, the other a family living area. At the back, another kitchen might be attached, with a large bake-oven or pechka (Story 1960: 35). Cousins

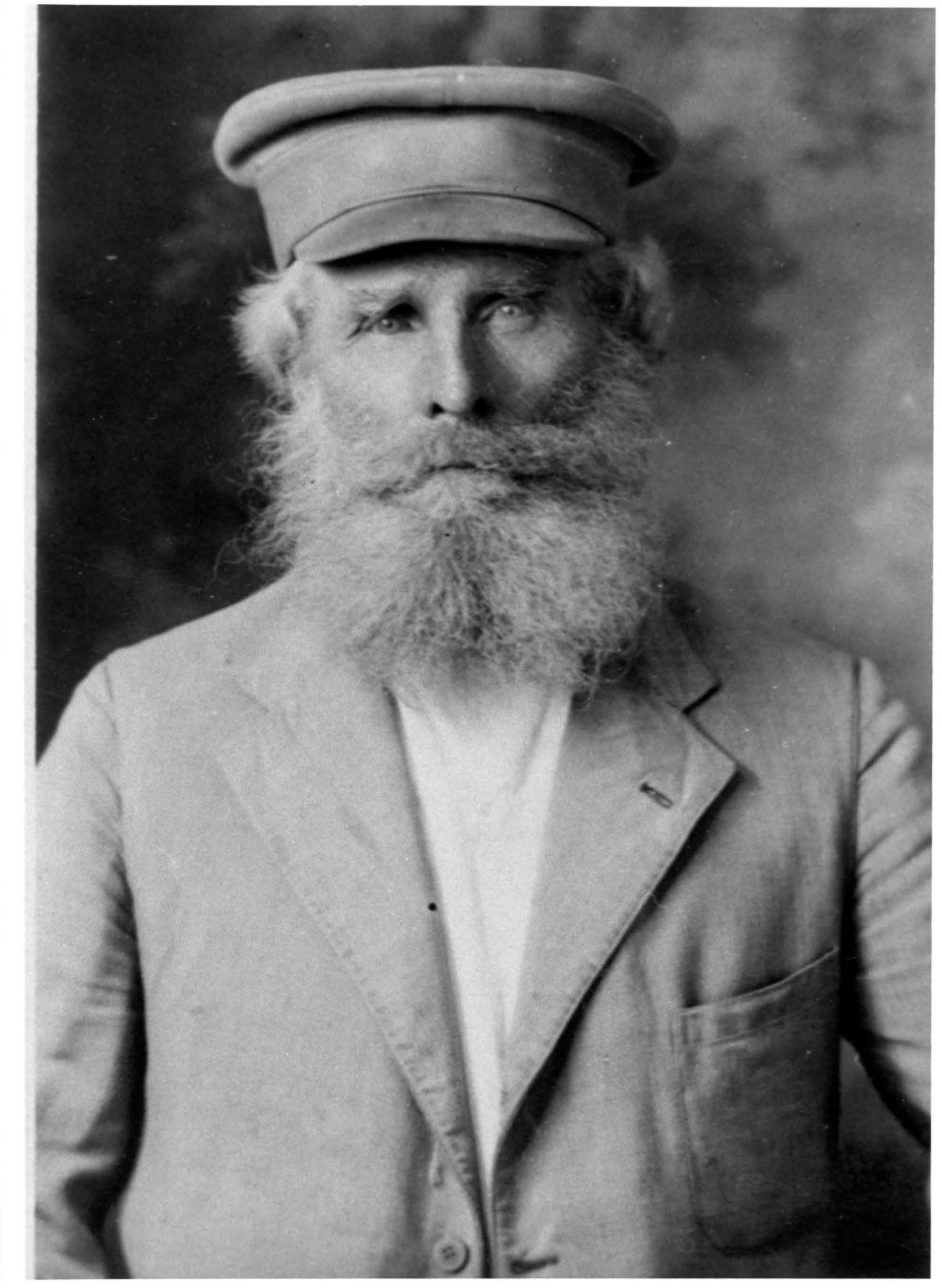


Figure 6 - Philip M. Shubin: A Molokan elder who came to the New World as early as 1900 looking for refuge (Judie Dolbee)

Figure 7 - Guadalupe Valley, Lower California
(Moore 1949)

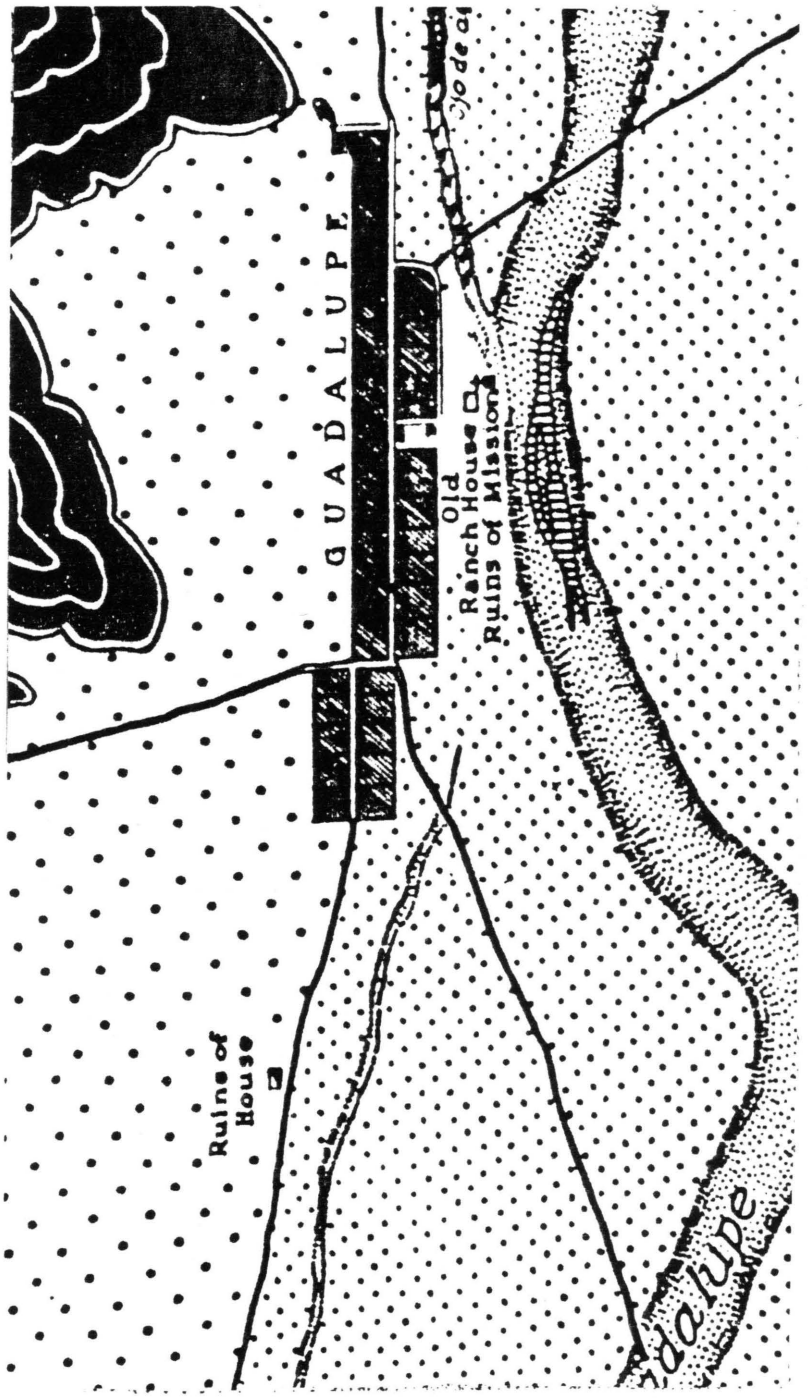


Figure 8 - Map of Guadalupe Valley, Lower California (Schmieder 1928: Map 1)

visiting from Los Angeles remembered as a Saturday night treat the banya, a sauna consisting of a floor of heated stones on which cold water was poured to provide a steambath for the family (Deway 1966: 49). An outhouse, a laundry room, a chicken house (perhaps with a room for the hired hand upstairs,) a duck pen, and a cattle barn completed most households (Story 1960: 36). Each family had a small orchard or garden, a well, and perhaps a windmill.

Interiors varied considerably throughout the colony's history. Both of the two rooms, the kitchen and "living" rooms, had feather beds in them; as late as 1960, they had huge storage chests still containing blankets made in Russia but U.S. or Mexican-made sheets (Story 1960: 36). Wood, and later gas stoves, benches built in the walls, kettles, mixing bowls, coffee pots, short clear tea glasses and china saucers, wooden spoons and bowls furnished the interiors (A. Rogoff 1988). The Russian samovar or tea service and a Bible, always open, were on display. Wedding pictures, perhaps a colored print of the Last Supper, and a Victrola might have been allowed in later years (Story 1960: 38), Montemayor 1980). Porches were edged with carved wooden railings, unlike the Mexican houses.

No elaborate church existed in the village but a simple building without icons or statues served as a place of worship. A new church was built as late as 1955 to 1957 (Story 1960: 60, 127). Services at this sobranie or meeting consisted of spiritual verses and songs through which the presence of the Holy Spirit was felt. Because of the fervor of the meetings, the people were known as "Spirit Jumpers." Pacifism, sobriety and social conscience were stressed. "It is against our religion for one man to consider himself better in any way than his fellows. We are all equal before God. The only superiority one man holds over another is in his years of experience and spiritual wisdom" (an elder quoted in Young 1928: 546).

In keeping with Molokan views, clothing was simple. The men wore the Russian-style shirt with a rope belt, long baggy pants, and boots. The women wore long skirts and over-blouses. On special occasions, a hand-made lace shawl known as kosinka was worn over the head and tied behind the neck. Under the kosinka, a married woman wore her hair bound at the neck in a snood tied with ribbons. No jewelry or ornament without function was allowed.

As dictated by the religion, all harvests were held together and the food was stockpiled and distributed by the elders. Everything was produced on the individual homestead with the exception of coffee, sugar, salt and rice, which were purchased in Ensenada or San Diego, according to long-time residents Mary Rogoff and Pedro Kachirisky. Daily food was plainly prepared and featured a Russian meat soup or borshch, lapsha or noodles, and loaves of wheat bread from outdoor ovens. The Molokans practiced bee-keeping and kept flocks of geese. In general, the dietary pattern followed kosher rules from Leviticus 23, with prohibitions on alcohol, shellfish, animals without cloven hooves, and pigs ("The pig does not look to the sky"). In later years, goats or sheep were considered food for guests, along with the garden's regular fare of pickled cabbage, cucumbers, olives, onions, pumpkins, and melons (Post and Lutz 1976: 144, Story 1960: 31).

History of Guadalupe Colony

The first major emigration from the colony took place in 1912, when an unknown number of settlers departed (Schmieder 1928: 421). Dissatisfaction with the land or fear of the uprisings in Northern Mexico during the Mexican Revolution (cf. the pacíficos in Reed 1983: 57) may have been part of the cause. Certainly popular folklore, as remembered by Guadalupe resident Mary Rogoff and former resident John A. Samarin, tells of more than one raid by the Villistas of Pancho Villa looking for food, clothing, and

horses.

The second major exodus from the valley took place after the creation of the ejido El Porvenir in Guadalupe Valley in 1937. Article 27 of the Political Constitution of the United States of Mexico on February 15, 1917, says "The ownership of lands and waters...is vested originally in the nation which...has the right to transmit title thereto to private persons..the nation shall have at all times the right to impose upon private property such restriction as the interest may require...in order to conserve and equitably distribute the public wealth (Deway 1966: 52)." Elaborated in the Agricultural Code of Mexico, these laws gave President Lazaro Cárdenas the right to reapportion tracts of land above a certain size to the general population, a procedure known as the ejido system (Meyer and Sherman 1979: 378).

On September 19, 1937, the Mexican government requested a dotación or "donation" and on November 28, 1937, reapportioned 2920 hectares adjoining the colonia to 58 Mexican ejidatários. The ejido, known as El Porvenir ("things to come"), did not incorporate Russian lands, but caused great consternation among Russians just the same. Colonists such as Mary Rogoff claim that President Cárdenas himself came to the valley and, impressed with the industrious farms, decided not to take Russian lands to enlarge the ejido. Many colonists were not convinced and consolidated their holdings in the United States.

The final change for the colony came with completion of a new road in 1958 (Deway 1966: 82, Story 1960: 162, Kvammen 1976) and with the coming of squatters who claimed portions of the valley as their own. The year 1958 in particular, was an election year and activists of the General Union of Mexican Workers and Peasants (UGOCM) were organizing takeovers of private properties to speed land reform (Deway 1966: 80). Associated with this movement, 3000 workers appeared in the Guadalupe Valley during

the night of July 10, 1958 (San Diego Union July 12, 1958 to July 11, 1959). Known as paracaidistas or "parachutists" from their sudden appearance "from the skies," they formed the poblado Francisco Zarco (cf. Meyer and Sherman 1979: 385-386) at the fork of the calle principal and Mexico Highway 3 (the Tecate-Ensenada Highway). Backed by the Ley de Tierra Ociosas ("Law of Idle Lands") of June 23, 1920, the squatters were attracted by fallow Russian fields. Acts of civil disobedience followed as more and more squatters came. Destroying plantings, raiding stock, and robbing orchards were some of the techniques used to drive both Russian and Mexican owners from their lands. Russian dolls with beards were burnt in effigy and threats to torch crops and harm families were made, threats still remembered by

Guadalupe residents such as Agáfia and Mary Rogoff (Deway 1966: 84). In August of 1959, 107 hectares of Russian land were given officially to the poblado. Anxiety about holdings which were not constantly supervised forced the sale of more and more Russian-held parcels (Deway 1966: 98-99) and brought about the effective demise of the functioning economy.

Although little mixture occurred with members of other races with exception of Indian or Mexican farm laborers and the family of the Mexican delegado during the colony's heyday, by 1960 Japanese, Chinese, and Jewish settlers, among other ethnic groups, had bought property from the original squatter population and completely changed the ethnic character of the village. Today only one family of rusos puros or "pure Russians" continues to raise children in the valley and six or seven Russians have Mexican spouses. A small family of Cossacks from Ensenada once lived in the valley. Because they speak Russian with the Molokans, some joined the sect and a member of this family wrote a memoir of the valley's history (Lisizin 1984). All that is left is a bedroom community for Ensenada completely changed in character from the Russian colony. Residents claim that

in ten years no Russian will be heard in a valley which was famous for the sound of Russian voices singing a cappella as visitors turned in from the main road.

Referral Documents

As the purpose of this study is to document as carefully as possible the migration of a group of people whose village has been excavated for study, a detailed description of the migration and new settlement has been given. Details not of interest here but recorded for future researchers have been filed with the research library of the San Diego Museum of Man. It is the purpose of this section to summarize the sources of information on the Mexican Molokans for the use of future researchers and for a quick referral on the types of information known on the Molokan exodus, information not available for the archaeologist approaching a prehistoric site for which no records of this kind exist.

Historic Documents

The primary source of literature on the Molokan sectarians outside of Russia resides with Stephen and Ethel Dunn of Highgate Road Research Center in Berkeley, California. Dr. and Mrs. Dunn have collected a large amount of research materials on the Molokans as well as documents on Soviet Russian peasantry (1967) and sectarianism (Klibanov 1982). Their Molokan Heritage Collection (1982-1989) contains translations of most of the leading works on Russian Molokan sectarians as well as some admirable attempts to translate Turkish research on the Molokans (Vol. 3, Turkdogan). The United States Library of Congress was surprisingly limited in research materials. The Soviets, prior to Gorbachev's era, were either reticent to discuss and publish sectarian material, or the scholars trained since Stalin's time were truly unaware of Molokan life. The Molokans themselves keep a research library staffed by United Molokan Christian Association

(UMCA) volunteers at the UMCA center in Hacienda Heights in Los Angeles . Molokan researchers, tracing family ties or the sect's history in general, have produced materials of interest from the insider's perspective (Berokoff 1969, Lisizin 1984, Mohoff 1991, Samarin 1990, among others). Mohoff (1992) specifically has made a recent effort to document his boyhood in Guadalupe and has made an effort to trace carefully the colony's demise. The greatest sources yet to be tapped in the United States are the individual family archives, documents of immigration, visas, and other documents cherished by each family and kept in closets and attics throughout the Molokan communities. With glasnost and perestroika as they are now called, the Molokans have yet to see what documents, if any, survived the socialist regimes and if sectarian data are contained within them.

Maps

Numerous maps are known to exist for the colony beginning with ethnographic data on the Indian communities collected by Meigs in 1929 and 1936 (1972: 35) and rancho period sketches of land grants (cf. Schmieder 1928:410). Personal sketches may exist for the land division in 1905 among the private collections kept by many Molokan families who once lived in the Mexican colony. The earliest published sketch of the Russian period is the drawing of Schmieder (1928) labelled here Figure 7. Story (1960), Deway (1966), and Kvammen (1976) have included maps to document their studies. The three most useful maps of the colony are: (1) the two-part Oct., 1938 Plano by Juan J. Cervantes (1:10,000); (2) the Nov., 1954 Plano General (1:10,000); (3) the May, 1958 colonists by ethnicity (Deway 1966: Maps 3 and 6). Maps exist of irrigation and river control from the Secretaría de Recursos Hidráulicos in 1966. The best genealogical map of Guadalupe was Katherine Abakumoff's base map, elaborated with much skill by George Mohoff (1992b) and available for purchase (Figure 8). Aerial photos exist for the Valle de

Guadalupe from Cetenal for the years 1954 and 1957.

Photographs and Video Tapes

The San Diego Museum of Man holds three collections that contain black and white photos of the colony during the Molokan era. The Shelton collection contains photos taken by two young men who drove through Baja California in a model-A in 1936. A second collection was taken by an anonymous photographer in conjunction with the move north to the U.S. after World War II. This photographer was perhaps a reporter from a Ramona, California paper because property was purchased in the Ramona and San Marcos areas north of San Diego and the Molokan arrival would have been of interest to the local Ramona populations. A third collection is that of Richard Moore who travelled to the colony and shot a professional series of black and white photographs in 1949. Individual families furthermore have photo collections which they have shown, (including the Andrés Samaduroff collection in Guadalupe, some of which the San Diego Union copied for a July 7, 1988 article on the colony) and the Desatoff family photos which the San Diego Museum of Man has copied. Collections of family photos often are donated to the UMCA Library in Hacienda Heights.

A color movie of the colony was taken in 1939 by Blair Burkhardt then a photographer for McDonnell-Douglas. At that time, Mr. Burkhardt was experimenting with some of the earliest color movie film known as part of McDonnell-Douglas' experimental aircraft testing. The eight-minute clip shows a wedding procession and reception in the colony for the wedding of Vera Samaduroff. Consular officials, Russian-Americans from San Diego, and a variety of guests and residents of the colony, as well as rich ethnographic data are recorded in this tape from over 50 years ago during the heyday of the colony. The bride as well as her sisters and guests have reviewed the film and

provided invaluable ethnographic comments.

Linguistic History

Molokans were originally central Russians and modelled central White (or Great) Russians in speech and custom. By the time of their split from the Doukhobors by 1765, certain clarifications of their rules of life had been made. Speech patterns were not changed at the time and the rules for Molokan behavior had no directives as to patterns of speech such as the U. S. Quaker use of "thee"and "thy". Deported to Armenia by 1840 and coming to northern Mexico by way of Los Angeles by 1905, Molokans were free to adapt whatever language, dialect or pattern of speech they found around them. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the colonists of Guadalupe speak standard southern Russian to this day. Linguists taken to the colony in the late 1980's such as Dr. Leland Fetzer of the Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages of San Diego State University and native speaker and translator Tatiana Erohina, noted the strong akanye of southern Russian speech and few of the Spanish or "Spanglish" loan words e.g. parcar ("to park") of the U.S.-Mexican border cultures. All the Guadalupe residents of the late 1980's spoke Spanish comfortably; those who had crossed the border (al otro lado) for wage work at one time or another spoke understandable English. The last of the rusos puros, the Samaduroff children that are being raised in the valley today, do not speak Russian at home but understand a few words, symbolic of the loss not only of Molokan but of Russian culture in the valley. With children required since 1923 to attend Spanish-speaking schools, this process of the erosion of Russian Molokan speech and customs has been slow but sure.

Material Culture

The material culture of the Guadalupe Russian Colony is unique to the Baja California region. Upon entering the main street (calle principal), anyone familiar with Baja California senses something different. Without detailed observation of mailboxes labelled "Samaduroff-Ramos" or the Molokan cemetery with its Cyrillic alphabet headstones, the general character of the street is different. A long, thin cluster of houses winds along one main street, each "homestead" claiming an equal-sized parcel of land in pencil-shaped strips running away from the main strip. This Strassendorf or "street-village" pattern is found nowhere else in Baja California where the mission settlements clustered residents centrally and then gave way after secularization to individual ranchos scattered long distances apart from each other in the fields. The Strassendorf pattern is one of many settlement patterns defined by cultural geographers such as Post and Lutz (1976: 140) and Schmieder (1928: 417) as being a centrally-located agricultural village in which the houses cluster along a linear main street from which peasants leave daily to work in fields perhaps miles away from the village compound.

Each household was self-contained, composed of house, barn, kitchen, windmill, outhouses and corrals. The houses and out-buildings immediately catch the eye; they are built with Mexican-style adobes but have deeply-set windows lined with wood frames and steeply-sloped roofs with gabled corners. Porches of the houses not remodelled by Mexican residents still have hand-carved, wooden railings. Nowhere is the small Catholic church with the raised steeple evident in the colony. In earlier descriptions of the households, the animals in the courtyards were atypical of Baja California's Mexican rancherías: flocks of geese were everywhere and the pigs were not present due to the Molokan people keeping the dietary rules of Leviticus. House interiors of the residences not "modernized" by the more recent occupants have the central entryway flanked by main rooms. Cellars under the wooden floors kept food stuffs cool in the summer. The sauna

bath or banya still appears in some houses and is still in use in one home. Stones heated and then splashed with water produce the steam which bathed Molokan workers coming in from the fields on Saturday nights.

