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Creating Trails from Traditions:
The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail at Fort Ross State Historic Park

by

Sara Lynae Gonzalez

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor Kent G. Lightfoot, Chair

Professor Margaret Conkey

Professor Thomas Biolsi

Spring 2011

Abstract

Creating Trails from Traditions: The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail at Fort Ross State Historic Park

By

Sara Lynae Gonzalez

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Kent G. Lightfoot, Chair

Weaving together Indigenous, feminist and archaeological approaches, this dissertation examines the frameworks we use for understanding and representing indigenous colonial experiences and identities. Within the context of North American archaeologies of colonialism, how we interpret and represent the impact of colonial encounters upon Indigenous communities can directly impact these communities' control over their cultural heritage. My dissertation presents a case study of these issues and offers an alternative practice of archaeology that empowers tribal decision-making in the study, preservation and representation of their own cultural heritage.

This dissertation applies a community-based approach in the study of the Kashaya Pomo's 19th Century colonial heritage at Fort Ross State Historic Park and asks two related questions: 1) how can an archaeology of colonialism best envision colonial encounters between Europeans and Indigenous peoples? and 2) how do contemporary political and cultural landscapes relate to our representations of the colonial past? My dissertation addresses these questions through a case study of the North Wall Community, a historic multi-ethnic village site that was part of the Russian Colony of Fort Ross (1812-1841). Investigation of the community's interethnic households, occupied by Kashaya women and their Russian and Creole partners, provides the basis for the development of interpretive content for the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail at Fort Ross State Historic Park. The goal of this dissertation project is the creation of a low-impact archaeological methodology that minimizes the trail and archaeology's impact upon Kashaya ancestral sites, and upon the tribal community.

The dissertation is divided into four parts. In Part I, I outline a decolonized approach to archaeology that integrates indigenous epistemologies into archaeological theory and practice. Drawing upon the work of Patricia Hill Collins, Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Devon Mihesuah, I use an intersectional, indigenous and feminist approach to the archaeology of colonialism at Fort Ross, CA. In Part II, I introduce the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project, focusing on how this collaborative project has engendered decolonized representations of archaeology and Kashaya heritage at Fort Ross State Historic Park.

In Part III, I develop a low-impact archaeological approach for the study of Kashaya ancestral sites that minimizes archaeology's disturbance to both the ground and the tribal community, who views archaeology as a potentially dangerous activity. Drawing upon this framework, I present the results of field and laboratory analyses the inter-ethnic households located at the North Wall Community. In Part IV, I discuss the implications of combining archaeological research with the development of public outreach programs that engage the public in productive dialogues about heritage. Collaboration with the tribe on this project has resulted in community-specific guidelines for the study, care and disposition of Kashaya cultural resources. Creating a community-based cultural education and outreach program has also been critical for establishing an archaeology of colonialism that not only integrates Indigenous views on science, spirituality and heritage into the study and representation of the colonial past, but which also remakes the practice of archaeology into an ethically and morally just endeavor.

For Mary, Bob, Betty, and Susie

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PART I:
INDIGENIZING ARCHAEOLOGY

Imprints: Past, Present and Future

I still remember my first experience of Fort Ross State Historic Park. Wearing a nametag that said Olga, I can recall the excitement and anticipation of the bus ride from Sacramento to Jenner. The sight of the rugged coastline out the bus window is still imprinted upon my memory; the salty wind ripping through the parking lot as we were separated out into our occupation groups. For the next 48 hours, I pretended to be a resident of *Selenie Ross* (Settlement Ross) and with my cohort of fellow farmers, tended to a small plot of land. With my grandmother's silk scarf tied around my hair, I weeded and then planted seeds in the garden. Later in the day we trekked up to the old orchard to see if any apples were ripe for harvesting. I tried my hardest to imagine what life would have been like for the Russian colonists who lived at the fort and during our midnight patrol of the stockade, on the lookout for forgotten enemies, I even swallowed my fear of the dark. I took away two reminders from this visit: a water worn pebble from the beach and a small willow basket I made on my first day. Both of these trinkets sit on my desktop today.

Twenty years later when I drive up the coast I still see that iconic landscape with its grass covered hills and steep cliffs jutting up from the ocean (Figure 1.1). The same salty, bracing wind rips across the fort making the bunch grasses on the coastal terrace come alive. My childhood vision of this place has been tempered by my current life as an archaeologist and researcher at Fort Ross. There are now images of paperwork whipping in the wind, the feeling of dirt caked under my fingernails, the sounds of children firing canons that punctuate a workday. Memories of ghost hunts, snarks, birthdays, and feasts. I still try to imagine what life would have been like at the mercantile settlement, but these imaginings bear little resemblance to the history I was first introduced to as a 5th grader.

Sitting around Archy Camp's campfire I listened to and learned of different histories. Where there were once only Russians, I am now familiar with the many other residents of the colony whose homelands are scattered across villages in Alaska, Siberia, Hawaii, and northern California. When I look at the coastal terrace and reconstructed stockade I now see men, women, children; laborers, families and households; varying landscapes, places and times. What was once a Russian American Company fort is now Metini, the ancestral homeland of the Kashaya Pomo, the original inhabitants of what is now Fort Ross State Historic Park. The question remains, how do we reconcile such diverging and multivalent images of the past?