As suited a "plain people," house furnishings were minimal and utilitarian. To this day, house interiors such as Mary Rogoff's house are practical, functional, clean and welcoming. Nowhere is there evidence of the corner niche filled with images of saints and angels or santos such as San Antonio de Padua, La Virgen de Guadalupe or Mater Dolorosa as found throughout Baja California's Catholic villages. Russian tea or chai glasses and Russian spoons with thick tips are found throughout the kitchenware. Utilitarian patterns of functional dishes thirty years out of date with modern U.S. marketing plans abound. Clothing is also functional with the older women still preferring to bind up their hair in scarves reminiscent of the Molokan headscarf or kosinka of the colony's heyday. Eyeglasses, modern trucks and cars and stereo equipment have crept into the homes. Families still remember who had the first real doll in the colony. Radios today play Mexican folk and dance music, ballgames from the U.S. and bring world events such as the 1991 Gulf War and the current scandals in San Diego or Tijuana governments.

Oral History

Molokan oral history is rich but unrecorded. It is valued by the sectarians but recording it is in conflict with their centuries-old desire for anonymity. Upon request for memories from a ne nash (an inquiring one "not one of us"), some Molokans will still reply that they are "the keeper of the faith" and that the legends are not intended for non-Molokans. One life story shared by the descendants is given here as general background to the richness of the Molokan oral tradition.

Tanya Shubin Desatoff

> Tanya Shubin watched out the window as the train coursed on and on through the tropical jungle and oppressive heat. For a young girl from the mountainous lands of Armenia, the tropics of Panama with its strange birds and animals were intriguing and unusual and hinted of the strange lands she and her family of Molokan Russian peasants would see as they made their way to the promised land. Carrying only a small satchel of the plain clothing she wore as a Molokan or Spirit Jumper, she pondered the events which had led to this journey of her family and the other Molokans to the New World and wondered where the Spirit would lead them next (Muranaka 1988: 3).

Tanya Shubin (Figure 9) was born of Russian sectarians in Russia in 1894. As part of the Spiritual Christian Jumpers movement, she left Kars late in 1904 or early 1905 to escape Tsarist interference with the sectarian lifestyle. According to a taped interview with her on April 24, 1977, she left Kars (now in Turkey, then Armenia) when she was eleven and a half years old and traveled by train to Tiflis. Her family was joined by 150 people at Erevan and waited two weeks for the boat at Batum on the Black Sea.

Sailing from there on a freight boat, they stopped in many ports such as Constantinople during the eighteen-day trip to France. Stopping at Marseille for two weeks, she remembers the family visiting the Marseille zoo and staying in small hotels with their own kitchens for kosher food. Eighteen days more and her family were in Panama which they crossed by train as the Canal had not been completed yet. She remembers the hotels in Panama City as well and the intense heat as they waited two more weeks for further passage to San Francisco. Twenty more days by sea to San Francisco found them arriving June 3, 1905. Travelling by train to Los Angeles, they met with the other Molokans

Figure 9 - Tanya Shubin at an unknown age

on June 5, 1905 .

Tanya remembered that a few families (seven or eight) had arrived before them in 1904. She remembered the men working for lumber yards for $2.00 per day for a nine to ten hour day and the women doing laundry for $1.00 per day for 9 hour days (with an hour for lunch). She started doing laundry when she was twelve and a half. Young girls did most of the child care while mothers worked. She attended school for three months in the first grade to get a permit to work in the laundry. At 12 years of age she was placed in the first grade. In Russia, Kars had a school only the last year before they left (1904) and she had not been able to attend. Her father read and wrote Russian as did her five older brothers (there were nine children), but she never learned to read or write as a child. Her husband, Moses Desatoff, claimed to have known her back in Russia but she did not remember him from then. In 1906 his family came to L.A. from Hamburg, Germany via New York, crossing the U.S. by train. Since she considered seventeen to eighteen an old maid by Molokan standards, she was glad to be married by the time she was fifteen and a half. By twenty years of age, she had three children. Her husband worked in the lumber yards with his older brothers and then for a steel company. His father moved to the Guadalupe Colony in Mexico when they had been married three years. After a year in Mexico, Moises got a place to live and she and the children lived there four years, farming as the rest of the valley did.

Deciding to return to Los Angeles, she and the children took the train north only to have the youngest child sicken and die during the ride toward the border. Afraid to tell Immigration that the child was dead since they would make her bury the baby in Mexico, she held it close as she crossed the border and handed it to her parents who met her at the L.A. train station. Her subsequent life was full as she raised 14 children. She remembered trading the horses for a car and learning to drive at 11th and Figueroa Streets in L.A. She

ends her tape to her children with "I love you all-every one.

IV. EXCAVATION AND FINDINGS

Permit Background

Upon first visiting the Guadalupe Russian colony in 1983, I was surprised by the sharp contrast between the Russian village's settlement pattern and architecture and that of the surrounding Mexican and Indian rancherías. Fascinated by the village with its Molokan church and cemetery, by its red-haired and blue-eyed residents speaking border Spanish, and by its rural mailboxes labelled "Samaduroff-Ramos", I had to take a closer look. Undertaking a project of this magnitude was not easy. As an archaeologist of foreign citizenship, I needed to request of Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) special permission to study La Frontera's patrimony.

With the help of Baja California's INAH representative Julie Bendímez, I prepared an introductory document outlining what I proposed to do and defending the research's impact upon the valley's residents. The document included publication schedules for Spanish language reports on the research (Muranaka 1987). The proposal required almost two years (1983-1985) to prepare with all documents, including maps and crew members' curricula vitae, translated and enclosed. With the help of Jaime Abundis, an INAH representative from Mexico City who walked the sites and discussed the research with me, the proposal was cleared within just two weeks of submittal.

Fortunately, Ing. Joaquín García-Bárcena, the Director of Prehispanic Monuments, decided to telephone the news that the permission had been granted, because within the next few weeks the 1985 earthquake hit Mexico City destroying vast sections of the city and delaying for a time all permits coming out of the capital. Thanks to Sr. García-Bárcena, I was able to begin the systematic excavation of selected houses one month later. A stack of permits, carefully photocopied and shown to whomever was concerned,

accompanied me on each field work session. These permits consisted of federal papers from the INAH Office of Prehispanic Monuments in Mexico City; regional papers from INAH at Baja California's capitol at Mexicali; letters of introduction from the cultural anthropologist of the nearest large town, the municipio of Ensenada; stamps from the delegado at Francisco Zarco, the political designation of the colony; and verbal permissions from each of the seven different parcel owners.

Topography and Settlement Pattern

The Guadalupe colony is popularly known by both the names of Colonia rusa ("the Russian colony") and Francisco Zarco (the name of a political hero). The colony is located 35 miles southeast of the border city of Tijuana which is located at the extreme western corner of the U.S.-Mexican border (Figure5). Today one reaches the colony on the coastal toll road by driving south from Tijuana and turning north at El Sauzal, just before reaching the harbor town of Ensenada. A second route follows inland Highway 3 south from the U.S. border crossing at Tecate. The colony is in a shallow central valley at 300 to 500 meters above sea level (Figure10). This valley is located in the central part of the Río Guadalupe, now an intermittent river which runs from east to west into the Pacific Ocean at La Misión (de San Miguel). The river meanders at the colony for a distance of about 20 kilometers in a broad central basin which is 2 to 8 kilometers wide (Schmieder 1928: 409). This section of the valley is rimmed with granitic mountains as high as 1200 meters above sea level in the Sierra Blanca to the southeast (Gastil, Phillips and Allison 1971).

The section of the Guadalupe Valley nearest the colony slopes gently from northeast to southwest with alluvial fans of weathered granite at the valley's edges. This bright, red colored sediment extends halfway across the valley floor (Meigs 1935: 115, Schmieder 1928: 410). The colony goes down to the river's edge on the west bank, a flat wash of

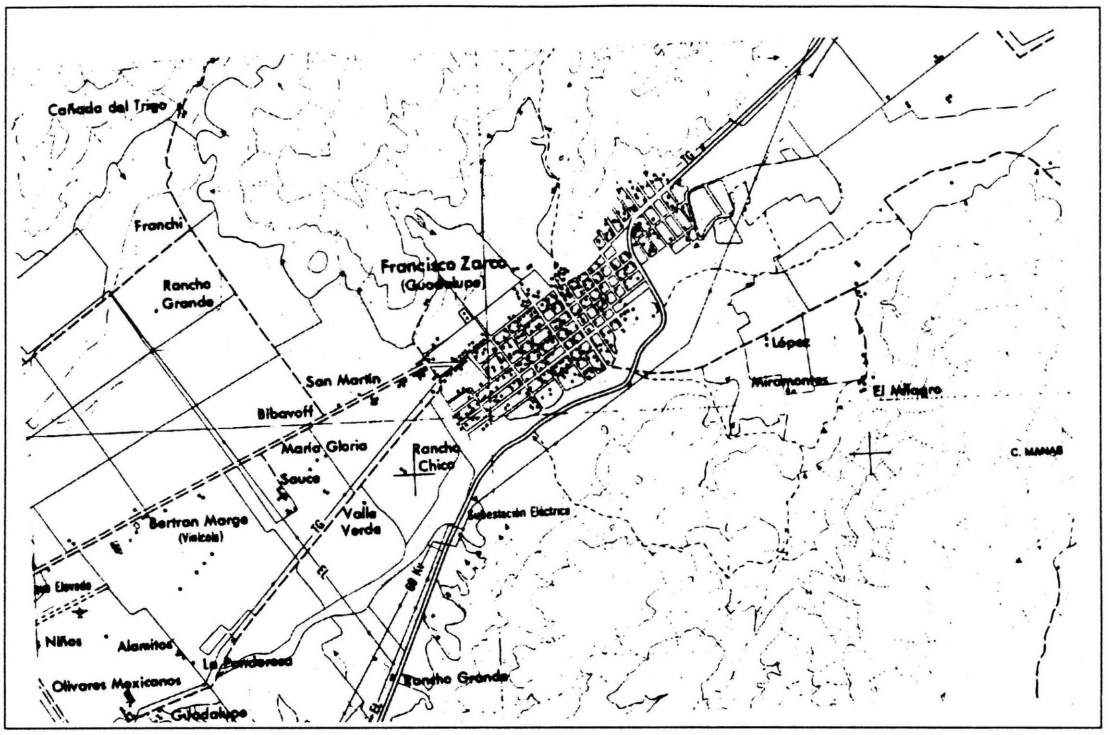


Figure 10 - Map of Francisco Zarco topography

sandy, gray loam that until recently was left with standing ponds in the winter wet season. Until the 1960's, the colony had a 3 meter deep water table for natural wells which were called ojos de agua. Rainfall occurs primarily during the winter, leading the only geographer to study the valley closely (Schmieder 1928: 411) to classify its climate as between BS and C types in the Köppen classification system or southern Mediterranean in type. Vegetation is native live oak chaparral, altered heavily by cattle ranching and, since 1905, the cultivation of winter wheat. Since 1943, the cultivation of a variety of grapes for table grapes, raisins and wine has dominated the types of crops grown for commercial purposes in the valley (Mohoff 1992: 47).

The Strassendorf or "street-village" layout of Guadalupe followed the west bank of the river in one, long narrow street with pencil-shaped parcels of about two acres per family extending from the street to the river (Figure11). Each house consisted of an adobe mud house facing away from the street, an outside kitchen, a well, an outhouse, a barn and after 1920, a windmill (Mohoff 1992: 39). Houses had a large basement and a tapered, wooden, shingled roof. A carved wooden porche, a central-Russian style sauna bath (known as banya), and inset, wood rimmed windows all characterized differences from the surrounding communities. San José de la Zorra, an Indian reserva located several miles to the northwest had huts of woven brush set into granite bedrock outcrops (Schmieder 1928: 413) while the surrounding Mexican rancherías such as Casa Barré due south or Casa de Las Palmas to the north were at one time large, functioning cattle ranches with main ranch houses (and small cemetery areas) located at the center of each rancho. The Molokan settlement pattern has houses all together in the colony in a line village and requires farmers to travel miles to leased plots of land, staying there for weeks at harvest time. The Mexican ranch houses were scattered far apart from each other and geographically closer to the center of all ranching activities.

At the time of my original contact with the colony in 1983, only seventeen Molokans or rusos puros still lived there. Only one family, the Andrés Samaduroffs, had not married out and were raising a family of Russian children, the youngest of whom were still in their teens. Of the approximately 72 houses, only 20 still could be recognized by characteristic architecture. Only one (that of Moisés Samarin, Figure 11, Structure 11) still had a functioning sauna. The rest of the houses had been simply allowed to fall apart, had been remodelled in the 1950's and 1960's with chicken wire and stucco siding, or had been razed to build more modern drywall buildings. The Mission (La Misión Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe) which the Molokans know as "Samarin's house" had been abandoned on a

hill overlooking the river (Figure11, Str. 47). The old Molokan church (Figure11, Str. 50) had been abandoned and a new, square, cement-stucco building without ornamentation had been built (Figure11, Str. 24). The cemetery had been left untouched to the northwest of the colony at the center of the town. The Cyrillic alphabet headstones were replaced by stones written in Spanish but all still faced east so that the deceased would be prepared for the second coming of Christ.

In 1958 Highway 3 (the Tecate road) was built from Ensenada to the U.S. border. Daily buses stopping at Guadalupe made the small town just a bedroom community for Ensenada or for agricultural workers at the large grape growing companies such as Cetto or Domecque, growers who have come into the valley since 1943 when the Santo Tomas Wineries built an outlet in Ensenada. Since 1950, Ensenada harbor has been carved out and an international market for Guadalupe wine (the "Napa Valley of Baja California") was created.

In 1983 the Ejido Porvenir, established by the Mexican Government in 1937 at the southwest end of the street, was a bustling village of several thousand and the poblado Francisco Zarco was a busy bus stop on the Tecate road, the descendants of the 1958 squatters producing their third generation of pobladores. Border gang graffiti, hand signs, facial tatoos and discarded hypodermic needles have appeared in Guadalupe, coming south from the border towns to the small villages of Baja California.

Excavation History

Excavation took place immediately on receiving word of INAH permissions. On September 27th, 28th and 29th and October 4th, 5th and 6th of 1985 test excavations were carried out in three structures, houses 11, 76 and 61 (Fig.11). Field crews consisted of as many as 30 archaeologists and their families of both Mexican and U.S. citizenship.

INAH representative Julie Bendímez, Asuntos Culturales representative David Zárate-Loperena, Francisco Lisizin and valley descendant Elena Teresa Orozco helped to negotiate these first excavation efforts. Crews spread out and excavated all three sites simultaneously. Structure 39 was excavated March 14th, 15th, 16th, 20th and 21st of 1987, while Structure 2 was excavated September 30th, October 1st and 2nd of 1989 and Structures 16 and 17 were tested October 20th, 21st and 22nd of 1990. Between field seasons, many trips were made to the storage facility in Ensenada for sorting, washing, cataloguing, photographing, sketching and curating the artifacts.

In July of 1988, the Museum of Man in San Diego negotiated with the INAH representative in Mexicali to bring the artifacts to San Diego for an eight month exhibit entitled "Saddles and Samovars." After the exhibit's end, INAH kindly allowed me to hold the collection temporarily in the U.S. to finish the special analyses such as animal bone and seeds. All photo murals, explanatory panels and key artifacts from the Museum of Man exhibit were given to a small museo regional created in Guadalupe in one of the Russian houses and dedicated in perpetuity in August of 1991. The remainder of the bulk artifacts will be returned in September of 1992 to INAH representative, Julie Bendímez of Mexicali.

Test Results

For a summary of excavation history and test findings it is best to proceed structure by structure with test results starting with a short ethnography of each occupant.

Structure 39 - Susana Ivanovna Kachiriski

The colony's Susana Ivanovna Kachiriski (standard Russian Susana Ivanovna Kachiriskaya nee Potsakaieva) was born in Russia in 1897 (Figure12), the daughter if Ivan

Polikarpovich and Marriya Potsakaiev. Between 1916 and 1918 she married Vasili Kachiriski in the Guadalupe Colony. They moved to Los Angeles, Alta California, and had five children. In the early 1930's, Susana's mother died, leaving a house (Figure 11, Str. 38) and property including a large stock of cattle to Susana. Susana and Vasili returned to Guadalupe where one more child was born. Vasili returned to Los Angeles leaving Susana to raise the children. One by one, reaching the age of 18, they returned to Los Angeles where they were still U.S. citizens. According to George Mohoff who was raised in the colony, Susana continued to live by herself in Guadalupe and was the oldest of the Molokans born in Russia. She supported herself working as a maid, a laundress and a cook for families in the colony. She died about 1986.

I had heard of Susana on ethnographic field trips to Guadalupe in 1983 to 1985 but had not yet interviewed her by the time of her death. Upon entering the yard of her house a few months after her death, there were still scraps of her letters and shopping lists blowing around the yard. It was the most recent archaeology I had ever done. A nephew, the son of her husband's brother and a Mexican wife, had taken occupancy of the house in recent weeks and planted a small garden. He said that the day she died, people had come from all over and scavenged everything looking for the lost gold that everyone in the valley knew the Russians had hoarded.

Susana's yard (Figure13) actually contained two structures: her own house (Structure 39) and the long abandoned house of her parents (Structure 38), which had been repeatedly plowed over to make small truck gardens. Two test units were placed on March 13th, 14th, 20th and 21st 1987 in the areas showing the most surface artifacts. Unit 1 cut through adobe melt and cobblestone foundations quickly to find sterile soil at 80 cm., and fewer than 200 items were catalogued, mainly unidentifiable metal, glass,and seeds, bone and wood. Unit 2 was a trash pit of burnt artifacts tallying 62,867 artifacts

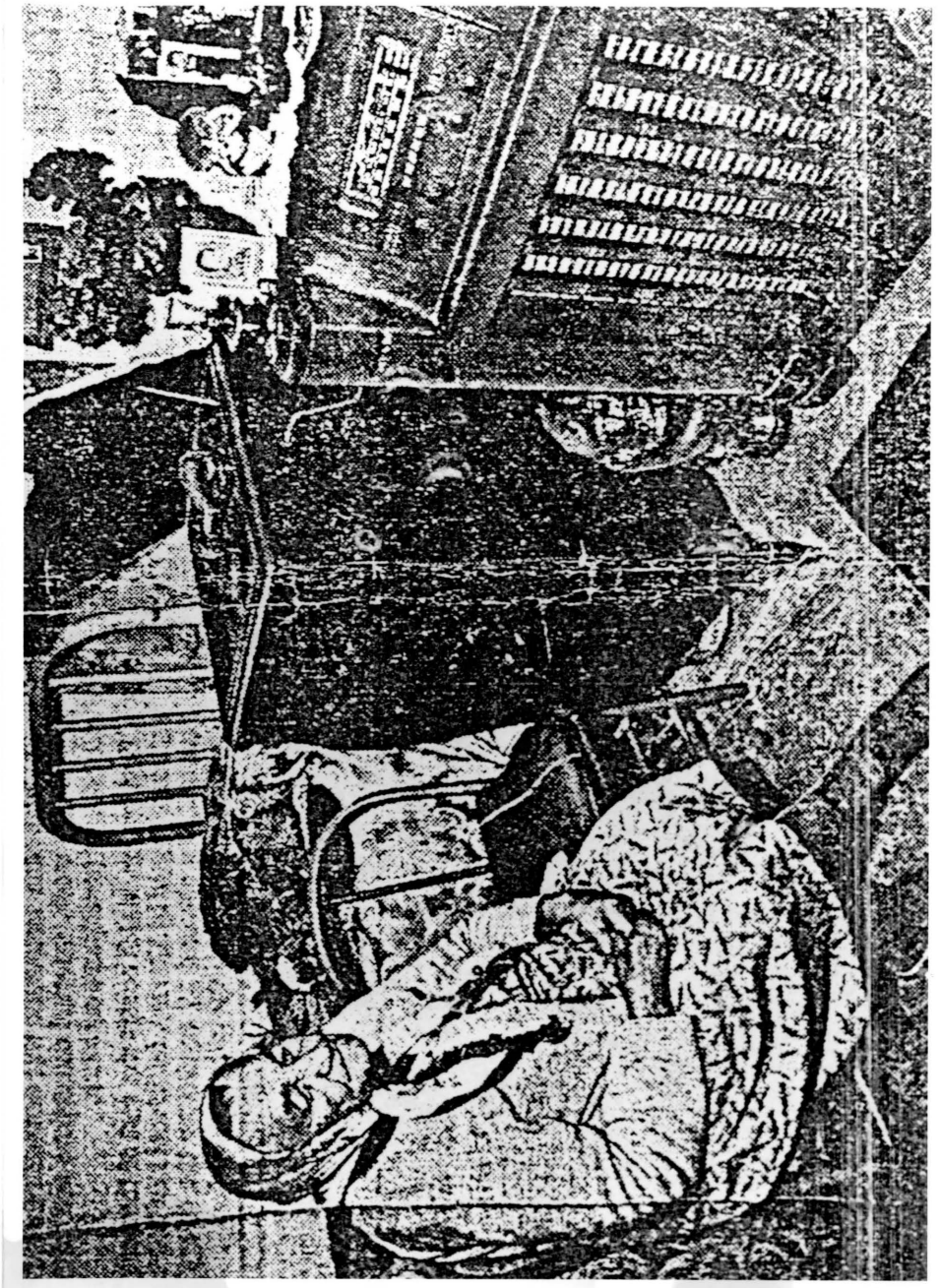


Figure 12 - Susana Ivanovna Kachiriski
(unidentified newspaper photo)