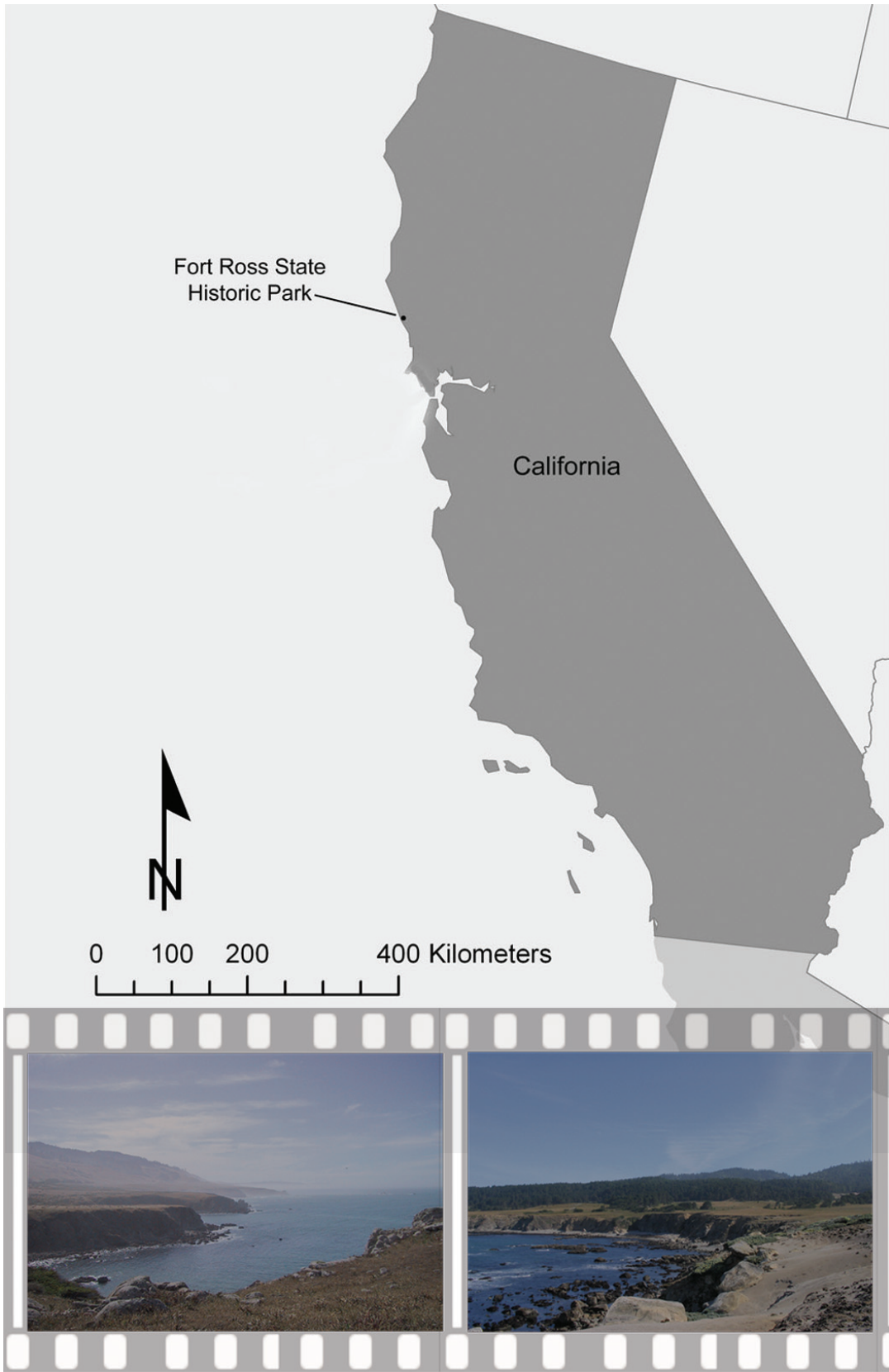


Figure 1.1 Fort Ross State Historic Park in Northern California. Photographs by Kelly Fong and Jim Betinol.

Chapter I

Introduction: Indigenizing Archaeology and Heritage

For the past six years I have worked with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians to integrate the lives, experiences, and histories of the park's original inhabitants, the Kashaya Pomo¹, into the interpretation of Fort Ross: Metini. Alongside collaboration with the California Department of Parks and Recreation, we have worked together to create the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, a public cultural heritage trail at Fort Ross State Historic Park. In an expanded understanding of what it means to conduct or do an archaeology of colonialism, this dissertation integrates public outreach and community-based collaboration into the study of Kashaya colonial heritage. The following seven chapters present the goals, methods, and results of this holistic and integrated approach to archaeology; one that uses public outreach and collaboration as a conduit for both educating the public about Indigenous² heritage and changing the ways in which archaeology researches and interprets these histories.