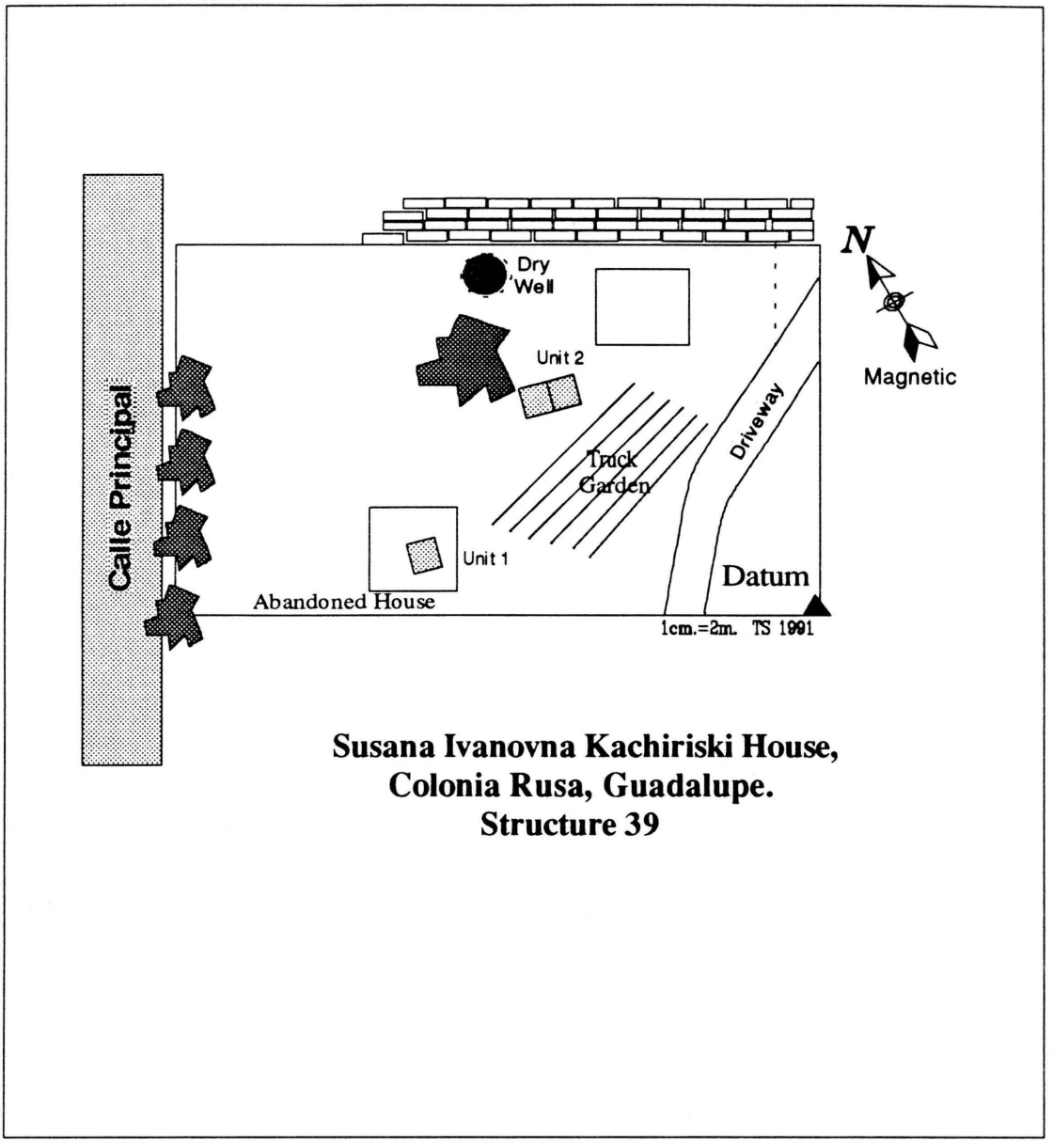


Figure 13 - Plan of Susana Ivanovna Kachiriski's House

(Tables 1 through 8). This one by two meter unit was 200 cm. deep at sterile.

The collection dated from the late 1940's to 1950's. Of the Russian style glasses used for tea, 33 fragments were found, the largest number for any of the sites. Of the bottle glass, 376 (2738.3 grams) fragments were of clearly identifiable alcoholic beverages, which though not allowed in the colony in the early years, became a creeping "vice" acceptable in later times. Bleach bottles were predominant (304 pieces) and food bottles were evident. Susana had worked as a maid and wash woman to support herself (hence the bleach bottles) and was paid in food, according to George Mohoff and Agáfia Rogoff. Medicine bottles numbered 19 fragments (258.3 grams), the largest number of all the sites. Noted were 26 fragments (884.1 grams) of cold cream jars. These were utilitarian varieties purchased in the United States and commonly used as dry skin aids.

Susana showed a predilection (Tables 2 and 3) for attractively decorated, thinly walled porcelain with floral or solid designs and must have broken almost an entire floral set on one occasion, as six cups and saucers of a dainty peacock design ("Made in Japan") were dumped together. Cheaper designs of ironstone/whitewares (hotel wares) and inexpensive porcelains were in evidence. Cracked bowls, plates and cups sold in series from cereal boxes were also found. Molokans such as Mary and Agáfia Rogoff expressed an aversion to "Chinese" ceramics. They associated the Chinese dragon motif with the devil and avoided these patterns, especially the well-known "Blue Willow" with its pagoda and obvious Asian theme. Table 3 records all Chinese made wares that were available from a colony of Chinese potters in Mexicali. Susana had these wares of Chinese make but floral motif; she avoided the "Blue Willow" or any of the Chinese themes.

One cracked creamware pitcher (CRO349) located at 180 cm. depth had a Czechoslovakian maker's mark which neither Ensenada nor San Diego historians had ever

			Russian		Russian/Mexican		Mexican	
MATERIAL	**SUB-CLASS**	**OBJECT**	**STR 39**	**STR 61**	**STR 11**	**STR 16**	**STR 2**	**STR 76**
GLASS	BOTTLE	BEER BOTTLE	160	0	1	174	74	110
		POP BOTTLE	13	0	141	10	11	61
		WINE BOTTLE	8	0	0	0	0	0
		MEDICINE	19	0	0	12	13	0
		LIQUOR	208	0	0	746	79	93
		DRINKING	124	0	35	1	0	0
		SYRUP BOTTLE	3	0	0	0	0	0
		WATER BOTTLE	0	0	0	0	0	0
		BLEACH BOTTLE	304	0	0	6	134	0
		FOOD	439	0	0	48	78	22
		BABY BOTTLE	0	0	0	0	59	0
	WINDOW	HOUSE	0	0	0	74	0	0
	JAR	COSMETIC JAR	26	0	0	0	3	2
		FOOD	5	0	0	0	1	0
		UNKNOWN	58	1	0	0	0	1
	BOWL		4	0	0	0	0	0
	SPECTACLES		2	0	0	0	3	0
	LID		1	0	0	0	0	0
	TOY	MARBLE	0	0	0	4	2	6
		UNKNOWN	0	0	0	19	0	0
	DRINKING	TEA	33	0	0	4	5	0
	CUP	DRINKING	0	0	0	0	0	10
		UNKNOWN	0	0	0	5	0	0
	PLATE	FOOD	0	46	0	0	22	0
	UNKNOWN	MIRROR	1	0	1	0	1	0
		BUTTON	0	0	0	1	0	0
		BEAD	0	0	0	0	2	0
		UNKNOWN	2376	20	723	650	701	1192
	TOTALS		3784	67	901	1754	1100	1497

Table 1 Guadalupe Glass by Structure

			Russian		Russian/Mexican		Mexican	
MATERIAL	**SUB-CLASS**	**OBJECT**	**STR 39**	**STR 61**	**STR 11**	**STR 16**	**STR 2**	**STR 76**
CERAMICS	EARTHENWARE	BOWL	8	0	0	0	0	0
		PLATE	5	0	21	0	2	0
		CUP	1	0	2	0	0	0
		TILE	2	0	0	1	0	0
		BRICK	0	1	0	1	0	0
		PITCHER	0	0	0	1	0	0
		FIGURINE	0	0	0	0	0	0
		POT	4	0	0	0	0	0
		CROCKERY	0	0	0	1	0	0
		DOOR KNOB	0	0	0	0	0	0
		UNKNOWN	12	0	13	19	17	4
	PORCELAIN	BOWL	33	0	0	7	0	1
		PLATE	64	0	0	14	8	6
		CUP	19	0	0	0	0	0
		TILE	0	0	1	0	0	0
		BRICK	0	0	0	0	0	0
		PITCHER	1	0	0	0	0	0
		FIGURINE	0	0	0	0	0	0
		POT	9	0	0	0	0	0
		CROCKERY	0	0	0	0	2	0
		DOOR KNOB	0	0	0	1	1	0
		UNKNOWN	106	0	22	94	154	55
	PLASTER	BOWL	0	0	0	0	0	0
		PLATE	0	0	0	0	0	0
		CUP	0	0	0	0	0	0
		TILE	0	0	0	0	0	0
		BRICK	0	0	0	0	0	0
		PITCHER	0	0	0	0	0	0
		FIGURINE	0	0	0	0	0	1
		POT	0	0	0	0	0	0
		CROCKERY	0	0	0	0	0	0
		DOOR KNOB	0	0	0	0	0	0
		UNKNOWN	0	0	1	0	5	0
	TIZON	UNKNOWN	2	0	1	1	0	4
	TOTALS		266	1	61	140	189	71

Table 2 Guadalupe Ceramics by Structure

Table 3 Guadalupe Ceramic Design Elements by Structure

STRUCTURE	FLORAL	STRIPE	EMBOSS	SOLID	CHINESE	INCISED EARTHEN	EMBOSS EARTHEN	POLYCHR EARTHEN	TILES	SCENIC	GEO	SPONGE/ SPACKLE
STRUCT 76												
Unit 1 - 0cm									1			
Unit 2 - 0cm	1			3						1		
0 - 10cm	1			1								
10 - 20cm	1											
SURF COLL												
10A										10		
10B	1			1	2				1	2		
10D	1			4					1			
11D	1				2					3		
POSTHOLE												
6	2											
TOTALS	8	0	0	9	4	0	0	0	3	16	0	0
STRUCT 11												
UNIT 1												
0 - 10cm	10											
UNIT 2												
0 - 10cm												
10 - 20cm	9						2	4	3	5		
TOTALS	19	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	3	5	0	0
STRUCT 61												
TOTALS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
STRUCT 39												
UNIT 1												
0 - 10cm			2									
10 - 20cm			1		1							

Tabie 3 Guadalupe Ceramic Design Elements by Structure

0 - 10cm	8			10						2		
STRUCTURE	**FLORAL**	**STRIPE**	**EMBOSS**	**SOLID**	**CHINESE**	**INCISED EARTHEN**	**EMBOSS EARTHEN**	**POLYCHR EARTHEN**	**TILES**	**SCENIC**	**GEO**	**SPONGE/ SPACKLE**
10 - 20cm	17		1	6								
20 - 30cm	13	1		9								
30 - 40cm	21	1		16								
40 - 50cm	9	1		11						3		
50 - 60cm	4	1		2								
60 - 70cm	6			2								
70 - 80cm	3				1							
140 - 150cm	1			1								
TOTALS	**82**	**4**	**4**	**57**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**0**	**0**
STRUCT 2												
UNIT 1												
0 - 20cm	2				11(Blue)							
UNIT 2												
0 - 20cm	1		1									
UNIT 3												
0 - 20cm				13								
20 - 40cm	2			1	4(Blue)			5				
UNIT 4												
0 - 20cm	14	5		17	4/4(Blue)			6			2	
20 - 40cm	4			1								
UNIT 5												
0 - 20cm	3	2	1		1							
TOTALS	**26**	**7**	**2**	**32**	**24**	**0**	**0**	**11**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**
STRUCT 16												
UNIT 1												
10 - 20cm	1											
40 - 50cm											1	
UNIT 2												
0 - 20cm	4											
20 - 40cm	3			1								
40 - 60cm	2	1	1									
UNIT 3												
20 - 40cm	5	4	5	6							1	

STRUCTURE	FLORAL	STRIPE	EMBOSS	SOLID	CHINESE	INCISED EARTHEN	EMBOSS EARTHEN	POLYCHR EARTHEN	TILES	SCENIC	GEO	SPONGE/ SPACKLE
UNIT 4												
40 - 50cm	2	1	1	1(Blue)								
UNIT 5												
0 - 20	18	6	1	21	1(Blue)			3		2		1
Posthole												
S10 E40										1		
TOTALS	35	12	7	29	1	0	0	3	0	3	2	1
STRUCT 17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3 Guadalupe Ceramic Design Elements by Structure

				Russian	Russian/Mexican		Mexican	
MATERIAL	**SUB-CLASS**	**OBJECT**	**STR 39**	**STR 61**	**STR 11**	**STR 16**	**STR 2**	**STR 76**
METAL	TIN		2230	1	0	90	21	104
	IRON		3421	47	3	2	221	391
	COPPER		170	0	6	8	1	12
	ALUMINUM		58	152	36	15	1	12
	STEEL		21482	7	854	217	6	14
	GRAPHITE		7	0	2	0	0	3
	BRASS		3	0	11	1	0	0
	LEAD		0	0	2	0	0	0
	SILVER		1	0	0	0	2	0
	UNKNOWN		29066	41	322	2864	848	460
	TOTALS		56438	248	1236	3197	1100	996

Table 4 Guadalupe Metal by Structure

			Russian		Russian/Mexican		Mexican	
MATERIAL	**SUB-CLASS**	**OBJECT**	**STR 39**	**STR 61**	**STR 11**	**STR 16**	**STR 2**	**STR 76**
METAL		SHOE LAST						
		CAN						221
		NAILS						
		LID						1
		BARBED WIRE				2		
		BOLT						
		HOOK				17	1	
		FOIL						
		WIRE	1			3	20	1
		PENCIL LEAD						
		SNAP						
		PULLY						
		PULL TOP						
		BELT BUCKLE						
		SPROCKET						
		BAGGAGE HANDLE						
		RING					1	
		CHAIN			1			
		IRON	1					
		HARNESS BIT	1				1	
		HORSE SHOE	2					
		BATTERY	1					
		EYE						
		BUTTON	1				1	
		JEWELRY			2		2	1
		TOY						1
		COFFEE POT						
		ZIPPER					4	
		GUN SHELL	1			3	1	
		COIN				1	1	1
		CUP						
		SPRING				10		
		FORK						
		HOOD EMBLEM	1					
		PITCH FORK	1					
		BUCKET	1					
		GROMMET						
		SKATE						
		KNIFE						
		PLOW BIT						
		CLASP						
		MUFFLER						
		BOTTLE CAP				18		
		LIGHT BULB						
		CURLER				2		
		LABEL						
		TAG				1		
		MISC-TOOL						
		AUTO PART						
		PLIERS	1					
		UNKNOWN	28657	41	319	281	816	234
		TOTALS	**28669**	**41**	**322**	**338**	**848**	**460**

Table 5 Guadalupe Metal Artifacts by Structure

			Russian		Russian/Mexican		Mexican	
MATERIAL	SUB-CLASS	OBJECT	STR 39	STR 61	STR 11	STR 16	STR 2	STR 76
BONE	ANIMAL	COW	2	0	1	2	0	3
		PIG	0	0	0	5	0	0
		CHICKEN	0	0	0	0	0	0
		DEER	0	0	0	0	0	1
		RABBIT	1	0	0	1	0	0
		BIRD	0	0	0	1	0	0
		UNKNOWN	56	1	11	79	20	18
	TOTALS		59	1	12	88	20	22

Table 6 Guadalupe Bone by Structure

			Russian		Russian/Mexican		Mexican	
MATERIAL	SUB-CLASS	OBJECT	STR 39	STR 61	STR 11	STR 2	STR 16	STR 76
SEEDS	PEACH		0	2	3	0	0	13
	APRICOT		0	0	4	0	0	0
	PEANUT		0	1	3	0	0	0
	OLIVE		2	0	0	2	1	0
	POMEGRANATE		0	0	0	0	0	1
	CORN		0	0	0	0	2	0
	UNKNOWN		54	0	8	1	4	0
	TOTALS		56	3	18	3	7	14

Table 7 Guadalupe Seeds by Structure

			Russian		Russian/Mexican		Mexican	
MATERIAL	SUB-CLASS	OBJECT	STR 39	STR 61	STR 11	STR 16	STR 2	STR 76
PLASTICS		FISHING LINE	1	1	0	0	0	0
		TOY	2	3	0	0	4	0
		POT	0	0	0	0	0	43
		COMB	2	0	0	2	2	0
		CAP	3	2	0	1	0	2
		EYE DROPPER	1	0	0	0	0	0
		RECORD	1	0	0	26	0	0
		BUTTON	1	0	1	12	1	1
		TOOTHBRUSH	0	0	0	14	0	0
		FLASHLIGHT	0	0	0	9	0	0
		UTENSILS	2	0	0	0	0	0
		UNKNOWN	41	3	27	27	18	205
	TOTALS		54	9	28	91	25	251

Table 8 Guadalupe Plastics by Structure

Figure 14 - Ceramic Maker's Mark, Artifact CRO-349

seen (Figure14). Dr. Glenn J. Farris of California Department of Parks and Recreation noted that the mark appears to be from H. Wehinger and Co. in Bohemia, a company which made household porcelain for Eastern Europe between the years of 1905 and 1945 (Rontgen 1981: 248, 420). H. Wehinger and Co. was an earthenware factory, which had been in operation since 1817 when Georg Friedrich Horn founded it, but from 1822 to 1905 under the J & B Boyer name of the Bros. Horn had produced table, decorative and household earthenware. Between 1905 and 1918, the company's maker's mark had been a squat vessel (with or without top) with a prominent "W" centered in it. Bohemia, now Czechoslovakia, was a central region which was crossed by many Molokans travelling from the Black Sea to ports of emigration in Northern Germany. It was hypothesized that a Molokan woman purchased a small piece such as this and carried it with her to the colony until the evidence was found which indicated that the name Czechoslovakia dates only from the establishment of the modern republic in 1918.

True polychrome earthenwares (terracottas) of local Mexican make were not present. Cheap, lead-glazed, red earthenwares (like Tecate redware) were available in both the Ensenada and Tijuana markets, but Susana seems to have selected inexpensive whitewares for her domestic use. She had the remains of a plain redware vessel which fitted back into two small pots. For cataloguing purposes (since so many different archaeologists were called in to deal with the bulk cataloguing), the terracottas were sorted from the stonewares, from the whitewares/ironstones and from the porcelains, and were then sorted a second time for subtype and a third time for design elements. The terracottas were of a crudely-prepared paste with grit temper, poor firing technique and of local manufacture. These were difficult to date as they are made with crude slips and burnishes which were made from the 1850's to today. They are still being sold to tourists in towns all along the U.S.-Mexican border. Two pieces of Tizon brownware, the Kumeyaay

Indian native ware, were found attesting to the Kumeyaays' long occupation of the valley prior to Russian contact.

Table 4 illustrates the difficulty of sorting the dump at Structure 39 by metal type. Fortunately, a crew member was a metallurgical engineer and took charge of the metals identification through a variety of techniques (e.g. lifting with magnets). Tin was in the form of badly fragmented tin-plated cans. Steel was primarily truck parts. Table 5 illustrates artifact types, the bulk of the Kachiriski metal artifacts being unidentified.

Animal bone (Table 6) was uninformative as Dr. Lynn Christenson, a zooarchaeologist at San Diego State University, could not determine species for the majority of the items. Animal bone was so poorly preserved throughout the colony that its only use is with a tally of the presence or absence of species considered unclean by the Molokans. Susana had no such species. Like animal bone, seeds were few and primarily unidentifiable.

Susana had plastic combs, plastic medicine droppers, a phonograph record and what was a small amount of miscellaneous plastic for the large numbers of artifacts found in Unit 2. This would be in keeping with her poverty and professed lack of interest in modern innovation (Table 8).

The total picture, therefore, from the late 1940's to the early 1950's is of a somewhat acculturated (Russian tea glasses but Victrola phonograph records) older female living with the remainder of her juvenile children as yet too young to emigrate to the United States. Her source of income (laundress) is indicated in the large number of glass bleach containers and food bottles. The number of bottles of alcoholic beverages remains a puzzle as everyone interviewed said there was no alcohol use. It may be that family visited from Los Angeles on occasion and contributed to the numbers or that the bottles were being reused by Susana which was not an uncommon occurrence in rural areas.

Structure 61 - Andrés Moiseich Samaduroff

Two of the elderly sons of Moisés Samaduroff and Tanya Klistoff remained in Guadalupe at the beginning of this study in 1983. David Samaduroff had married a Mexican woman, a local political party activist, but his brother Andrés (standard Russian Andrei Moiseevich Samadurov) had married Petra Pavloff, a "pure Russian" woman. He and Petra had several children of whom teenagers Andrés and Tanya were still at home and daughter Surkia returned from a job in Mexicali on a regular basis (Figure11, Structure 61 and Figure15). The children had bright "carrot-red" hair and blue eyes but spoke only Spanish. They lived on their grandparents' parcel of land. The Samaduroffs were the last family of rusos puros left in Guadalupe which at one time had numbered more than 100 families and hundreds of members. All the Samaduroff children had been baptized Molokan and maintained the religious affiliation. Teenager Andrés was a special friend who provided us with photographs from a private collection of mementos that he kept. He seemed to feel that the colony was still special. He was torn as to how to maintain the old ways, which he valued, and yet deal with new ways, as he searched for a means of emigrating to "the other side." He maintained the Russian cemetery, showing up on countless Sundays to rake and cut weeds, clean headboards and maintain fences.