In this chapter, I discuss the context of archaeologies of colonialism, highlighting the issues we face in the recovery and representation of colonial pasts. Next, I present an overview of the goals of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project. I examine how the interpretive trail is part of a wider project that attempts to decolonize, or indigenize, archaeology and its representations of the past. Finally, I conclude with an overview of the organization of the dissertation providing an introduction to each of the chapters that follow.

The Archaeology of Colonialism

¹ The Kashaya Pomo are one of seven cultural groups identified as belonging to the Pomo Language family (Barrett 1908; Kroeber 1976). Ethnographers and linguists originally assigned each Pomo dialect (more appropriately referred to as language groups given their substantive linguistic differences (see Kroeber [1976:226] and McLendon and Oswalt [1978:274]) a geographic moniker, which reflected the geographical boundaries and distributions of each language group. Hence, anthropologists originally used the term Southwestern Pomo to refer to the Kashaya. The term Kashaya (originally given to the tribe from a neighboring group and roughly translated as “expert gambler”) was used by the tribe to refer to themselves. For this reason, many prefer to use Kashaya or Kashaya Pomo instead of Southwestern Pomo to refer to the group (see McLendon and Oswalt 1978:278). Politically, the government has used Kashia to refer to the tribal organization, which is itself reflected in the official name for the federally recognized tribe: the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians at Stewart’s Point Rancheria. It is important to note that tribal members also refer to themselves as *wina’má’ bak^he yac^hma* (people from the top of the land). For the purposes of this dissertation, I use Kashaya and/or Kashaya Pomo, as well as *wina’má’ bak^he yac^hma* to refer to the cultural group, and Kashia Band of Pomo Indians to refer to the official tribal nation.

² Following Silliman (2008:21), Smith (1999) and Smith and Wobst (2005a:16) I use the upper-case format of indigenous, such as Indigenous communities, Indigenous peoples, or Indigenous perspectives, to denote communities of shared experience. I use the lowercased format of the word when referencing indigenous archaeologies or indigenous epistemologies as it references the diversity of approaches and knowledge systems amongst practitioners and Indigenous peoples.

Critiques of the national, colonial and imperialistic foundations of anthropology, and specifically North American archaeology, resonate quite strongly within the field of archaeologies of colonialism, a field that has, until recently been referred to as culture-contact or acculturation studies (see Said 1978; Smith 1999; Trouillot 2003 for critiques of anthropology; see McGuire 1992; Trigger 1980; Watkins 2001; Zimmerman 2001 for critiques of archaeology). The growth of acculturation studies in the early 20th century was, in large part, a product of anthropology's close relationship with social engineering programs designed to investigate the most appropriate and speedy methods for forcibly acculturating (i.e., assimilating) 'ethnics' into American society (Cusick 1998c:134-5). Although the influential 1936 "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation", authored by the leading scholars of acculturation research, distinguished acculturation from assimilation and defined the former as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns or either or both groups" (Redfield et al. 1936:149), the vast majority of acculturation studies focused upon cultural changes in non-western cultures (Fitzhugh 1985a; Rubertone 2000). The assumption that the Others were the only ones affected by culture-contact with Europeans was perpetuated in research that documented the adoption by various ethnic groups of Anglo-American cultural norms and society (Cusick 1998b, 1998c; for exceptions to this research Linton 1940). That ethnic groups such as Native Americans lost their identity as a result of contact with Europeans and their culture was not a matter of inquiry, but of fact.

The presupposition that archaeologists already knew the historically documented outcome—Natives became little more than darker skinned Europeans—led to archaeological narratives that resembled play-by-play analyses of Indians' loss of their identity (Fitzhugh 1985a; Rubertone 1989, 2001). Borrowing from the museum-oriented work of Quimby and Spoehr (1951), archaeologists used their artifact classification scheme in order to create ratios of "Native" to "European" goods when studying archaeological assemblages. Researchers thought they were thus able to track the dissolution of Native cultures by measuring the percentage of "Nativity" represented within an assemblage.

Although later researchers such as Brain (1979), Brown (1979), Farnsworth (1992), Ramenofsky (1998), Smith (1987), and White (1975) challenged the simple application of artifact ratios, their works nonetheless continued the practice of using artifact ratios as the primary method for measuring acculturation. The underlying assumption of using artifact ratios—no matter how sophisticated they may be—remains the same: there is posited a one-to-one correlation between material and identity (Silliman 2009). Under these frameworks cultural and ethnic identity are essentialized and envisioned as a primordial essence, easily fractured by the adoption of new material practices. Such views of identity beg the question: If Native groups in the past adopted European material culture, thus becoming acculturated, what rights can they have to a past that is no longer practiced or materialized?

Since the 1980s and 90s, there has been a concerted effort by archaeologists to acknowledge the socio-political contexts and implications of their work (Conkey and Gero 1984; Gero 1985, 1991, 1993; Leone et al. 1987; McGuire 1992, 1993; Potter and Leone

1987; Trigger 1980, 1988, 1989). In the realm of culture-contact studies this has resulted in a new wave of research that re-conceptualizes colonial entanglements as multi-lane highways in which both colonized and colonizer are affected (e.g., Lightfoot 2005b; Rothschild 2003; Rubertone 2000, 2001; Silliman 2005a; Voss 2006, 2008). Likewise, Indigenous critiques of archaeology and anthropology have prompted researchers to integrate Indigenous experiences of colonialism into their histories so as to fully understand the complex and highly diverse character of European-Indigenous entanglements in the New World (e.g., Brown 2007; Gonzalez and Modzelewski 2007; Hantman 2004, 2008; Lightfoot et al. 2008; Lightfoot 2008; Matthews 2007; Mihesuah 2003, 2005b; Mills 1997; Nicholas 1997; Panich 2009; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2004, 2005a, 2008; Voss 2008). This same theme is reiterated not just in North American archaeologies of colonialism, but also in colonial studies in Southern Africa (Hall 1999; Shepherd 2007), Australia (Harrison 2002, 2005; Harrison and Williamson 2002; Hemming and Trevorrow 2005; Wilson 2007), and South America (Haber and Gnecco 2007). Taken together these studies raise our awareness concerning how Indigenous perspectives and histories have been systematically excluded from colonial-period history, as well as how imperative it is that archaeologies of colonialism explore the ways in which these histories overlap with or diverge from those other, accepted colonial accounts.

These newer approaches to colonialism, hereafter referred to as archaeologies of colonialism, are often modeled after historic anthropology. Their approaches to colonial entanglements thus combine multiple lines of evidence—archaeological, environmental, historical, ethnohistoric—at multiple geographic and temporal scales of analysis in order to better understand the multiple outcomes of colonial encounters and entanglements (see Deagan 1998, 2004; Lightfoot 1995, 2005b; Rothschild 2003; Silliman 2004; Voss 2008 for examples of this approach). Notably, these holistic, diachronic, broadly comparative archaeologies also attempt to reintegrate Native Americans' agency, as well as their persistence into the present, into interpretations of colonial history. This a re-emerging theme throughout the sub-field, as researchers emphasize the diverse and varied strategies of persistence that Indigenous peoples used in order to maintain their communities and identities throughout successive waves of biological, cultural, political, and legal colonization (see Lightfoot 2005b; Matthews 2007; Panich 2009; Rubertone 2001, 2008b; Schneider 2010; Silliman 2010; Sleeper-Smith 2001, 2009a, 2009b).

A sub-set of the archaeology of colonialism, here referred to as resistance studies, focus upon the strategies used by Native Americans to resist European colonialism and culture. These studies created a renewed focus upon the specific power dynamics of colonial encounters, and in the process they helped highlight the agency of Native Americans in determining the outcome of colonial relationships. Yet, in placing interpretive emphasis upon resistance—and thus downplaying the significance of material changes within Indigenous communities—resistance studies tend to portray contact as a zero sum game: Indians either lost their identities entirely, or they resisted and kept them relatively intact. Like early acculturative approaches, these approaches can serve to reify essential notions of identity.

In viewing cultural and/or ethnic identities as essential—something that is inherent or imbued at birth—these approaches ignore how these forms of social identity are the result of social processes and relationships (Goffman 1983; Jenkins 1997, 2004). Within this context Native American cultural identity becomes an immutable and frozen category, which precludes the possibility that tribal and cultural identities changed drastically in relation to interactions between different tribal communities. Furthermore, such a view denies the fact that these processes of identification and relationship building are ongoing processes that occurred long before any European stepped foot onto America's shores.

The point here is not to deny that acculturation and resistance were ongoing processes, but to acknowledge that we cannot subsume the diversity of Indigenous experiences of and responses to colonialism into *dominance over* or *resistance to* categories. This is problematic in several regards. First, it dichotomizes the range of choices and motivations behind the adoption and/or rejection of European material culture and cultural practices into either or categories: either individuals chose to assimilate or they chose to resist European hegemony. This leaves little opportunity for strategic negotiations and ignores the possibility that not all instances of resistance or acquiescence were viewed as such by individuals making those decisions. Second, it ignores the complex cultural transformations, dynamic practices and histories of a community. This contributes to the idea that communities are static entities and only change in response to an outside force (in this case European colonialism). If we are to understand the multiple outcomes of Indigenous-European entanglements and, we must situate colonial and social transformations within their broader historical contexts. This enables a more nuanced view of the strategies that both Indigenous and European communities might have pursued while negotiating the social and physical landscapes of colonialism.

Changing our perceptions of Native identity and intercultural relationships begins with a clear definition of what social identity is and how it is formed. As referenced in the previous paragraphs, contributions from queer studies, ethnic studies, gender studies, psychology, sociology and anthropology instruct us that social identity is a social and historical construct, continually remade, and enacted through social interaction and the formation or maintenance of social relationships. The result of the interplay between internal and external identification, social identity is embodied, multi-dimensional, relational and fluid (Jenkins 1997, 2004). It is constructed and/or mobilized within specific historical contexts and through relations of power, and is itself the result of—and sometimes even a source of—change (Barth 1969, 1994). Identities and processes of identification are inextricably connected to wider social discourse and are only fully realized through our bodily and material engagements (Casella and Fowler 2004; Jenkins 2004:201).