Artifacts from the Samaduroff house were limited in number. Two excavation units were put in on October 6th 1985. Unit 1 was placed in an abandoned structure behind the main house and was cut to 70 cm. Unit 2 was an abandoned latrine and went to only 40 cm. before flood damage erased it. Unfortunately, only 336 artifacts came from the Samaduroff house. Flood damage mixed a few older bottles with modern plastic, creating a unit of secondary deposition with no integrity. Unit 1 produced an aluminum dump of

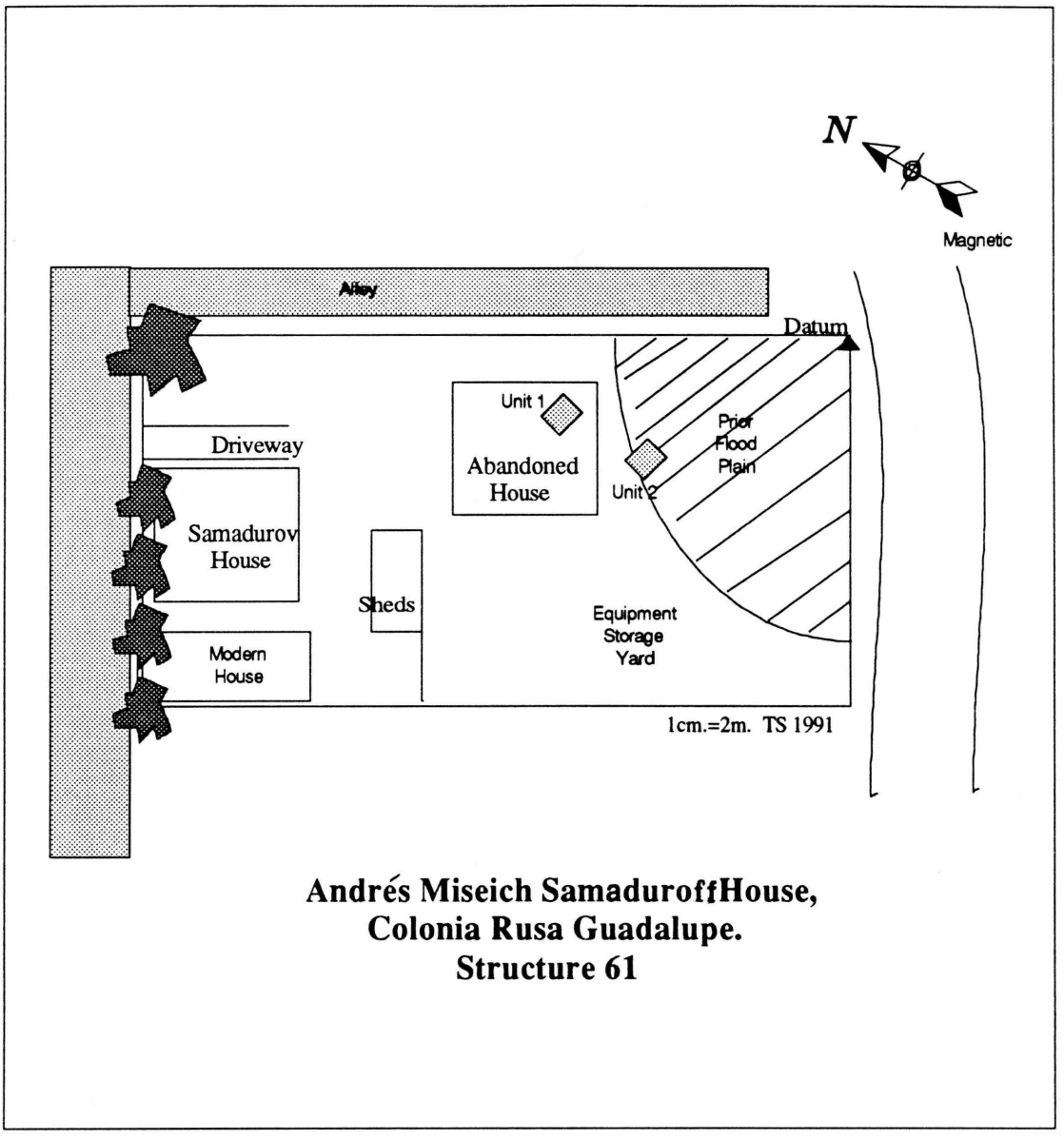


Figure 15 - Plan of Andrés Miseich Samaduroff's House

badly corroded tin-plated sanitary cans (as opposed to the hole and cap or solder drop cans [Busch 1981]), as well as iron tractor parts. House 61, as interesting as its acculturated occupants were, yielded few artifacts that would be of use here.

Structure 11 - Moisés Grigorich Samarin

Moisés Grigorich Samarin's (standard Russian Moisei Grigorovich Samarin) house (Figure11, Structure 11, Figs. 16 and 17) is located toward the southern end of the line-village at the connection with Highway 3. His house was built for his parents Grigori Samarin and Masha Pivovarov by his grandparents Timofei and Tanya Samarin. (The grandparents came from Russia and lived in what was the original 1834 mission building at the colony [Figure11, Structure 47].) Moisés Samarin (who was alive at the time of the excavation but is now deceased) married a Mexican woman, someone considered by Molokans as ne nash or "not one of ours." His wife was Lola López de Samarin, and they had four children: Andrés, Rosa, Eloisa and Antonio most of whom were married and on their own. Rosa had married a half-Russian, half-Mexican man from the Kachiriski family making their offspring still half-Russian, half-Mexican. Moisés' family was very social and very much at home in two worlds.

Excavations took place on October 5th and 6th of 1985. Two (1 x 1 meter) units were placed, based on surface concentrations of artifacts. Unit 1 was excavated to a depth of 40 cm. and Unit 2 to a depth of 50 cm. Both were kitchen middens dating from the late 1940's to the present with recent bone refuse being scattered on the surface. Remarkable was the absence of glass from alcoholic beverages with the exception of one beer bottle. The ceramics were noteworthy in that polychrome earthenwares were

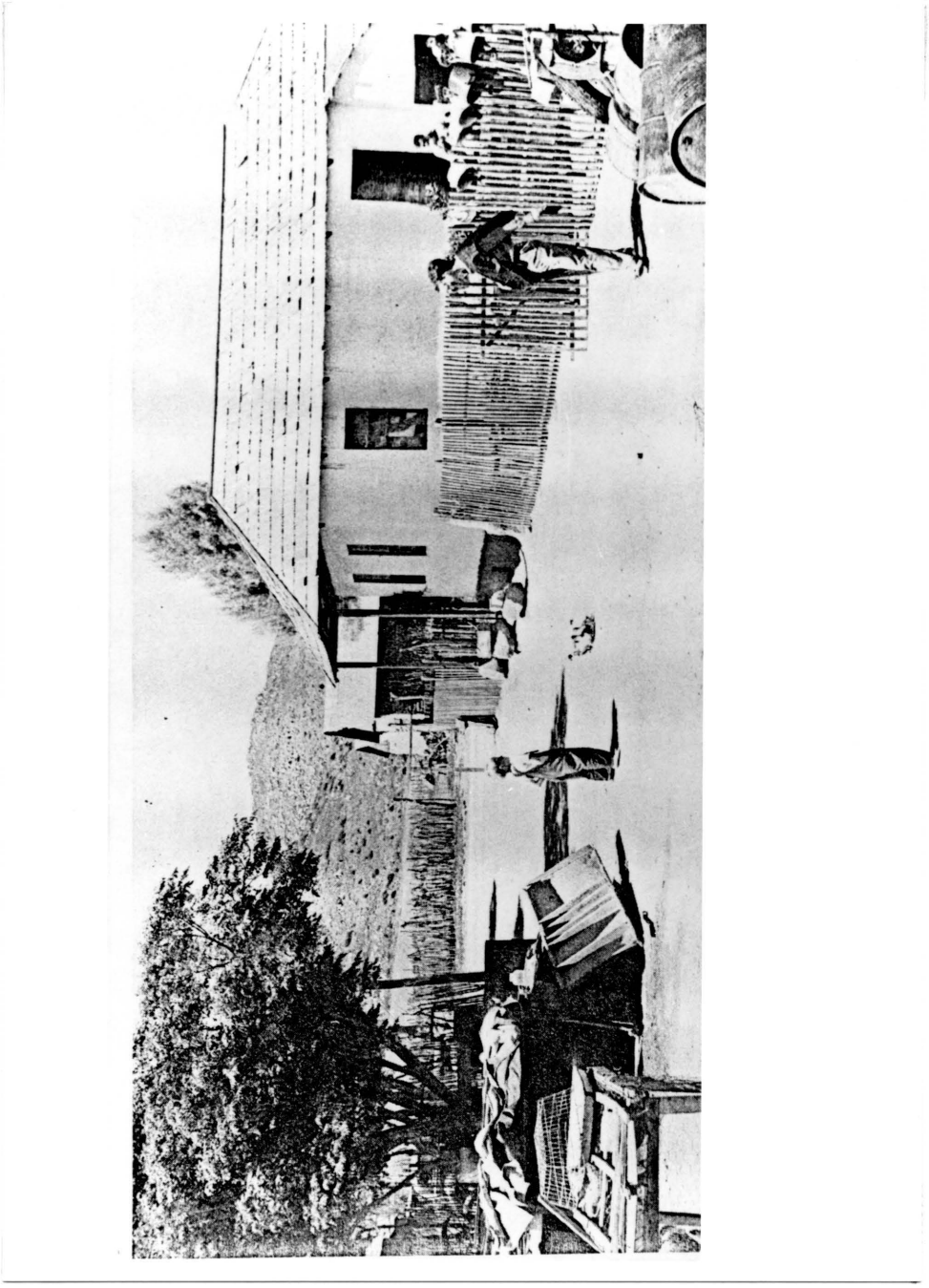


Figure 16 - Moises Grigorich Samarin's House

(Post and Lutz 1976)

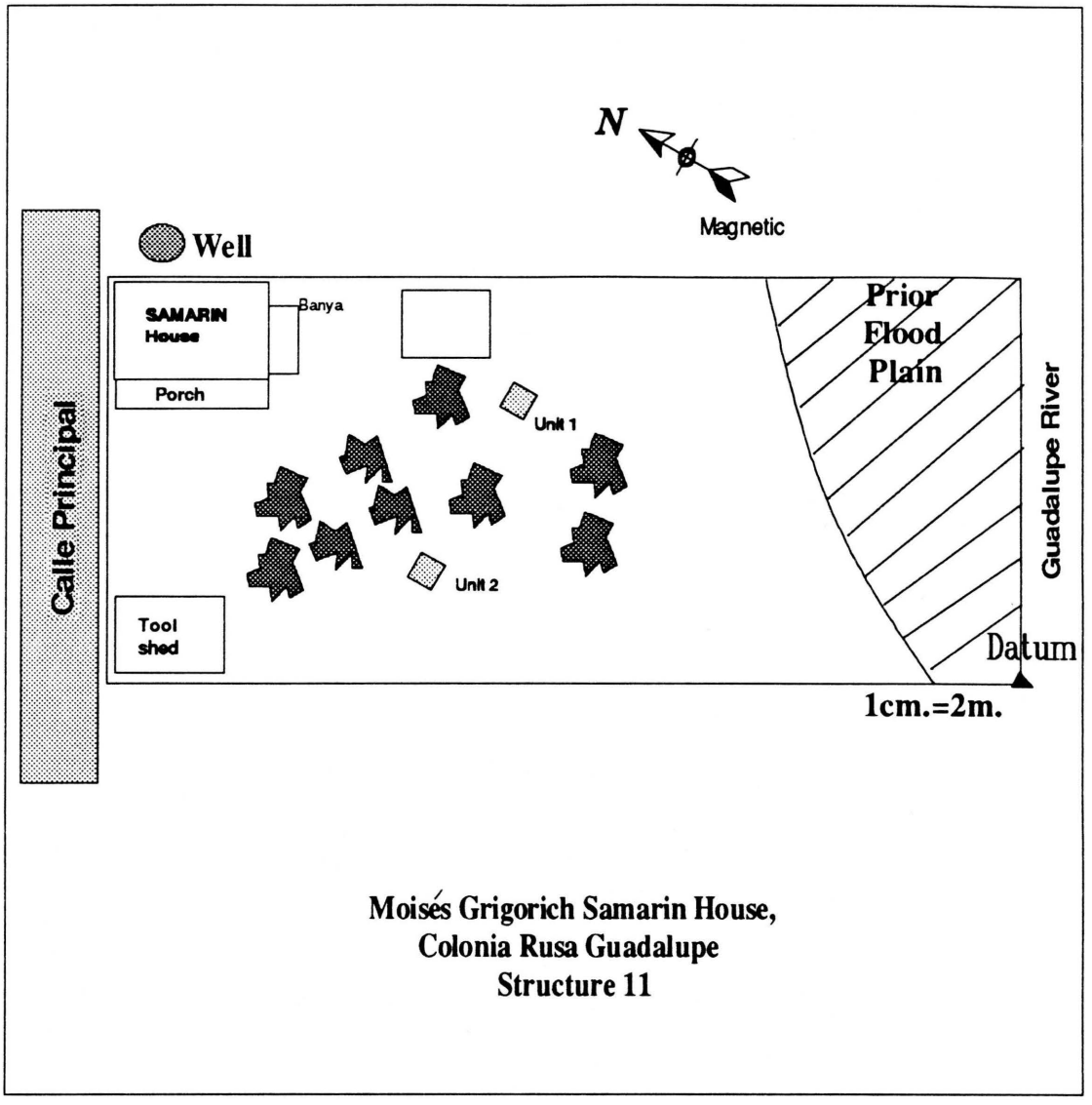


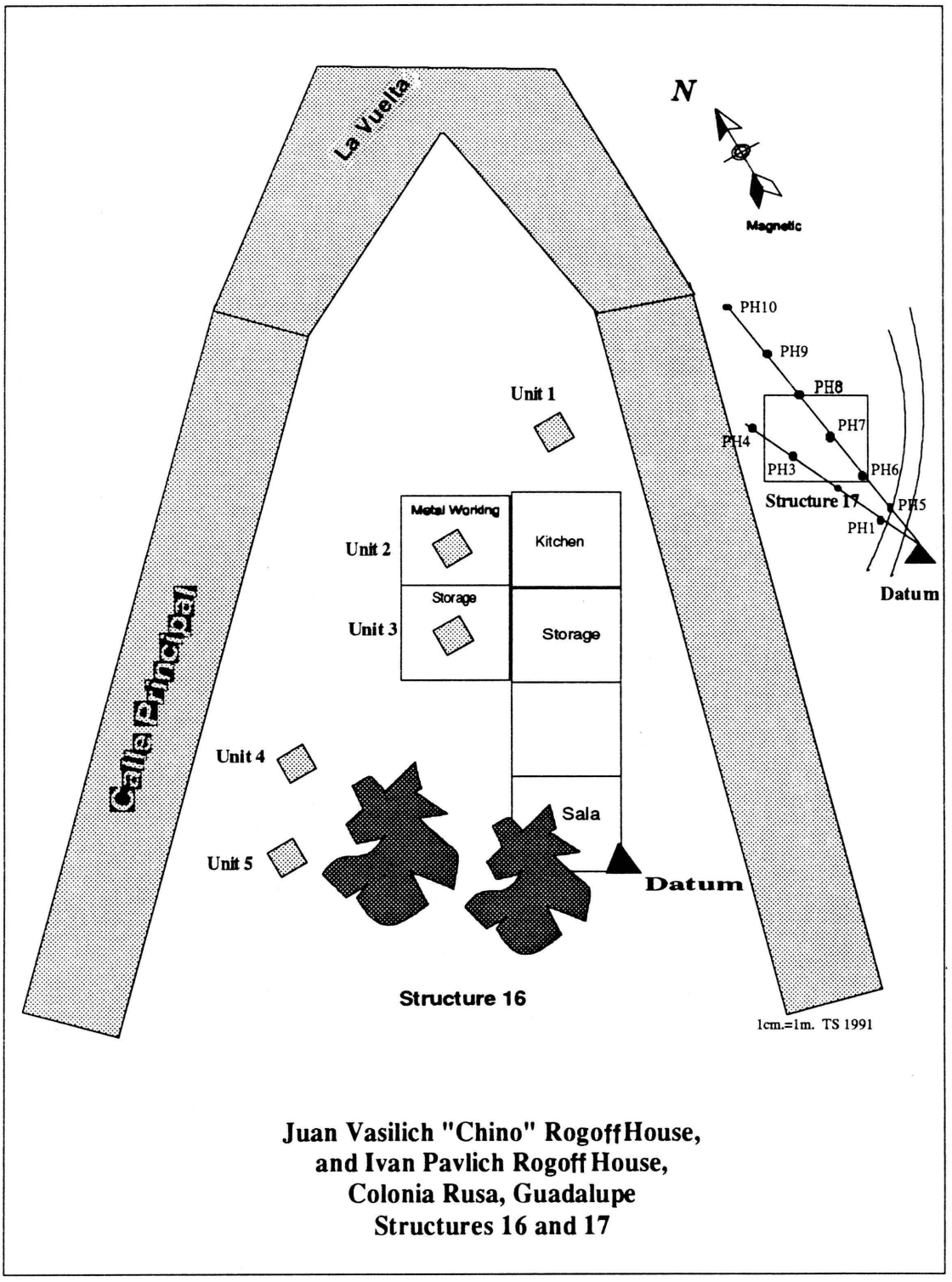
Figure 17 - Plan of Moisés Grigorich Samarin's House

selected over porcelains. Colorful redwares (e.g. CRO-1363) in polychromes of olive green and yellow on a deep red paste were noted. Polychrome serving vessels were noted at the time of ethnographic interview in use in the kitchen and outside serving areas. The ceramic collection was primarily of locally-produced polychromes painted in bright combinations of color instead of the ironstone/whitewares with perhaps a floral small floral motif of Structure 39, the Kachiriski house. Floral motifs recorded in Table 3 are misleading as the flower design at the Samarin's was usually hand painted under glaze, the flowerettes being more than 5 cm in diameter and not the transfer print motifs of small pastels that Susana selected at Structure 39..

The Samarin household trash reflected the ethnographic data fairly well. The presence of a Mexican wife appeared in a different selection of polychrome ceramics, sources of food materials, different trash disposal patterns (scattered in small dumps over the entire property and in sheet trash as opposed to a centralized dump area used year after year by Susana Kachiriski).

Structures 16 and 17 - Juan Vasilich Rogoff and Ivan Pavlich Rogoff

The house of Juan Vasilich Rogoff (standard Russian Ivan Vasilievich Rogov) was located in the middle of the colony at a turn in the road known as La Vuelta ("the turn") and in Russian as et konets ("this end" of the street) (Figure11, Structure 16 and Figure18). Known as "Chino" or "Chinaman" Rogoff to distinguish him from Juan Rogoffs of other Guadalupe families, he was the son of Vasili and Matryona Rogoff (Figure11, Structure 16). He had a brother Basilio and a sister Mania. It is interesting to note that informants (such as George and Basilio Mohoff) called the father Vasili and the son Basilio, a linguistic mark of the acculturation taking place. Chino's first wife was a Nadia Rogoff and they had an all Russian daughter, Vera. His second wife was ne nash



Juan Vasilich "Chino" Rogoff House,
and Ivan Pavlich Rogoff House,
Colonia Rusa, Guadalupe
Structures 16 and 17

Figure 18 - Plan of Juan Vasilitch Rogoff's House

and they had a son, Juanito. Informants still living in the colony said they knew where Chino had buried gold and that he was troubled in later years with alcoholism.

Excavations took place in Structure 16 on October 20th, 21st and 22nd of 1990. Five (1 x 1 meter) units were dug, including two units in the basement of the abandoned house. Room functions were identified (by Russian informants like Pedro Kachiriski still living in the valley) as sala, kitchen, storage areas and a metal shop. Artifacts included both male and female objects such as snuff boxes, or nail polish bottles and metal hair curlers. Children's toys were in evidence. Glassware (Table 1) included large amounts of beer and liquor bottles. Four fragments of Russian tea glasses were located in good primary deposition.

A pig's mandible and four teeth were located scattered through units 2 and 3, the old basement. The basement was an area used for trash in the later years of the colony, burning or hauling it to a centralized place being too much effort for the demoralized colony numbers. The clear association of undeniable pig bones at depth in these basement areas is a remarkable tag of the degree of change undergone in this household, the ban against intermarriage and the ban against eating other than kosher foods being the last to be ignored. Two fragments of LP record albums and a Victrola label showing "His Master's Voice" from the U.S. were found, the Victrola being a noted sign of acculturated families (Story 1960: 38), and even Susana Kachiriski had an old one in a place of honor (Figure12). Fourteen tooth brush fragments were located in association with two human premolars extracted long after caries had hit the inner root. Mohoff (1992: 53) discusses home dentistry and pulling teeth by tying the tooth to a doorknob.