Hartman Lomawaima (1989), a Hopi scholar, best captures this idea when he points out that being Hopi means incorporating change into oneself. To be a member of an ethnic or cultural group and to maintain a continuous identity does not require them to remain a static cultural entity; rather the persistence of that identity depends upon the continual re-evaluation of what it means to identify as part of that group at any one moment in time, or in any number of varying situations (e.g., Collis 1997; Jenkins 2001:121-22; Strathern

1988, 2004). Change, in this sense, is not antithetical to identity, but a core and defining feature of it.

A fluid and relational view of identity, while accepted and applied by many archaeologists—including those interested in colonialism (e.g., Silliman 2010b; Voss 2008)—presents an interesting political and ethical dilemma for both archaeologists and Native American communities (Liebmann 2008). As Paul Shackel (2004:3) notes, “Heritage often means integrity, authenticity, and stability, and it is a way for communities to make a claim to a past and assert themselves in the present political and social landscape.” In much the same way that Watkins (2006) observes the dislocation of Native Americans from their “Nativity” in debates about the peopling of North America, our saying that Native identities are dynamic potentially subverts the ability of Native Americans to control their heritage and future in the present.

When we consider the power of anthropology, and specifically archaeology, to *define* and *write* Indigenous heritage we can clearly see how our approaches to this history, and more specifically identity, can impact contemporary tribal communities. In short, our interpretations of the impact of European colonialism upon Native American tribes have very real consequences for modern tribal communities, whose own cultural recognition, tribal sovereignty and right of ownership over their cultural heritage depends upon their ability to document a continuous, unbroken tribal, cultural, and political identity (Dongoske et al. 1998; Handler 2003; Hantman 2004; Liebmann 2008). Within a legal system that privileges western and scientific knowledge over indigenous epistemologies, our interpretations thus become valuable evidence that can either be used to support or deny tribal claims for land, repatriation, and federal recognition.³

Unfortunately, our semiotic view of culture and identity is often in direct opposition to cultural property laws such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) that force tribes to ascribe to and reflect an essentialized identity (Handler 2003:363). As scholars we bear a responsibility to speak to the truth—in this case the necessity of cultural transformation as a process of survival and cultural persistence—we must also be mindful of the wider political and social impact of such interpretations. Given this situation, our ability to open up dialogues about the flexibility of identity may be limited to cases, as Hantman (2004) observed in his work with the Monacan in Virginia, where communities have already obtained “authenticity” through federal or state recognition, or in popular perception.

Archaeologists clearly have a role in shaping dialogues regarding cultural property laws, but developing non-hierarchical and reciprocal relationships with Native American communities may be a more effective means of changing public discourses about the authenticity and sovereignty of these communities (e.g., Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). By recognizing Native American tribes as stewards, and not just stakeholders, we communicate to the public that these communities are the rightful custodians of their heritage and identity. Likewise, reciprocal collaboration along the lines advocated in

³ See Clifford 1998 and Burke et al. 2008 for cases where anthropological and archaeological evidence has been critical in resolving federal claims for recognition and repatriation, respectively.

indigenous or decolonizing archaeologies (e.g., Atalay 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Shepherd 2006; Silliman 2008a; Smith and Wobst 2005; Watkins 2000), provides an avenue for us as archaeologists to reevaluate our relationship with tribal and descendant communities, examine the intersections between archaeological thought, practice and contemporary socio-politics, and change the ways in which we think of, talk about and represent colonial history to both ourselves and to the wider public.

Creating Trails From Traditions: The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail

The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project (KPITP) illustrates how a collaborative, community-based archaeology can empower communities, shift our understanding of Native identity, and engage the public in productive dialogues about what it means to be Indian. As previously stated, the project is the outgrowth of over 20 years of collaboration between the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, UC Berkeley archaeologists and the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Our shared goal for this project is to create a visible presence and voice for the Kashaya within the interpretation of Fort Ross State Historic Park (FRSHP). As part of this work, the project is in the process of developing a sustainable cultural education and public outreach program that will involve both the public and the tribal community in the interpretation of the ancestral homeland of the Kashaya Pomo, the people from the top of the land.

To this end the project has identified three significant and related goals: 1) the survey and identification of Kashaya ancestral sites to be featured on the interpretive trail; 2) the development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Website, a digital companion to the physical trail; and 3) a detailed archaeological study of the North Wall Community, a proposed stop on the interpretive trail. While it is outside the scope of this dissertation to report on the archaeological findings from the first goal, it is important to note that the second and third goals are a direct outcome of this initial work.