Ceramics were dominated in numbers by porcelain and ironstone/whiteware but the colorful Tecate redwares' presence is noted. They showed the presence of polychrome earthenwares in bright blues, yellows, greens and oranges. The floral design tallies in

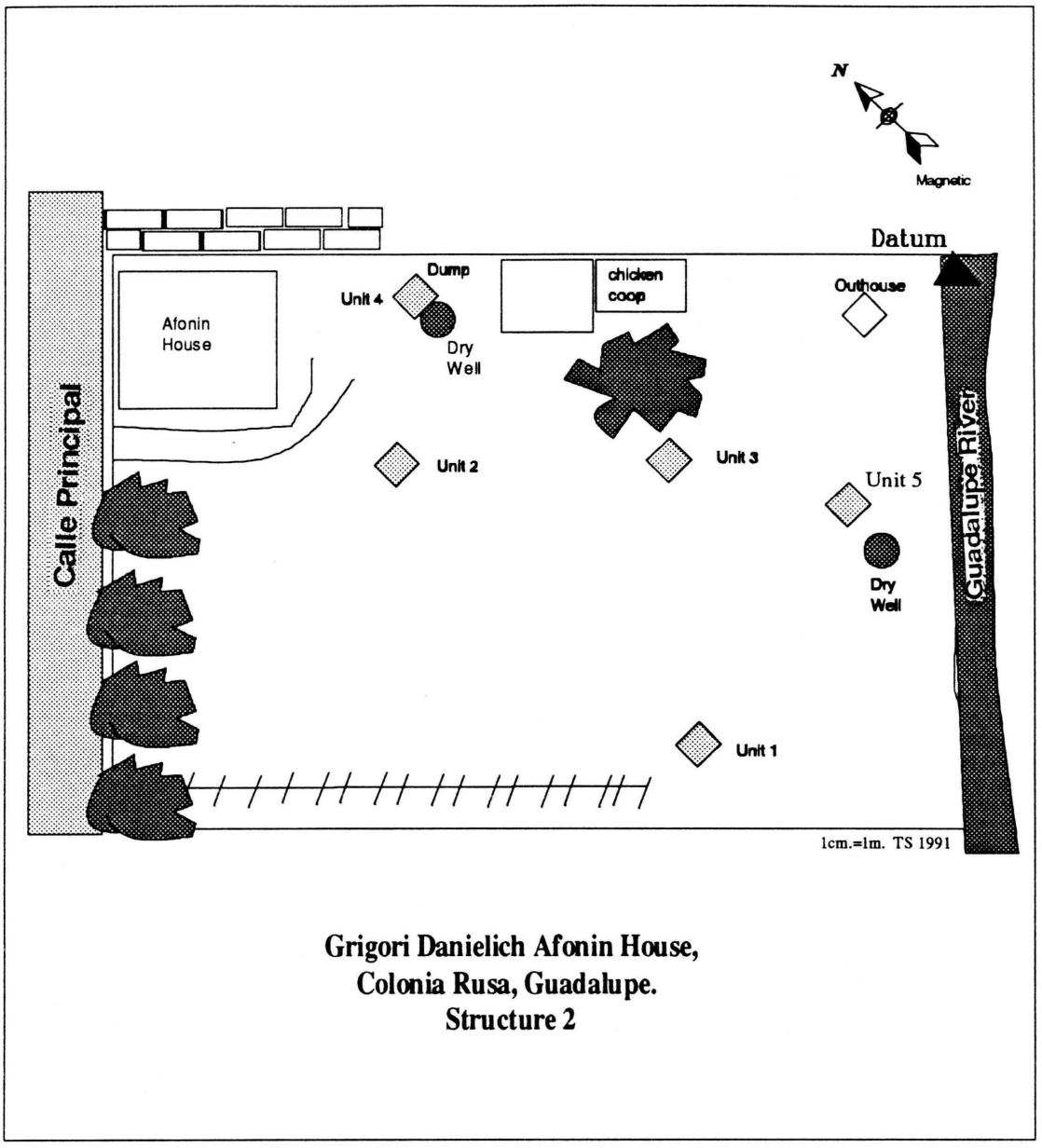
Table 3 once again do not reflect the dramatic differences in the floral tableware used here (large, handpainted flowers in random patterns) and those of Susana Kachiriski's small transfer-print flowerettes.

Interestingly, the presence of a black basalt mano fragment of a type of stone not native to Baja California but used in Mexican kitchens primarily for the preparation of masa for tortillas was noted. No Russian wife would have made corn or flour tortillas, as their staple was a raised black wheat bread made in an outdoor oven or pechka. The mano indicates a dietary change for Chino Rogoff in keeping with the meals made by a Mexican wife. Even though seeds were scarce through all the sites, the only corn husks or seeds found were those of Chino's household (Table 7). A goose was found in the basement area, the Russians being the first to breed geese in Baja California and geese being a characteristic Russian food for which Rogoff may have maintained a fondness.

Structure 17 (Figs. 11 and 18) was across a side street from Structure 16 and had belonged to Ivan Pavlich Rogoff (standard Russian Ivan Pavlovich Rogov). A posthole series found no artifacts and no further analyses were made.

Structure 2 - Grigori Danielich Afonin

Grigori Danielich Afonin's (standard Russian Grigori Danielovich Afonin) house was at the end of the colony away from the poblado at Highway 3 (Figure11, Structure 2, Figs. 19 and 20). At later dates houses such as Basilio and Maria Rogoff's (not on Figure11) were built even farther out the road to escape serious flooding, but for all intents and purposes Structure 2 was the end of the original colony. Grigori's parents Daniel Mitrafonich Afonin and Matrona Tolmasoff first lived in Structure 5 near the river, but flooding forced the family up and back to Structure 2 in 1910, according to George



Grigori Danielich Afonin House,
Colonia Rusa, Guadalupe.
Structure 2

Figure 19 - Plan of Grigori Danielich Afonin's House

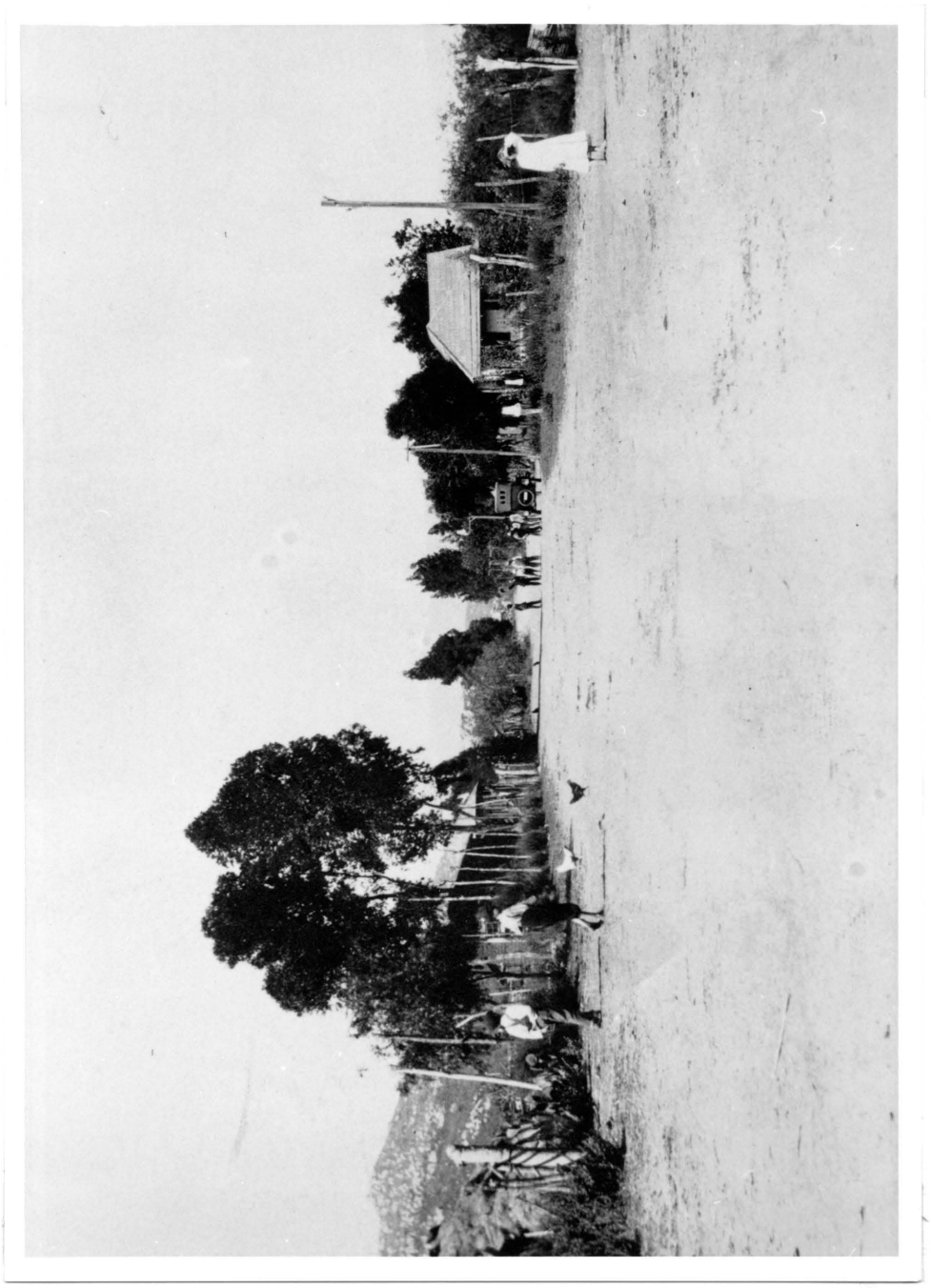


Figure 20 - Grigori Danielich Afonin House
(Helen Long)

Mohoff. Grigori Danielich Afonin and his wife Katya had ten children there and inherited all the father's property. In the 1920's among other innovative ideas, he planted 50 acres of grapes and drilled artesian wells. In the 1940's Mrs. Afonin sold the house to Mexican nationals, a couple by the name of Romulo Cota and Doña Pancha de Cerda. A Sr. Ferro of the Bodegas de Santo Tomas purchased the property subsequently and at the time of excavation the house was occupied by an older Mexican male tenant who lived alone and worked for the various grape growers.

Structure 2 was excavated September 30th and October 1st of 1989. Five units were placed and varied in depth from 40 to 100 cm. The units were finally dated as being of the same time period from 1950 to 1960. I was uncertain about the nature of the deposits at first, and in particular whether they were Russian or Mexican in ethnicity. Suddenly in Unit 4, an elaborate brass medallion of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, the patroness of Catholic Mexico (Ewing 1949), was recovered. The corrosion was marked but the woman with the crescent-moon under her feet surrounded with seven semi-precious red stones was quite apparent (CRO-1236).

Infant bottles appear, a demographic marker as infants were more common to this family than to the aging Russian householders whose homes have been reported so far. Tea glasses in the Mexican family's trash were a puzzle until depths were checked and all were found to lie between 0 to 10 cm. in depth. The entire Afonin yard had been shallowly ploughed at one time or another and furrows were in evidence. This allowed for some artifacts of Russian usage to be dragged along over the entire surface of the property, contaminating upper levels of the Mexican trash pits.

A mirror fragment was gathered which was one of the items that I hypothesized in advance of the ethnographic research to be a vanity item, probably not in keeping with

Molokan mores. Finding this apparent sign of acculturation, I was interested to see it appearing also at the homes of Susana Kachiriski and Moisés Samarin. Statistically insignificant in small numbers, it nevertheless appeared. Upon closer ethnographic checks, however, it became apparent that the Molokans also used mirrors to call the workers in from the fields when lunch or supper was ready and had a completely utilitarian usage that had nothing to do with vanity.

Ceramics were brightly designed, hand-painted florals and solids. Floral design elements (Table 3) were large and nonsystematic in their distribution around the vessels. The presence of the largest number of "Blue Willow" fragments (19) in this highly acculturated household contrasts with the avoidance of the Chinese dragon and pagoda themes by the traditional Molokans.

Two fragments of silverplate were located in the refuse, plus an inexpensive costume-jewelry heart locket. An interesting reuse of coat hangers was the twisting of the cut ends around the bent loop which made all-purpose hangers prominently seen on the walls of the Mexican residences in the valley but never seen on the walls of Russian homes. These may support the hypotheses that the Mexican families were not as well-off as the poorest Russian residents who had children in the United States to help them. It also supported the idea that the "reuse" of refuse was dramatically different in selection of items as well as the intensity of the reuse. The total picture of the Afonin house (which should probably be called the Cota house) was of a Mexican household of more traditional values than that of the half-Russian, half-Mexican households (Samarin or Chino Rogoff) viewed to date.

Structure 76 - The Samarin Almacen

Figure 11 (Structure 76) and Figure 21 illustrate the almacen or warehouse built by

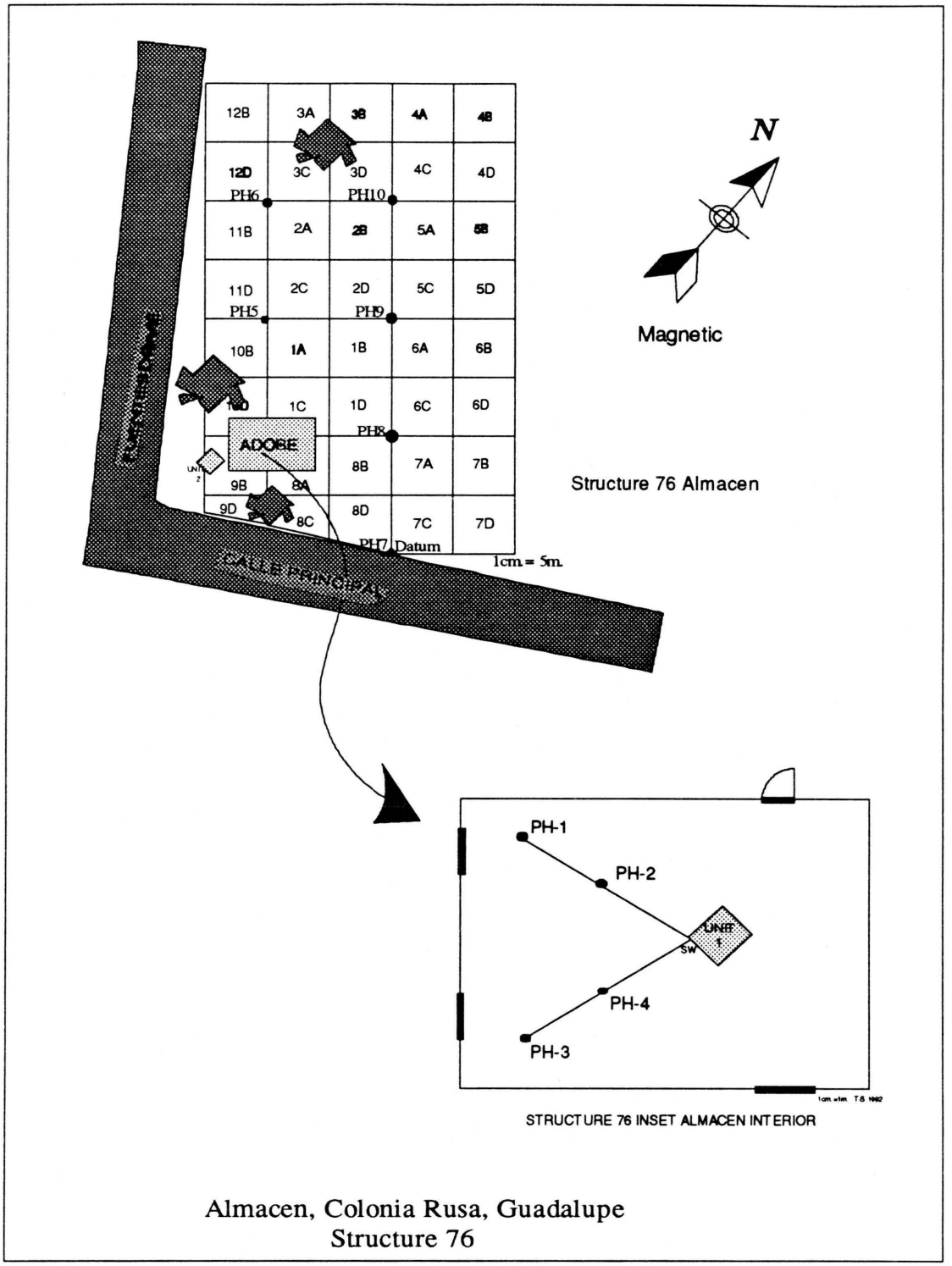


Figure 21 - Plan of Samarin's Almacen

Grigori Timofeovich Samarin who had many horses and needed corrals for them, according to family members. It was always a storage area stocked with bales of hay. This was the first property test excavated on September 28th, 29th and October 5th and 6th of 1985 because the current property owners Sr. and Sra. Hector Fuentes agreed to let us work there. Undocumented at that time, it seemed a good beginning point to allow the Russian and Mexican villagers to get to know us and follow us around. It brought on some initial suspicion as they thought we were local government surveyors with transit equipment. After a designated crew member passed each bag of artifacts around for a while, they became convinced we really were looking for basura or "trash."

As it is in rural areas in United States and in many countries, archaeology brings out suspicions. In the case of Guadalupe, the Molokan farmers did not go to banks but kept their gold coin money hidden. If the father died suddenly, the sons might not even know where their father had kept the family's funds. Furthermore, the Mission Guadalupe down the street had been raided by the Kumeyaay Indians under Jatanil in 1840 with legends to burn about where the lost gold had been placed. Another legend said that an old Russian woman went blind and buried her gold pesos in the wall of her house just underneath the whitewash stucco where she could feel them with her fingertips. I had always wondered why when she died the inside of her house was so pockmarked. It appears that, shortly after her death, valley residents had come into her house with spoons. Because I was foreign to the valley and it was thought that no one except those crazy or mercenary would be out digging in the hot sun, we proceeded carefully with joint Mexican and U.S. crews and did those houses of interest off the main roads first until the population got to know us.

The two units excavated (Figure21) and the posthole series at the almacen showed

little subsurface materials. I collected all the modern surface materials by quadrants as a documentary of the village as it is today. The almacen now sits near small houses of Mexican workers and their families and a small convenience store labelled Licores. Primarily scattered trash from contemporary households, it was the final sample needed to compare the living quarters of rusos puros, rusos-mexicanos and mexicanos excavated later.

Almacen trash was primarily machine-made beer and liquor bottles which were larger in size than for the other houses studied so far, because they had been recently discarded. Only four Mexican earthenware pieces and 55 whitewares were located but these were pieced together to find pottery curios and not the utilitarian ware of Susana Kachiriski, for example. Four Late Prehistoric to Early Historic Tizon brownware sherds were collected, merely an indicator of the continuous occupation of the valley from prehistoric times to the present and the problem of the intermixing of components in surface collections.

Iron car parts, tin and aluminum cans tossed from the side of the road, as well as from the small homesteads behind the convenience store were collected. Large amounts of plastic forks and knives, broken flower pots, Japanese made "flip-flop" sandals, etc. showed the high usage of plastics through time. Food products showed a definite predilection for products with brand names such as Bufalo, Barrilitos and Salsa Brava. Although former Molokan colonists, such as Mohoff (1992a), remember eating jalapeno chiles with delight, the basic Russian diet was based upon geese, chickens, noodles and wheat bread with honey. Even after villagers stopped following kosher rules, they maintained some traditional tastes, according to Lola López de Samarin and other informants.

V. Conclusions

The Guadalupe Valley project actually began in the 1970's when I was a student of East European prehistory. Interested in the origins of Indo-European languages, I could not detect the ethnic differences my colleagues attributed to prehistoric migrations in the archaeological record of Eastern Europe at 4,000 B.C. On the one hand, V. Gordon Childe noted (1942: 17) that the subtle cultural differences among people as closely related as the British and the Americans of New England would show up in the table manners and different shapes of forks, knives and spoons. Determining ethnicity by the objects people owned was possible and worthy of attention. On the other hand, followers of Julian Steward (1955: 82) were citing examples of ethnically-related peoples whose material cultural inventories were totally different, while ethnically-different peoples could sometimes be found to own remarkable similar things. They seemed to be saying that the search for a correlation between material culture and ethnicity was fraught with difficulty. How could we address these potential problems? Just how accurately could a prehistoric archaeologist predict ethnic origin? If he or she worked with collections from sites where the settlers were still alive to critique the analyses accuracy, could we learn techniques to clarify the identification of small and large-scale migrations?

Determined to try and with permission from INAH in Mexico City, my crew and I placed test excavations at seven houses of peoples of different ethnic backgrounds and catalogued and analyzed their artifacts for evidence of points of ethnic origin. Ethnicity seemed to be an issue everywhere we went in this rural Baja California community. People classified me as the prahoslavnaya (ne nash), or "Orthodox" (" not one of us") or la americana loca who was looking for old garbage. Our best success at obtaining permission from farmers to excavate was when my Japanese-American spouse met the

Japanese-Mexican owner of a formerly Russian homestead and we were allowed access to all his property forevermore and I became la japonesa. I was looking for the material cultural evidence of ethnicity, the dynamics of which we were experiencing during our residence in the Guadalupe Valley.

Our relative success in correlating material culture with ethnicity was dramatic. With the introduction of the evidence of written language (as noted on cemetery headstones or household mailboxes), not only could we pinpoint East European origins for the population but the fact that they were sectarians (but not necessarily Molokans.) Excavation weekends sometimes involved testing households for which there was no ethnographic background at the time of arrival on the site. This provided us with a chance to keep different hypotheses as to whose homestead it was and the nature of the ethnic categories of the former occupants.

Without the evidence of writing and the religious messages characteristic of fundamental Christian sectarians, the evidence was still strong. Like being dropped into Russia (Dmitrieva 1982-1983, Gerhart 1974), all one had to do was open one's eyes to see the differences in the Guadalupe colony: the settlement pattern of the street-village, the roofs gabled to "keep off the snow" in a Mediterranean climate, the burial of the dead six feet down and two feet over into the side of the grave pit to "keep out the wolves." The unusual diet of geese as well as the avoidance of non-kosher foods were noteworthy, especially the techniques of butchery. The avoidance of salsa and spicy condiments, and no tools for the preparation of tortillas was a deviation from the typical Baja California diet. The material culture of samovars, carved wooden master serving spoons, plain or plainly-decorated ceramics, non-decorative buttons and little or no jewelry was observed. Ethnographically, the physical appearance (bright red hair and blue eyes) of the Samoduroff children in old photographs was evidence of genetic variability in the valley.

Does material culture correlate with ethnicity? It was represented in the Guadalupe Valley excavations not as a statistical phenomenon but as a difference in the presence or absence of characteristic items. For example, no pork was ever noted in purely Molokan household trash pits, and no Mexican cookware such as metates, manos or morteros. Ceramic design elements were the strongest single piece of information in the detection of ethnicity. If kitchen middens could be located (in the Mexican households it was sheet trash, in the Molokan households it was trash dumped away from the structure and towards the river), the selection of porcelains versus earthenware and ceramic design elements (pastel Victorian florals versus multiple colored florals with wide petals were the most characteristic artifact types. Food jars of various makes were the next most useful determinant of ethnicity and in particular the salsas.

The presence or absence of liquor bottles was not useful because the colony had become acculturated from its earlier prohibition of liquor, the avoidance of which was formerly a characteristic of Molokan faith.

Archaeology and Symbol

Not only do I see two ethnicities ("two solitudes" [MacLennan 1945]) in the architecture, clothing, food and jewelry preferences of the people of Guadalupe but in their symbols, as well. It was most important to the Molokans to be Molokan but their different places of origin were still recorded linguistically in their centuries-old surnames, as for example Samarin (from Samara) or Afonin (from Athens, possibly of Greek descent). The ethnographic files are full of references, even during the heyday of the colony, for Molokans who were in good standing with the faithful but were not truly White Russian, for example Khokhol of Structure 60 (Figure 11) whom the Molokans

glossed as "someone of a different religion, like a Moslem" but whose name really means "the Ukrainian." Other Molokans living along the street in Guadalupe were called Salyoni Armashka ("the Salty Armenian"), Khrusin ("the Georgian") or, for example, Chino ("the Chinese") Rogoff. Down the road from the colony lived a man known simply as Frantsuz ("the Frenchman") and traders in Ensenada named Yung Ki and Manuel Ezroj had clearly understood ethnicities.

Ethnic boundaries captured in the linguistic examples given above were expressed in the symbols of the two groups. Spicer defined an ethnic group, or what he preferred to call a "persistent" people (1971), as "those with common understandings concerning the meaning of a set of symbols" (1980: 347). "Any human experience that is to be communicated to others and preserved over time must be expressed in symbols (Berger 1979: 50)." Analyst Carl Jung (1964: 3) defined a symbol as "a term, a name, or even a picture that may be familiar in daily life, yet that possesses specific connotations in addition to its conventional and obvious meaning." These symbols signal members and non-members to each other (Barth 1969: 15) and flaunt or hide ethnicity as deemed necessary (Leone 1981, Naulko 1978, Wobst 1977). We need, therefore, to look at these symbols as markers of ethnicity, something which cannot be done prehistorically as well as it can be with the living informants of the Guadalupe of today.

The Molokans were not known to be a people with a great deal of symbolism (Barclay 1967) in comparison with Mennonites, Hutterites or Old World Amish. Iconoclastic in the sense that they refuted Russian Orthodox symbolically-expressed liturgies, they nevertheless held certain objects as having special meaning. Clean white towels (a custom from the days when clean towels hung over the family's icon corner) hang in the meeting house and occur prominently in dreams and prophecies (Mohoff 1992), but towels are not

archaeologically preserved. Sunbursts, the only decorative items allowed on traditional headstones in the Guadalupe cemetery, are a symbol different from those of the Mexican headstones with cherubs, images of Christ, and urns of pink and white plastic flowers.

Molokan symbols of false pride traditionally included wedding rings, eyeglasses, Victrolas, children's bicycles and Ford trucks. Symbols may be flaunted as cherished items of nostalgia (Pyszczyk 1990), or perhaps as a colony is threatened, elaborated to make a point (e.g. the encouragement of grandmothers that their grandaughters wear the lace kosinka over their heads on ceremonial occasions). The samovar, large loaves of bread and salt, and the Bible always open on the dining table were symbols of Molokan Russian hospitality and piety. Ask outsiders and they remember the geese scattering as you passed down the road, the clean, white-washed buildings and the sounds of a cappella voices at night in the valley. Symbols for us of acculturation were the pork bones at the house of "Chino" Rogoff and that the pechka or central oven was cold, the central hearth and the source of life for each homestead. With all these symbols of Molokan life extinguished, former Guadalupe resident George Mohoff upon driving through the colony noted that there were Russians left in Guadalupe (17 of the original 900,) but there were no Molokans.

An example of a symbol which is not shared by the "iconoclastic" Russian Molokans is the Roman Catholic medallion of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe found at the Afonin house. Associated with trash pits from the occupation of the house by a Mexican family not intermarried with Russians, it is a symbol whose presence can only denote one kind of ethnicity. Whether the Mexican wives of Russian farmers shared in the belief in that symbol is unknown but they were not free to express that belief, as we saw both ethnographically and archaeologically. This is what happens when a perception of social distance is endangered, it is either flaunted as a signal or avoided as unwise.

The clearest symbolic battleground in Guadalupe is the cemetery in which the oldest Molokan graves stand to the center of the hillside and are humbly made with starbursts pressed into hand-molded cement. On the periphery of the hill, at its base, is a proliferation of Mexican Catholic headstones layed out like gravel at the moraine of a glacier. The names, originally carved in the cement in Russian, through time are given a Spanish summary at the end of the headstone's text. The more recent ones are written in Spanish alone with only the name of the deceased for example Anna Pavloff, giving a clue as to the person's ethnic background. The campo santo is a battleground of symbols pointing to the afterlife, a battle which the Molokans eventually lost.

Methodology

Does material culture therefore reflect ethnicity? The material culture of the Guadalupe Valley, as reflected in the test excavations here, confirms the presence of a group of Russian sectarians in northern Baja California. Strong local patterns characteristic of the Spanish (1533 to 1769 and 1769 to 1821) and Mexican (1821 to present) periods include large ranchos and small rancherías spread long miles apart, houses of adobe bricks and red tile roofs, a dietary complex of corn and beans, and native vegetation and fauna plus a highly symbolic Roman Catholic religious background. With this local pattern appears a second one, a departure within the Guadalupe Valley that begins in 1905 and has roots in Russia. Both indigenous and "intrusive" populations have left their marks.

If what I hypothesized at the time of excavations confirms what I have then tracked ethnographically, I could have done it without the historic circumstances of supporting informants, personal letters, documents and historical archives. The Guadalupe Valley study is just too fresh, too contrastive in material plans for living, for a student of

technology to miss. The Native American pattern (San Dieguito, Milling Stone, Late Prehistoric or Yuman) and the historic periods described above leave characteristic traces in the stratigraphy. The twentieth century Guadalupe Valley material is dramatic in its differences.

What hints or guidelines will I follow the next time I feel I have variation in the archaeological record that is too marked to explain otherwise? Is there a methodology in determining prehistoric migrations in which this maximum ethnic contrast does not exist, in which decades have gone by since the original population movements and close contact and\or acculturation have confused the material cultural evidence.

The first point is that there is no "proof" of migration or ethnic contrast. Prehistorically, no amount of data is enough to "prove" a migration took place. There is a minimal amount of evidence below which a scientifically-based case will not suggest migration.

Second, a good technique demands that one start interpreting differences in complexes of artifacts such as architecture, burial treatment or small-scale technologyat the time of excavation. This difference is then hypothesized either to be indigenous (innovative with a traceable background in experimentation) or new(or what has been called "intrusive.") Pushing as far along as the data will allow, the archaeologist may even attempt to discover origins. The causes of the process which involves discontent or warfare, perhaps scouting parties, population movement and resettlement may never be more than hypothetical but each individual case must be traced as far as possible.

The third point is that beyond noting a difference, whether it is intrusive or native and perhaps its cause, the archaeologist may pursue other goals depending upon his or her interests or what the evidence suggests. Two research questions were suggested here as the result of the work of U.S. sociologist Alejandro Portes (1986) and Russian

ethnographer V.I. Naulko (1978). Artifacts were not found from the earliest (1905) dump sites near the river due to heavy flooding from time to time. Statements cannot therefore be made about the earliest settlers and whether or not their perception of social distance with their Mexican neighbors was more marked earlier or later, as Portes (1986) has hypothesized. We must therefore look at the 1930's to the present for evidence to support or refute the rise of ethnicity in times of economic hardship or ethnic opposition. In the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's was there evidence of social distance (as represented in the material cultural items that flaunted ethnicity) as a result of the nationalization of the Ejido Porvenir? The answer is no, it was in the selection of artifact types in general such as the quality of ceramics that the ethnic groups differed. In architecture and tombstones, however, this intensification is clearly marked. The refurbishing of architecture "in the old way" such as a Bibayoff House (Figure 11, Structure 13) with its gabled roof and freshly whitewashed walls is noted. The return to the cemetery of Molokan descendants from Los Angeles bringing not necessarily traditional wooden headstones but etched granite ones seems at first not to be an embellishment of the old ways until one discusses with the mourner his or her sentiments. It is most important that the lettering be in Spanish so that the other valley residents can read it but it must be prominently placed so that they know that the deceased is Molokan and that they are in a Molokan cemetery. After 1937 and the coming of the Ejido Porvenir, the stones are lettered more and more in Spanish with prominent placement of Russian names, as if in a fixed battle to reclaim the cemetery, a symbol of ancestry lost to the valley's residents.

The next question is can the archaeologist hypothesize ethnic hostilities by the flaunting of conservative traits in the period of time after a migration takes place? Naulko (1978) notes that the use of the most visible, characteristic traits such as clothing style are found on the borders of territories between ethnic groups, a place where conflict is the most

marked and clarity is the most necessary. In Guadalupe, there was no evidence of dress, for example, setting one apart more if they lived on the periphery of the colony. Russian physical traits set them apart so markedly from their neighbors, it was not necessary to flaunt differences further. There was, in fact, evidence to the contrary. The farther a homestead was from the center of the colonia, the less marked their dress, speech and job descriptions were. For example, the Mary Rogoff household was located off Figure 11 on the road to San Marcos. Forced by flooding to move to higher ground, Mary had become the midwife and a public health nurse, running a clinic known as "The Angel of Guadalupe." Away from the colony's eyes, her house structure and her lifestyle (a woman networking independently with the neighborhood peoples) were markedly freer.

A cautionary note as to methodology and artifact interpretation should be made. Some mistakes were made in the interpretation of the Guadalupe artifacts, mistakes which the prehistorian would have been allowed to make without the corrections of historic informants. The first was the mistaken origin and significance of the Czechoslovakian pitcher/creamer found at the Kachiriski household at marked depth. Interpretation of the maker's mark lead to the hypothesis that the pitcher was brought with the original immigrants. Its place in the stratigraphy, its exotic presence and the inability of local historians and antiquarians to identify it (e.g. David Zárate-Loperena of Ensenada) all lead to the hypothesis that it was purchased in Czech territory. The mark "Czechoslovakia" however was not used until 1918 when the political entity was formed and precludes the pitcher's being brought with the first migration.

The second typical mistake which was made was exemplified in the interpretation of the Chinese symbolism on the ceramics. Noting the number of "Chinese-like" ceramic designs on porcelains, I hypothesized that it was a preferential style for the Molokan women as it was not selected for in the Mexican households. Informants volunteered, however, that

the Chinese style of ceramics was avoided by Molokans because the characteristic dragon was associated with the devil. Resorting the ceramics, I found that my interpretation of "Chinese-style" ceramics from my upbringing and ethnic background included types of ceramics which the Molokans did not consider "Chinese" nor threatening. The ceramics which I had isolated included types which they would have bought with no qualms. Upon consultation with them, the types which they traditionally would not have touched were the "Blue Willow" pattern with pagodas, etc. and these and these alone were the styles which indicated acculturation.

In summary of methodological considerations, the first thing is to remember that evidence comes from the sum total of all resources taken together. "A historical 'source' may be defined as anything that has been preserved that was contemporary with the period under study: a thought, a voice, a building, a poem, a dish, a laundry bill (Cohn-Haft 1965: 1)." This sum total is Spicer's (1980: xviii) "image of collective identity," an image which under certain circumstances is "stimulated to consciousness of ethnic differences" (Spicer 1972: 54). Molokans would call this collective image bratstvo or "brotherhood," and it is a circumstance which calls forth again and again its identity and solidarity (Francis 1976: 183).

Is this data base lost to archaeology? Not if it is translated as a cultural pattern and not as an ethnic group. An identity and a solidarity constantly called forth would lend itself archaeologically to "boundaries" or "open and closed systems" as the proper line of research. But closedness or frontier crossings have yet to be explored archaeologically (Collen 1987). It is better to take the approach in which this cultural pattern as a whole (and not its approachability by other groups) is monitored.

This cultural pattern taken as a whole has been hinted at by Haury's "constellation" of traits (1958). It is enhanced by Deetz' (1962-1963) half-artifact:

> ...an aboriginal practice (beaming) being done as part of an introduced technology (tanning) with a tool made from material known and used aboriginally (bone) obtained from an animal introduced by the Europeans (cow) (p. 172).

An example would be the Christmas trees of Japanese-Americans decorated with origami paper cranes out of Santa Claus covered Christmas paper. The overlay of one cultural pattern over the other is indicative of the immigration of one population to join a region where another has been living. Kelly and Kelly (1980: 134) call it a "replacement" of values.

The archaeologist needs a long familiarity with local data bases. This knowledge must go beyond a knowledge of the artifacts to include a general set of hypotheses as to ecological adaptations (for example they have always been hunters and gatherers and are so today). One must look at the range of artifacts acceptable to that lifestyle and knowledge of environmental variation that would cause changes in that lifestyle (for example tree-ring data). One must look at their ceremonial lives (for example the Venus of Villendorf, cave art or effigy figures). One needs to hypothesize the single trade item (for example. the ocean shell bead located at a desert site) from the collections of objects possibly indicative of population movements.

Settlement pattern shifts are to be duly noted and hypotheses made thereof. One needs to monitor social change such as exogamy and spouse-exchanges. As populations grow in complexity, increased warfare and the advent of science (for example the placement of sites at locales known for astronomical observation) must be understood for what they are and not confused with an alternative hypothesis, the advent of new populations. Trading traditions (sourcing and routes) need to be worked out as new populations bring with

them new and different trade mechanics. As the pieces of the master pattern are worked out in these various subsystems, the kinds of disturbances that the material culture reflects upon the assimilation of a new population will be enhanced. Almost in the style of Boas, the master pattern requires that the individual artifact be kept in context. Migration is a process with a start and a finish, whatever those may be. Changes leading up to a migration and its after effects should be reflected materially in ways vastly different from Childe's (Renfrew 1991: 407) "consistently recurring assemblage of artifacts."

Archaeology and Migration

The Guadalupe project has furthered my understanding of human migration. Unidirectional movements of human populations (migrations) are contrasted with cyclical movements of a population following a seasonal round (e.g. transhumant pastoral nomads). These are again contrasted with the temporary relocation of economic specialists such as traders, soldiers or artisans. Populations may move to a new location temporarily, may move and stay isolated (the classic symbiotic relationship of Barth [1969]), or they may move and begin amalgamation, the complete biological assimilation of a population traceable later only to the geneticist in statistical trends and waves.

The Guadalupe population was unique in that the migration was predicted by a prophet many decades in advance. The migration is also unique in that it occurred household by household and migrants chose their own paths to the destination, some wandering as far as the Andes Mountains to go from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The migration is also unique in the sense that once relocating in Los Angeles, the colonists fanned out to canvass and colonize areas as far apart as Central California, Arizona, Hawaii, and Guadalupe, Mexico. The colony is also unique in that the migrations still go on, the most recent being only a few years ago when a group of Molokans heard the Spirit call them

once again, this time to colonize an area of Brazil. The migrants built barriers around their new colony. Determined at first to change only enough to remain the same, to keep the old ways in a new location, they were successful at fending off the world and its evils for a while.

The Recording of Sectarian Data

The study, furthermore, increased the understanding of Baja California's varied ethnic history, and, in particular, provided data on the growing number of sectarian communities that have been formed and die out in each era since the beginning of human society:

> Ethnic minorities will pass away but new ones will
> emerge for man is continually becoming possessed by a
> vision which is different from others around him
> (Redekop 1969: 243).

Sectarians are not uncommon to Mexico, where during the presidency of Porfirio Diaz, hard-working outsiders (with cash on hand) were especially welcome (Meyer and Sherman 1979: 439-465). (Mormons) in Sonora (Burns and Naylor 1973, O'Dea 1972, Peterson 1973) and Mennonites in Chihuahua (Sawatzky 1971) among others are documented as sectarians who continued to look for "the new Zion" where land was cheap and official interference was low. The Guadalupe colonists moved back and forth across the border from the first. Disenchanted colonists returned to the United States threatened by "Villistas" during the revolution (Meyer and Sherman 1979: 536, Reed 1983: 57) and pacificist Molokan fathers in Los Angeles thought to send their sons south as the United States went to World Wars I and II.

Introversionist in type (Wilson 1974: 253-254), as contrasted with Conversionist,

Adventist or Gnostic, the Guadalupe Molokans wanted to be left alone and had no intention of altering the larger world to any degree. Sectarians in the sense that they were a reformed society whose expressed goals were to improve upon the lifestyles of those they saw around them and to create "a new heaven and a new earth," they were not necessarily "at war" (Redekop 1969: v) with the larger society but more of an "intentional community" (Whitney 1966: 3). Fleeing persecution, they left Kars only as a last resort to keep the old lifeway intact. Fleeing on faith that the child prophet (prorok) Efim Klubnikin predicted their exodus correctly, they arrived, like all immigrants, a people already changed (Charsley 1974: 354, Eisenstadt 1954). Weber (1963: 208)

> The needs of economic life make themselves manifest either through a reinterpretation of the sacred commandments or through a by-passing of the sacred commandments, either procedure being motivated by casuistry.

The Saving of Molokan Russian Heritage

The death of any Utopian settlement brings sadness to those who remember the idealism and hope with which it was founded. In particular, members of the Guadalupe colony (in which a "piece of heaven" was transplanted many miles at great cost,) were grieved to have it disappear after only 53 years. This study documents the coming, colonization and disappearance of Russian immigrants to Baja California. The project stimulated both Molokan and Mexican research into the topic (e.g. Mohoff 1992, and the as yet unpublished work of Alfredo Gomez Estrada of the Museo Regional of Mexicali, Baja California.) A particularly valuable piece of ethnographic data, the historical base map of Figure 11, was produced by George Mohoff at the suggestion of Katherine Abakumoff and myself. Furthermore, Baja California governor Ernesto Ruffo dedicated in

perpetuity the Museo Regional de Guadalupe, an original Molokan Russian farm house which had been converted to display photo murals and artifacts from the "Saddles and Samovars" exhibit done on the Molokans for the San Diego Museum of Man in 1988. At least a little of the heritage of the Molokans (su patrimonio) has been saved and an ongoing, published data base has been provided for the general public, for science and for the Molokans themselves (Muranaka 1988, 1990a, 1990b).