Before delving into the specific goals of these three projects, which will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5 (Goals 1 and 2, the trail and companion website) and Chapters 6, 7 and 8 (Goal 3, the archaeological study of the North Wall Community), it is crucial to understand the gaps that this research fills. The first gap concerns augmenting our understanding of the interethnic unions that were created between the Russian American Company Colony's workers and local Native Californian women. By taking a multi-scalar and holistic approach to Russian-Indigenous colonial encounters, there is great potential to expand our knowledge of these relationships as they varied across the multi-ethnic settlement and between its individual ethnic neighborhoods (Figure 1.2). Prior work at Metini Village (Lightfoot and Gonzalez *forthcoming*; Lightfoot et al. 2001) and the Native Alaskan Village (Lightfoot et al. 1993; Lightfoot et al. 1997; Lightfoot et al. 1998) sheds light on the daily practices of Native Californian and interethnic Native Californian and Native Alaskan households at the colony. Building upon this work, the primary goal of archaeological investigations of the North Wall Community is to contribute to archaeological and community understandings of colonial marriage and the role of Native Californian women at the Russian American Company (RAC) settlement.

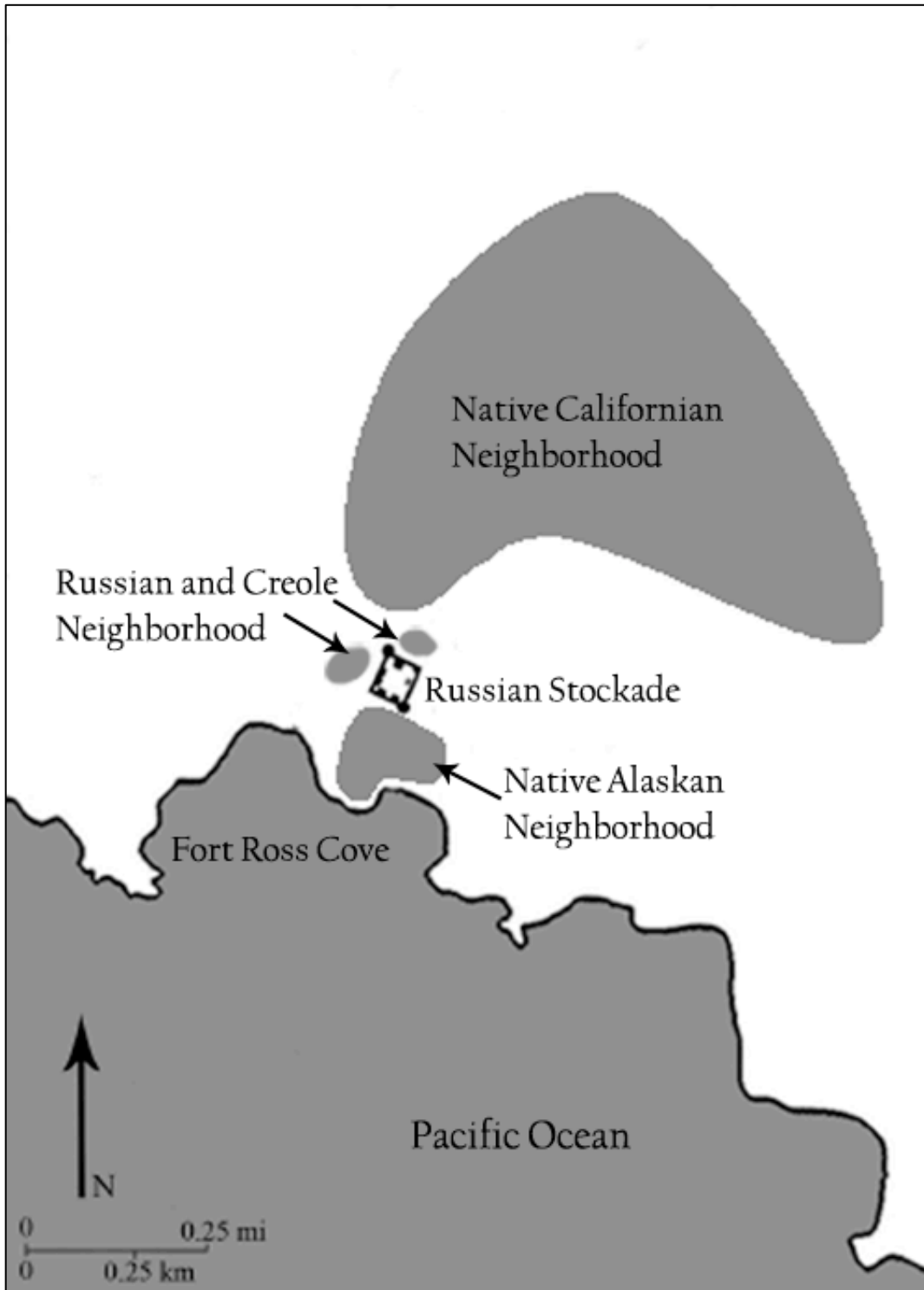


Figure 1.2 The ethnic neighborhoods of the Ross Settlement.