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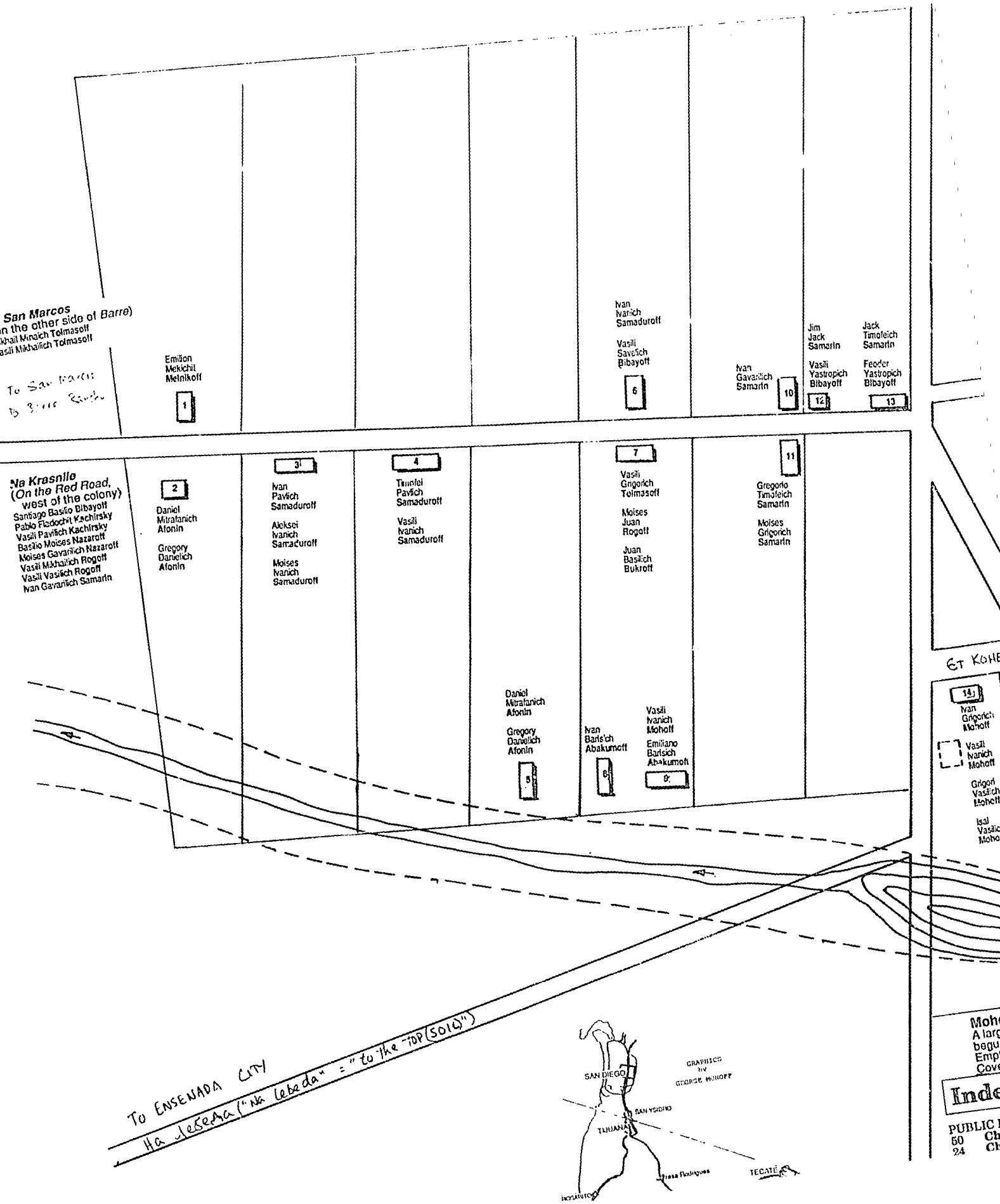
San Marcos
(On the other side of Barre)
Mikhail Minaich Tolmasoff
Vasili Mikhailich Tolmasoff
To San Marcos
To Barre Route
Emilion Melchit Melnikoff
1
Ivan Ivanich Samaduroff
Vasili Savelich Bibayoff
6
Ivan Gavarilich Samarin
10
Jim Jack Samarin
Vasili Yastropich Bibayoff
12
Jack Timofeich Samarin
Feoder Yastropich Bibayoff
13
Na Krasnile
(On the Red Road,
west of the colony)
Santiago Basilio Bibayoff
Pablo Fiadochit Kachirsky
Vasili Pavlich Kachirsky
Basilio Moises Nazaroff
Moises Gavarilich Nazaroff
Vasili Mikhailich Rogoff
Vasili Vasilich Rogoff
Ivan Gavarilich Samarin
2
Daniel Mitrafanich Afonin
Gregory Danielich Afonin
3
Ivan Pavlich Samaduroff
Alekse Ivanich Samaduroff
Moises Ivanich Samaduroff
4
Trunfei Pavlich Samaduroff
Vasili Ivanich Samaduroff
7
Vasili Grigorich Tolmasoff
Moises Juan Rogoff
Juan Basilich Bukroff
11
Gregorio Timofeich Samarin
Moises Grigorich Samarin
Daniel Mitrafanich Afonin
Gregory Danielich Afonin
5
Ivan Barisich Abakumoff
8
Vasili Ivanich Mohoff
Emiliano Barisich Abakumoff
9
To Ensenada City
На Ielsema ("На lebeda" = "to the TOP (SOLE)")
SAN DIEGO
GRAPHICS BY GEORGE MOHOFF
SAN YSIDRO
TIJUANA
TECATE
ROSARITO
Et Kohe
14
Ivan Grigorich Mohoff
Vasili Ivanich Mohoff
Grigori Vasilich Mohoff
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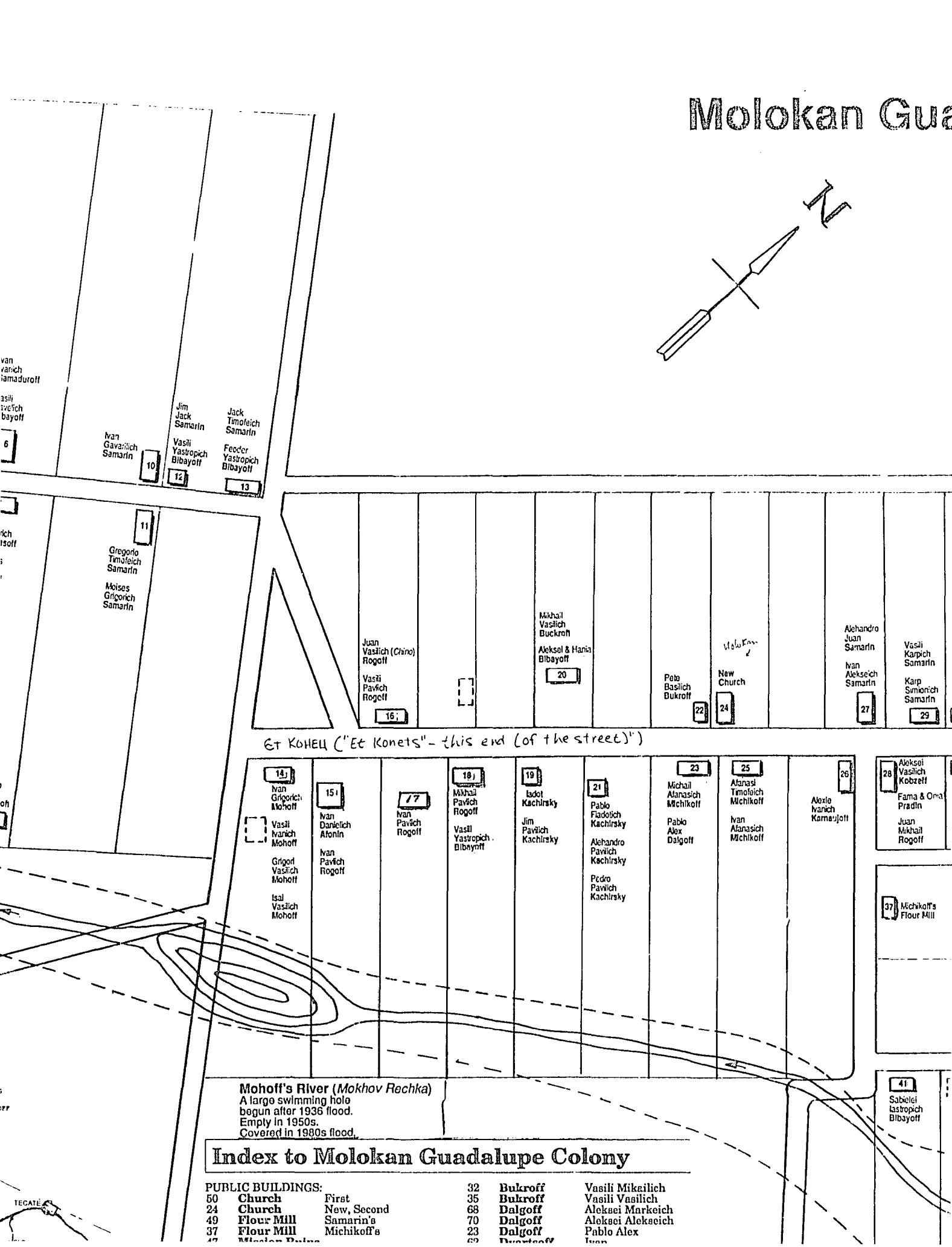

Index to Molokan Guadalupe Colony

PUBLIC BUILDINGS:			32	**Bukroff**	Vasili Mikailich
50	**Church**	First	35	**Bukroff**	Vasili Vasilich
24	**Church**	New, Second	68	**Dalgoff**	Alekaei Markeich
49	**Flour Mill**	Samarin's	70	**Dalgoff**	Alekaei Alekaeich
37	**Flour Mill**	Michikoff's	23	**Dalgoff**	Pablo Alex
47	**Mission Ruins**		62	**Dvartsoff**	Ivan

lokan Guadalupe Colony, 1905-1960

by George Mohoff

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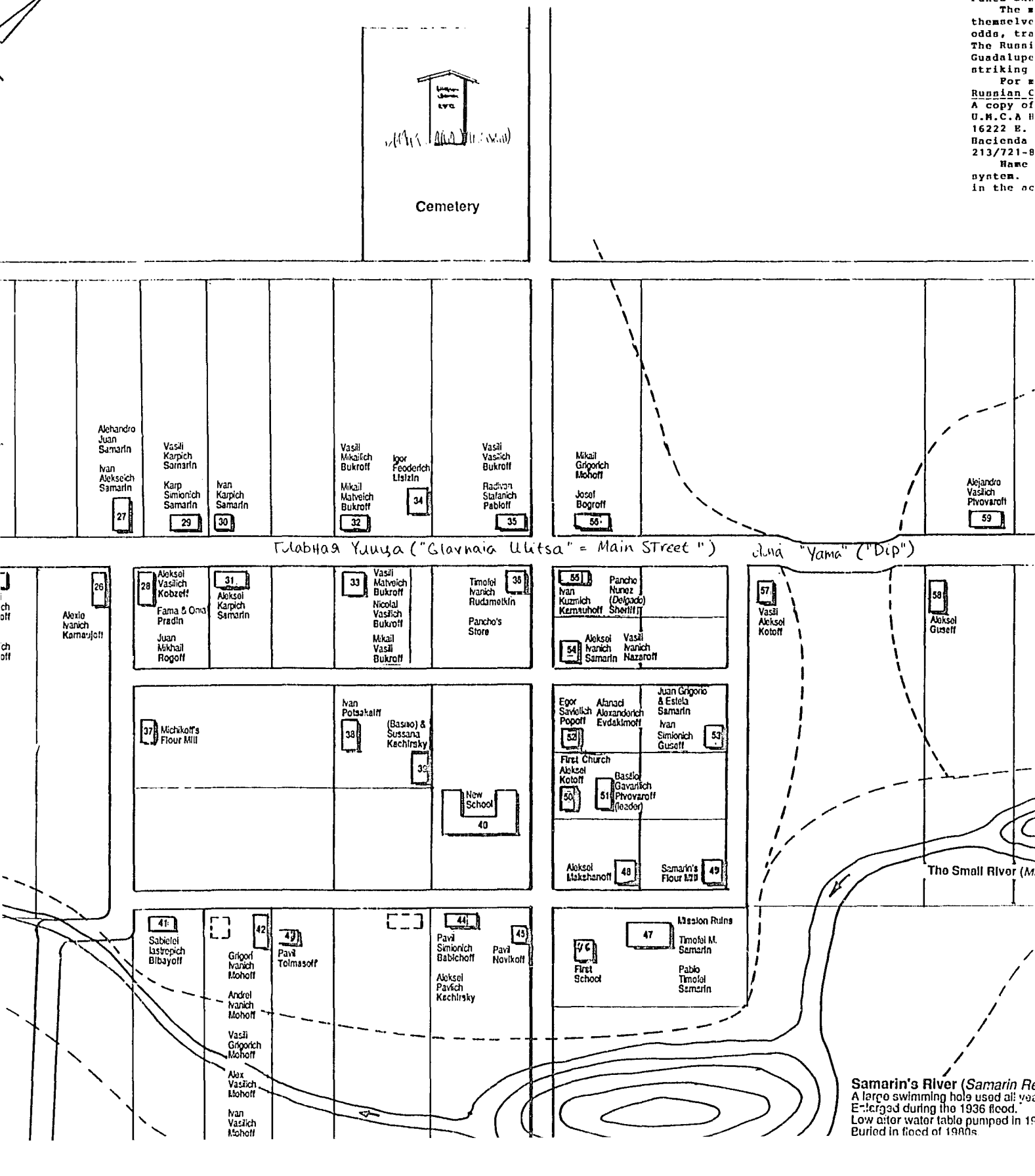

BRIEF HISTORY

During the period of 1905 the first culture of the religious sect that we can proudly call Russian Molokans arrived in the North Baja Peninsula. They created one of the most brilliant agricultural sites in the Guadalupe Valley. In the ensuing period, The Molokan society indured for nearly 60 years. The population increased to approximately nine hundred people. Here they established four villages where they built 115 homes of adobe brick. 87 were in the larger Guadalupe Colony, 14 in San Antonio Colony, 10 in La Mission, and 9 in Punta Banda. The rest of the houses were in Ensenada.

The most important factor, of course, were the people themselves who moved into the area and, against heavy odds, transformed a barren river valley into an oasis. The Russian people were the first to settle in the Guadalupe Valley and produce a cultural landscape of striking individuality.

For more information see the book:
Russian Colony of Guadalupe: Molokans in Mexico
A copy of this book may be obtained from the
U.M.C.A Heritage and History room
16222 E. Soriano Dr.
Hacienda Heights, CA. 91740
213/721-8718

Name spelling on this map conform to the transliteration system. They may differ in some instances from the spelling in the accompanying book.

Basilio Miseich Samaduroff
Gregorio Simonich Babichoff
73
Ivan Ivanich Nazaroff
Jack J. Bogroff
Petro Evseaff
75
Aleksei Hamutoff
74

Alejandro Vasilich Pivovaroff
59
Gabriel Jack Pivovaroff
Basilio Gavarilich Pivovaroff
Ignat Ignatoff *
60
Ivan Dvartsoff
62
Ivan Vasilich Tolmasoff
63
David Pavlich Rogoff
Vasili Tarasich Tolmasoff
64
Timofei Simonich Babichoff
67
Alexio Markeich Dalgoff
Vasili Patapoff
68
Alexio Alekseich Dalgoff
Ivan Ivanich Nazaroff
70
Aleksei Fiadotich Morozoff
Fiadot Vidinich Morozoff
72

Dip")
Ент Конец ("Ent Konets" "the other end (of the street)")
На Долина ("N

58
Aleksei Gusseff
61
Pavil Ionich Samaduroff
Moises Pavlich Samaduroff
Andres Misei Samaduroff
65
Gregorio Simonich Babichoff
66
Simon Simonich Babichoff
69
Gabriel Ivanich Nazaroff
Moises Gavarilich Nazaroff
71
Vasil Alexanderich Evdakimoff
Vasil Vasilich Rogoff

The Small River (*Malinkaia Rechka*)

Index to Other Molokan Households in Mexico (not in Guadalupe)

E	**Abakumoff**	Emiliano
SA	**Agalsoff**	David
SA	**Agalsoff**	Mikhail
SA	**Agalsoff**	Nikolai Davidich
M	**Babichoff**	Jim & Julia
M	**Babichoff**	Vasili Simionich
E	**Bibayoff**	Frank Isatropich
M	**Baldanoff**	Vasili
E	**Kozloff**	Simon
SA,E	**Lisizin**	Igor Feoderich
E	**Lugutoff**	Sabello
M	**Makshonoff**	Aleksei
SA	**Novikoff**	David
PB	**Novikoff**	David
M	**Orloff**	Mikhail
E	**Pabloff**	Stepan Radionich

arin's River (*Samarin Rechka*)
e swimming hole used all year.
ged during the 1936 flood.
ater water table pumped in 1950s.
d in flood of 1980s.

Molokan Guadalupe
Data: George Wm. Moho
Graphics: A.J. Conovalo
Final Draft: November 19

Scale: 29 inches = 1 mi

he first culture of the
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conform to the transliteration
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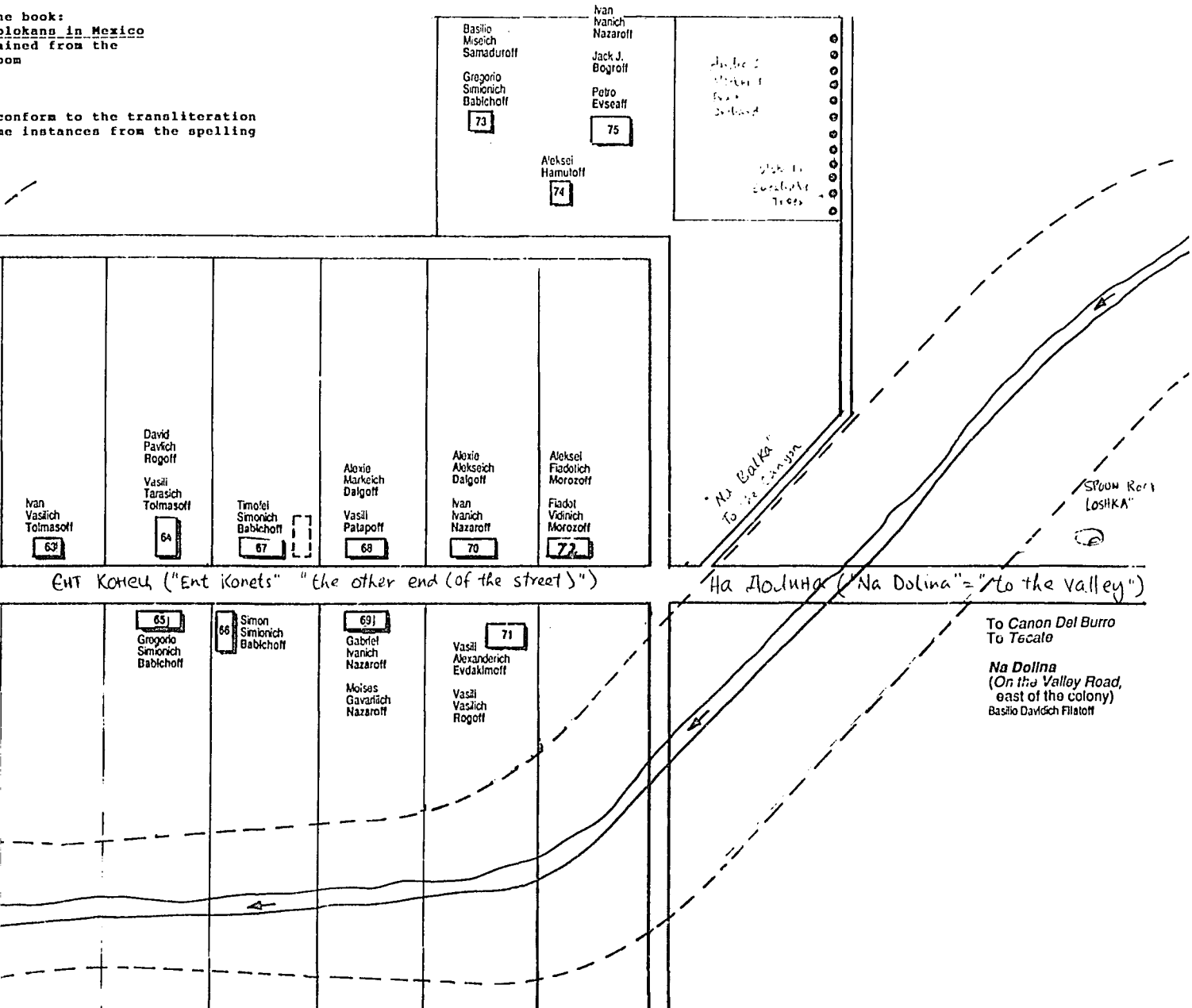
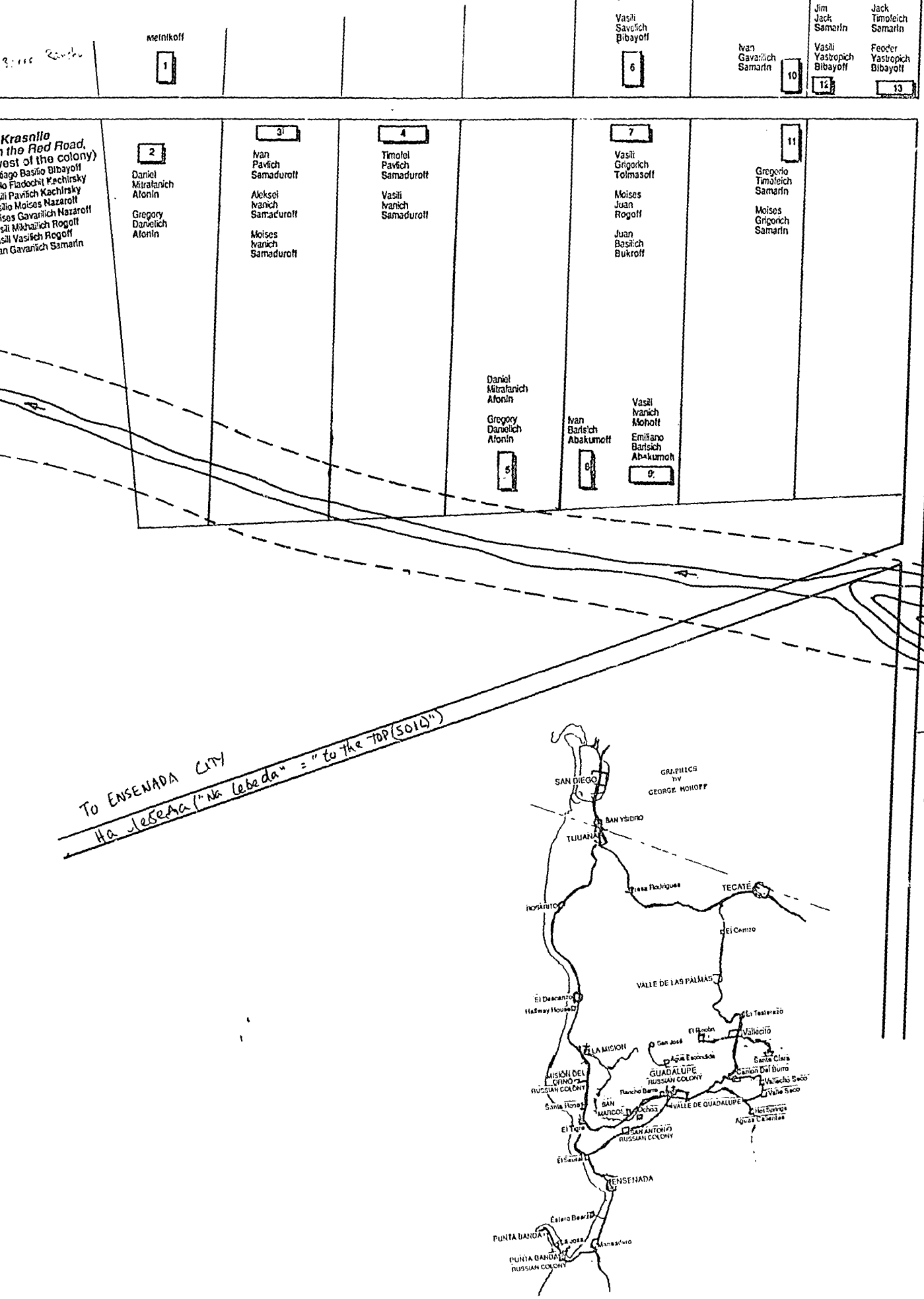


Other Molokan Households in Mexico (not in Guadalupe)

imoff	Emiliano	E	**Kozloff**	Simon
off	David	SA,E	**Lisizin**	Igor Feoderich
off	Mikhail	E	**Lugutoff**	Sabello
off	Nikolai Davidich	M	**Maksimonoff**	Aleksei
hoff	Jim & Julia	SA	**Novikoff**	David
hoff	Vasili Simionich	PB	**Novikoff**	David
off	Frank Iastropich	M	**Orloff**	Mikhail
roff	Vasili	E	**Pabloff**	Stepan Radionich

Molokan Guadalupe Colony, 1905-1960
Data: George Wm. Mohoff
Graphics. A.J. Conovaloff
Final Draft: November 1990

Scale: 29 inches = 1 mile

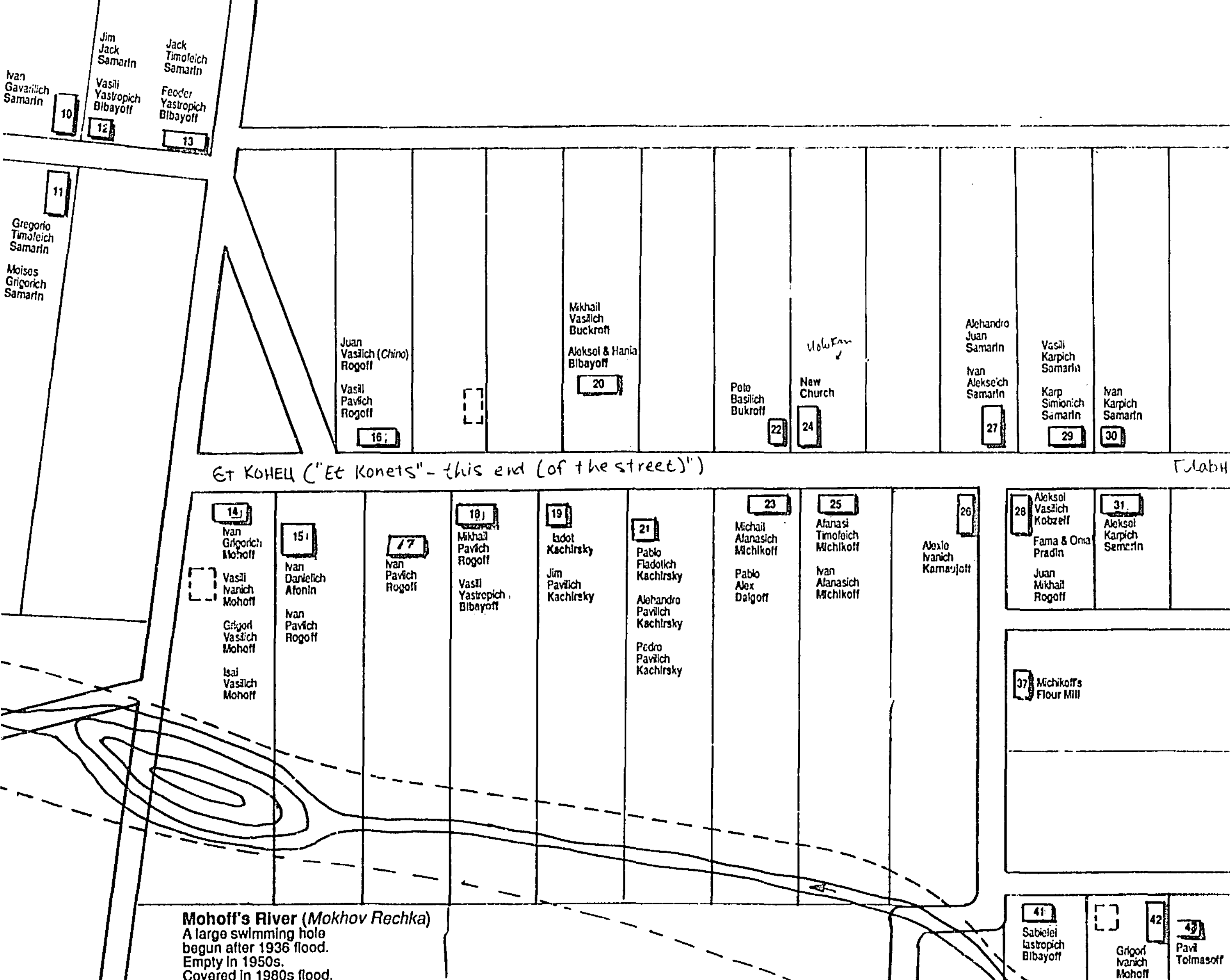


Mohoff's Riv
A large swimmi
begun after 193
Empty in 1950s
Covered in 198

Index to

PUBLIC BUILDING
50 Church
24 Church
49 Flour Mill
37 Flour Mill
47 Mission Ru
46 School
40 School
55 Sheriff (Def
36 Store

PRIVATE HOME
9 Abakumof
8 Abakumof
5,2 Afonin
5,2 Afonin
15 Afonin
65,73 Babichof
67 Babichof
44 Babichof
66 Babichof
20 Bibayoff
13 Bibayoff
41 Bibayoff
K Bibayof
12,18 Bibayof
6 Bibayof
75 Bogroff
56 Bogroff
7 Bukrof
32 Bukrof
33,20 Bukro
33 Bukro
22 Bukro
33 Bukro



Index to Molokan Guadalupe Colony

PUBLIC BUILDINGS:

50	**Church**	First
24	**Church**	New, Second
49	**Flour Mill**	Samarin's
37	**Flour Mill**	Michikoff's
47	**Mission Ruins**	
46	**School**	First
40	**School**	New, Second
55	**Sheriff** (*Delegado*)	Pancho Nunez
36	**Store**	Pancho's

PRIVATE HOMES:

9	**Abakumoff**	Emiliano Barisich
8	**Abakumoff**	Ivan Barisich
5,2	**Afonin**	Daniel Mitrafanich
5,2	**Afonin**	Gregory Danielich
15	**Afonin**	Ivan Danielich
65,73	**Babichoff**	Gregorio Simionich
67	**Babichoff**	Timofei Simonich
44	**Babichoff**	Pavil Simonich
66	**Babichoff**	Simon Simonich
20	**Bibayoff**	Aleksei & Hania
13	**Bibayoff**	Feodor Yastropich
41	**Bibayoff**	Sabielei Yastropich
K	**Bibayoff**	Santiago Basilio
12,18	**Bibayoff**	Vasili Yastropich
6	**Bibayoff**	Vasili Savelich
75	**Bogroff**	Jack J.
56	**Bogroff**	Josef
7	**Bukroff**	Juan Basilich
32	**Bukroff**	Mikail Matveich
33,20	**Bukroff**	Mikail Vasilich
33	**Bukroff**	Nicholai Vasilich
22	**Bukroff**	Pete Basilich
33	**Bukroff**	Vasili Matveich
32	**Bukroff**	Vasili Mikailich
35	**Bukroff**	Vasili Vasilich
68	**Dalgoff**	Aleksei Markeich
70	**Dalgoff**	Aleksei Alekseich
23	**Dalgoff**	Pablo Alex
62	**Dvartsoff**	Ivan
52	**Evdakimov**	Afanaci Alexaderich
71	**Evdakimov**	Vasili Alekseich
75	**Evseaff**	Petro
D	**Filatoff**	Basilio Davidich
58	**Gusoff**	Aleksei
53	**Gusoff**	Ivan Simonich
74	**Hamutoff**	Aleksei
21,44	**Kachirsky**	Alehandro Pavilich
19	**Kachirsky**	Fiadot
19	**Kachirsky**	Jim Pavilich
21,K	**Kachirsky**	Pablo Fiadotich
21	**Kachirsky**	Pedro Pavilich
39	**Kachirsky**	(Basilio) & Sussana
K	**Kachirsky**	Vasili Pavilich
26	**Karnauhoff**	Aleksei Ivanich
55	**Karnauhoff**	Ivan Kuzmich
28	**Kobzeff**	Aleksei Vasilich
60	**Korbatoff**	Ignat
50	**Kotoff**	Aleksei
57	**Kotoff**	Vasili Alekseich
34	**Lisizin**	Igor Feoderich
48	**Makshanoff**	Aleksei
25	**Michikoff**	Afanasi Timofeich
25	**Michikoff**	Ivan Afanasich
23	**Michikoff**	Michail Afanasich
1	**Melnikoff**	Emilion Mekichit
42	**Mohoff**	Alex Vasilich
42	**Mohoff**	Andrei Ivanich
42	**Mohoff**	Grigori Ivanich
14	**Mohoff**	Grigori Vasilich
14	**Mohoff**	Ivan Grigorich
42	**Mohoff**	Ivan Vasilich
14	**Mohoff**	Isai Vasilich
56	**Mohoff**	Mikail Grigorich
42	**Mohoff**	Vasili Grigorich
9,14	**Mohoff**	Vasili Ivanich
72	**Morozoff**	Aleksei Fiadotich
72	**Morozoff**	Fiadot Vidinich
K	**Nazaroff**	Basilio Moses
69	**Nazaroff**	Gabriel Ivanich
75,70	**Nazaroff**	Ivan Ivanich
69,K	**Nazaroff**	Moises Gavarilich
54	**Nazaroff**	Vasili Ivanich
45	**Novikoff**	Pavil
35	**Pabloff**	Radivon Stafanich
59	**Pivovaroff**	Alejandro Vasilich
51,60	**Pivovaroff**	Basilio Gavarilich
60	**Pivovaroff**	Gabriel Jack
10,K	**Samarin**	
30	**Samarin**	
13	**Samarin**	
12	**Samarin**	
27	**Samarin**	
53	**Samarin**	
29	**Samarin**	
11	**Samarin**	
47	**Samarin**	
47	**Samarin**	
29	**Samarin**	
3	**Samadur**	
61	**Samadur**	
73	**Samadur**	
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Name spelling on thi
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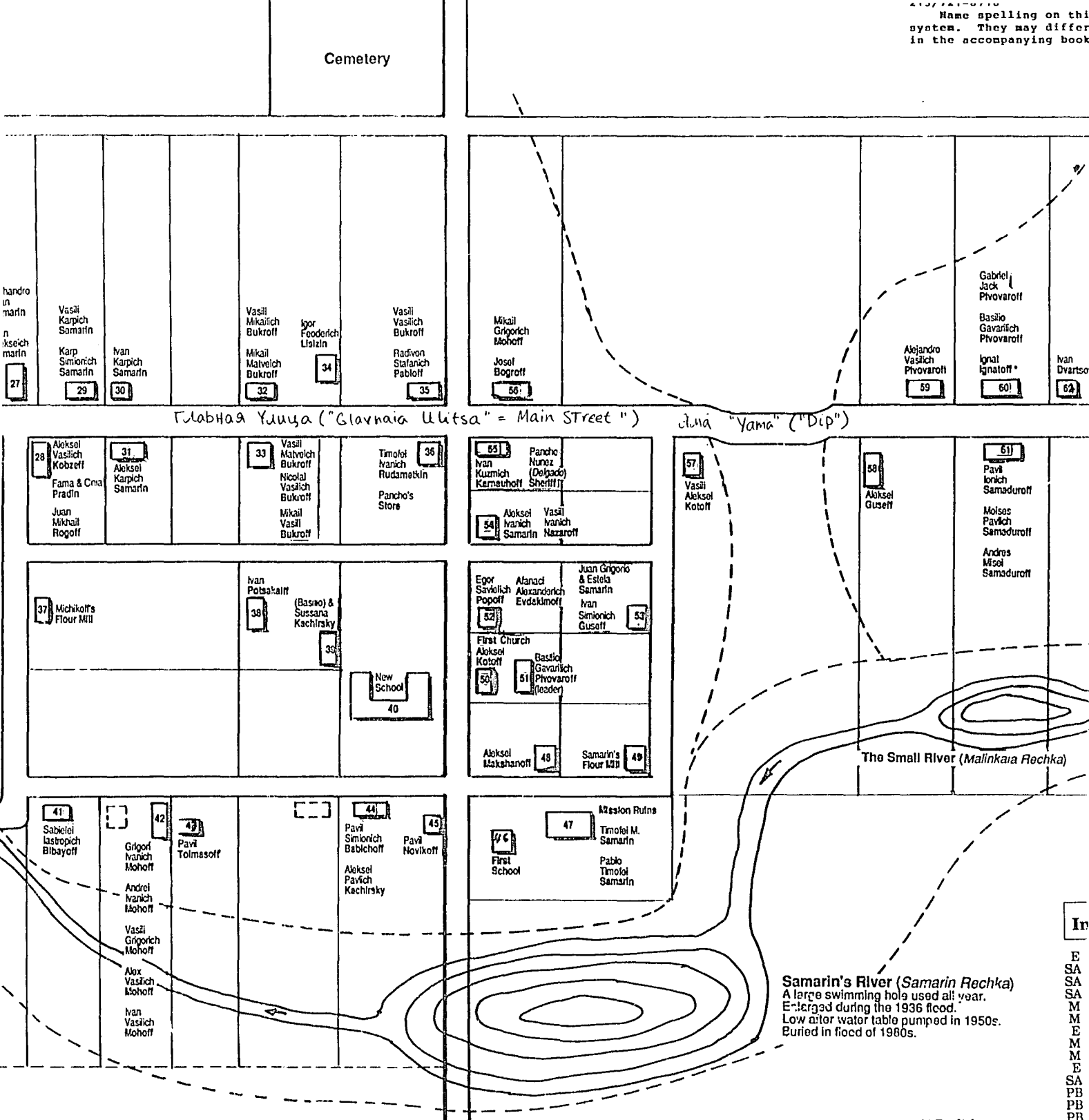
in the accompanying book



ri Vasilich	10,K	**Samarin** Ivan Gavarilich
Grigorich	30	**Samarin** Ivan Karpich
Vasilich	13	**Samarin** Jack Timofeich
asilich	12	**Samarin** Jim Jack
l Grigorich	27	**Samarin** Ivan (K.) Alekseich
Grigorich	53	**Samarin** Juan Grigorich & Estela
Ivanich	29	**Samarin** Karp Simionich
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	6	**Samaduroff** Ivan Ivanich
on Stafanich	3	**Samaduroff** Ivan Pavlich
ndro Vasilich	3	**Samaduroff** Moises Ivanich
o Gavarilich	61	**Samaduroff** Moises Pavlich
el Jack	61	**Samaduroff** Pavil Ionich

CM	**Pivovaroff**	Ivan Vasilich
68	**Patapoff**	Vasili
52	**Popoff**	Egor Savielich
38	**Potsakniff**	Ivan
28	**Pradin**	Fama & Onia
64	**Rogoff**	David Pavlich
17,15	**Rogoff**	Ivan Pavlich
28	**Rogoff**	Juan Mikhail
16	**Rogoff**	Juan Vasilich
18	**Rogoff**	Mikhail Pavlich
7	**Rogoff**	Moises Juan
K	**Rogoff**	Vasili Mikhailich
16	**Rogoff**	Vasili Pavlich
71,K	**Rogoff**	Vasili Vasilich
36	**Rudametkin**	Timofei Ivanich
27	**Samarin**	Alchandro Juan
31	**Samarin**	Aleksei Karpich
54	**Samarin**	Aleksei Ivanich
11	**Samarin**	Gregorio Timofeich

4	**Samaduroff**	Timofei Pavlich
4	**Samaduroff**	Vasili Ivanich
SM	**Tolmasoff**	Basilio Mikhailich
63	**Tolmasoff**	Ivan Vasilich
SM	**Tolmasoff**	Mikhail Minaich
43	**Tolmasoff**	Pavil
7	**Tolmasoff**	Vasili Grigorich
64	**Tolmasoff**	Vasili Tarasich

CM *Campo Manas*
D *Dolina* (on the Valley Road)
K *Krasnie* (on the Red Road)
SM *San Marcos*

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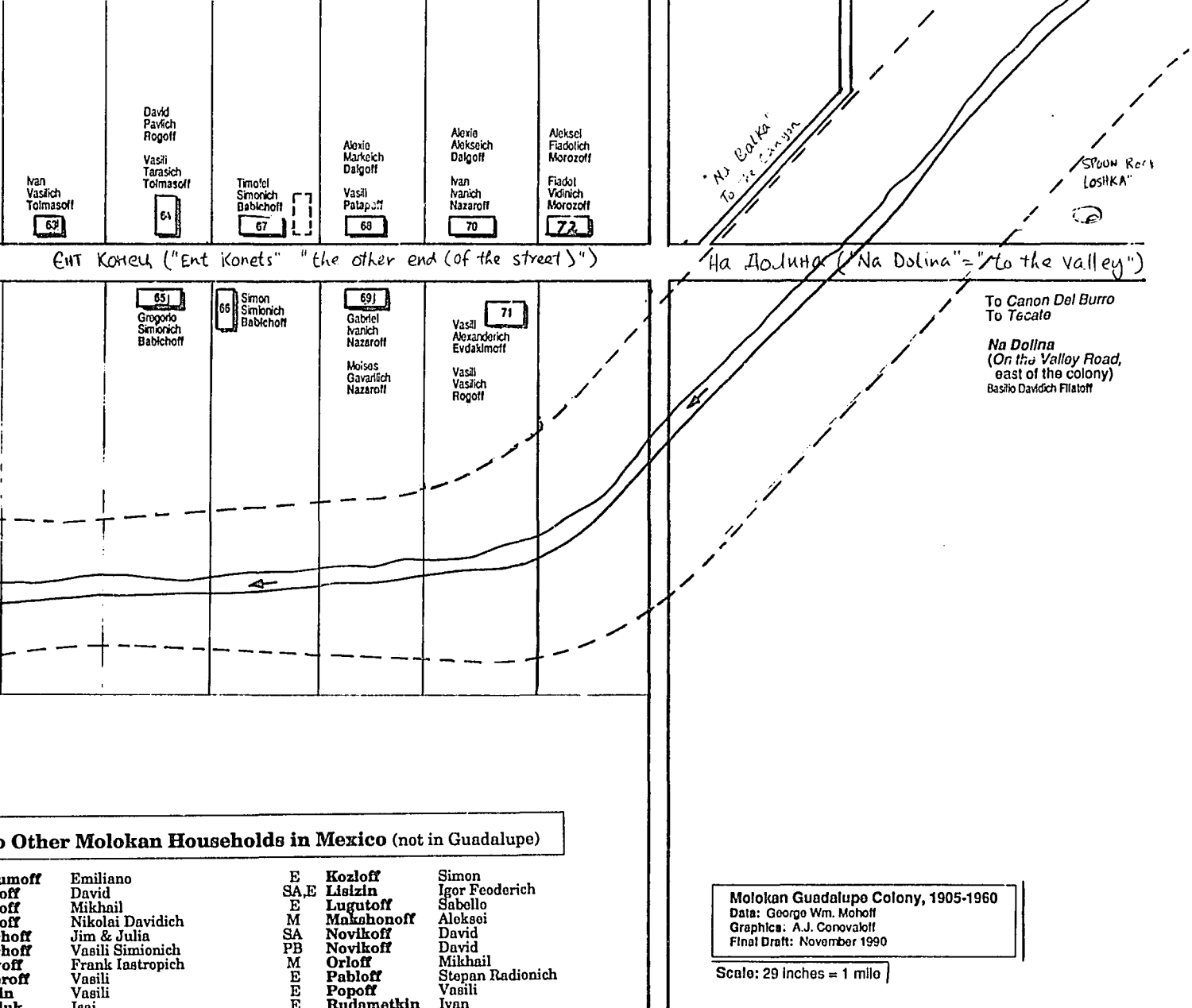

o Other Molokan Households in Mexico (not in Guadalupe)

umoff	Emiliano
off	David
off	Mikhail
off	Nikolai Davidich
hoff	Jim & Julia
hoff	Vasili Simionich
off	Frank Iastropich
roff	Vasili
in	Vasili
luk	Isai
atoff	Isai
off	Aleksei Abramich
off	Ivan Abramich
off	Jack Abramich
off	Moises Abramich
ff	Igor Lisizin
kimoff	Vasili
ff	Andrei
ff	David
ff	David
ff	Andres
lkoff	Aleksei
lkoff	Pavil Tirfurich
off	Ivan
nuhoff	Petro
ff	Alehandro
ff	Alejandro Davidich
ff	David
ff	Simon
eff	Alex
eff	Ivan Maksimich
ff	Ivan
f	Aleksei Filipich

E	**Kozloff**	Simon
SA,E	**Lisizin**	Igor Feoderich
E	**Lugutoff**	Sabello
M	**Makshonoff**	Aleksei
SA	**Novikoff**	David
PB	**Novikoff**	David
M	**Orloff**	Mikhail
E	**Pabloff**	Stepan Radionich
E	**Popoff**	Vasili
E	**Rudametkin**	Ivan
E	**Rudametkin**	Moises Kondraich
N	**Samaduroff**	Ivan Pavlich
M	**Samarin**	Ivan Karpich
E	**Samarin**	Juan Karpich
E	**Samarin**	Pablo Timofeich
M	**Tolmasoff**	Mikail Minaich

Settlements (see map, far left)

M *(La) Mission*
PB *Punta Banda*
A *San Antonio*
E *Ensenada*
N *Naranjo* (near *Punta Banda*)
SP *San Pedro* (near *San Antonio*)

A Molokan church was in San Antonio and two flour mills were in Ensenada.

Molokan Guadalupe Colony, 1905-1960
Data: George Wm. Mohoff
Graphics: A.J. Conovaloff
Final Draft: November 1990

Scale: 29 inches = 1 mile

Figure 11 - Molokan Guadalupe Colony, 1905-1960