The second issue that this dissertation project addresses is the representation, today, of these interethnic households, as well as indigenous experiences of Russian colonialism at the state historic park. The emphasis that has been placed upon the militarized reconstructed Russian stockade and higher-class contingent of RAC workers results in narrow interpretations of daily life at what was once primarily a mercantile and agricultural settlement. The richness of archaeological investigations of the colony's extramural spaces and ethnic neighborhoods presents an opportunity to expand upon these interpretations, thus providing the public with a wider vision of what life was like at the colony almost two-hundred years ago. It is a primary goal of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail to change this represented landscape by introducing visitors to the archaeology of these community spaces, and by extension, the lives and histories of the colony's indigenous residents. The work undertaken along the North Wall has been designed in order to directly contribute to the further development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail and, specifically, aids in the creation of a new segment of the trail that will focus solely upon the multi-ethnic, Indigenous settlement.

The final issue that this research addresses is the importance of using community-based participatory research (CBPR) frameworks in order to both investigate and represent Indigenous heritage and the multiple outcomes of colonial entanglements (see Atalay 2007 for a concise description of CBPR's applicability in indigenous and decolonizing archaeologies). Considering Indigenous critiques of anthropology and archaeology, we find that it is ever more important and necessary to contextualize colonial encounters in terms of Indigenous experience and histories. Collaboration with these communities that puts their methodologies for understanding and creating knowledge about the past at the center and forefront of our research is the primary way we can achieve this goal. It is also the primary way that we—as academics—can work towards making our research matter not just to ourselves or others within the academy, but also to those outside our disciplinary and academic boundaries.

Making it Matter: An Indigenous and Feminist Approach to the Archaeology of Colonialism

As a (relatively) young Mexican-American, multicultural archaeologist and first-generation college and graduate student this business of mattering is an important one, for what reason do we undertake our work if not to make it relevant to the world, and more importantly, to perhaps even change that world through our own practice (e.g., Mihesuah 1998b, 2003; Smith 1999; Wilson 2004)? Angela Cavender Wilson (2004:69), an indigenous scholar, neatly sums up this dilemma: “for what had I been continually seeking an education if not to transform the world around me to create a place where justice for Indigenous people is more than an illusion?” For Wilson (2004), the writings of Fanon (1965) and Freire (2000) concerning, respectively, decolonization and praxis provided, “the language to articulate [her] own struggle” (69).

The practice of decolonization—literally the process of stripping away colonial institutions and mindsets from our everyday lives and practices—provides a powerful medium for

thinking about the wider implications of archaeology; to appreciate how it intersects with issues of social justice and equality. Decolonization provides concrete tools for transforming our scholarship so that it benefits those whose heritage we appropriate in our research. More importantly, it recognizes the ways in which the academy has been used to systematically exclude already marginalized communities, both in denying them entry and in defining which modes of thought are most valuable for understanding their lives and histories. Thus, a primary goal of decolonization is one of decentering, that is, transforming the nature of the academy and the practice of scholarship so that it no longer contributes to the continued colonization and marginalization of those excluded communities and individuals.

In this dissertation I draw specifically upon both indigenous and feminist archaeologies as sources for inspiration for thinking through and engaging in a decolonizing archaeological practice. Feminist and indigenous archaeologies are relevant in this case because they each offer unique critiques concerning issues such as situated knowledge, have developed methods for integrating theory and activism within scholarship, and advocate for approaches to the past that integrate understanding, emotion, and lived experience as essential elements of explanation (e.g., Conkey 2005). Exploring the intersections between these perspectives thus provides an alternate vantage point from which to structure the theory, approach to, and practice of an archaeology of colonialism.

Despite the commonalities between indigenous and feminist archaeologies, in practice, little dialogue occurs across their boundaries, resulting in each being distinct sub-fields within archaeology (for an exception see Conkey 2005). Lack of critical exchange, however, comes at the cost of extending our awareness of the links between archaeological practice and theory, and making our disciplinary community more inclusive and accountable. As scholars of intersectionality have pointed out (e.g., Collins 1999, 2004; Conkey 2005; Mihesuah 2003), exploring the overlaps and divergences between different perspectives can be a powerful tool; one that we can use to create dynamic spaces for considering how we, as archaeologists, research, write about, and represent Native American heritage. Diversifying our theory (Culler 1994) thus enables us to identify parallel methods for integrating decolonization into our research, as well as helps us pinpoint areas where our individual perspective may be limited and/or is limiting our view of both past and present social relationships and methods of scholarship.

Intersectionality is not only about creating a multi-dimensional approach to the past and archaeology, but it is also concerned with rejecting what hooks (1994) and Collins (2004) refer to as the continued marginalization of the margins. While indigenous and feminist archaeologies (and archaeologists) are considered outsiders-within (Collins 2004), that is they produce their work in a discipline that also systematically excludes and marginalizes their work and themselves as individuals, this marginality is precisely what allows them to contribute unique perspectives on the theory and practice of archaeology. To borrow from hooks (1990:149), the marginality of these perspectives (and those who hold them) is what allows for the margins to be “sites of radical possibility”, places of resistance, inspiration, and creativity where we can rethink and remake discipline. Margins are thus powerful spaces, but the very marginalization of these spaces also serves to ignore and exclude the

ideas that are generated therein. The struggle is thus: “to conserve the creative tension of outsider within status by encouraging and institutionalizing the outsider within ways of seeing” (Collins 2004:112). Considering the overlaps and intersectionality of the margins—in this case feminist and indigenous—is one viable option for moving their valuable critiques and practices out of the fringe and into the mainstream (see Silliman 2008b for a parallel argument).

Indigenous and Feminist values in the Archaeology of Colonialism

I believe it is a useful starting point in these introductory comments to ask: *How can a decolonizing, indigenous and feminist approach matter within the archaeology of colonialism?* First and foremost, an indigenous and feminist archaeology of colonialism cannot simply be a practice in writing the histories of ‘others’—it must actively incorporate the perspectives, needs and voices of the communities that we research. To do otherwise would be to produce histories of colonialism that *are* colonial. For the same reason, we also cannot afford to claim to write *from* a Native American because we use oral histories and oral traditions in our research and writing. Rather, collaboration that puts the specific needs of the community at the forefront of research design and practice, as is advocated by community-based and decolonizing research, must be a core feature of our archaeologies of colonialism. This provides the basis for continued feedback and allows the community to take ownership over their past and its representation (Gonzalez et al. 2006; Hunter 2004; Mihesuah 2004;). Reciprocal collaboration is also the primary way that we can move away from creating *knowledge about* to *knowledge with* Indigenous communities (Tamisari 2006:24). While this may seem like a fine distinction it speaks to the ability of a community to speak for and about itself and have that knowledge incorporated into privileged and accepted knowledge (see Fricker 2003, 2006, 2007 and McConkey 2004 for a discussion of integrating alternative epistemologies into disciplines of knowledge). These perspectives also encourage us to consider the diversity of what it means to be human and to question essentialized interpretations of identity. As discussed in the above section on the archaeology of colonialism, it is incredibly important that we not only be clear about how we envision colonial and indigenous identities, but we must also remain aware of the wider implications of our approaches to them.

It is with these considerations in mind that the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project, as well as this dissertation, has developed a framework for the archaeology of colonialism at Fort Ross State Historic Park. As will be discussed in later chapters, we have developed a practice of archaeology that combines community outreach and collaboration at their widest levels. We have used the platform of an interpretive trail to develop both a process for collaboration with the Kashaya tribe, as well as a public interpretation that contributes to decolonization of Kashaya heritage. Furthermore, we have used our collaboration on this project to create and further develop a Kashaya-centered heritage management plan that both the tribal community and other archaeologists have adopted as standard practice. In this way the trail attempts to bridge theory with practice, to use the study of the past in the service of communities, and in so doing create a practical archaeology that contributes to both scholarly goals and to our communities.

Chapter Overviews

In the following eight chapters I present the process of decolonizing Kashaya heritage at Fort Ross State Historic Park. This process involves three inter-related research and practical elements: 1) the development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail and its companion website; 2) the creation of an indigenous-centered heritage management strategy for the management of Kashaya heritage sites within the state historic park; and 3) the detailed archaeological examination of one proposed stop along the interpretive trail, the North Wall Community.

To this end the dissertation is divided into four parts. In Part I, I outline a decolonized approach to archaeology that uses indigenous and feminist methods for integrating indigenous epistemologies into archaeological theory and practice. In Part II, I evaluate the development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail and website, documenting the role of public outreach and community-partnered educational programs in decolonizing projects. In Part III, I use the archaeological case-study of the North Wall Community, a multi-ethnic community along the north wall of the Russian stockade, to demonstrate the process of representing a single site on the pathway of the interpretive trail.⁴ In Part IV, I summarize the results of these diverse decolonizing projects, highlighting the importance of engaging not only tribal communities, but also the wider public, in our archaeologies of colonialism.

Part I: Indigenizing Archaeology

In the following chapters (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3) I address the development of decolonization in the academy and its application to anthropology, and specifically archaeology. Drawing upon the work of scholars of decolonization (e.g., Atalay 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Bruchac 2010; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Mihsuah 1998a, 2003, 2005a, 2005b; Mihsuah and Wilson 2004a, 2004b; Smith 1999; Wilson 2004), in Chapter 2 I evaluate potential avenues for decolonizing archaeologies of colonialism. Building upon this discussion, Chapter 3 examines how feminist and indigenous archaeologies provide complimentary avenues for thinking through the methodologies and methods of a decolonized archaeological practice. I conclude Part I of the dissertation with a brief outline of the ways in which we have attempted to decolonize archaeology through the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project.

Part II: Creating Trails from Traditions

Creating Trails from Traditions consists of two chapters, Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 frames the discussion of the interpretive trail by outlining a framework for public archaeology that integrates the goals of decolonization into the process of creating collaborative, archaeological and heritage representations. In Chapter 5 I describe this framework as it was used to develop interpretive content for the trail's West Loop, and I discuss the viability of using digital technology to create community-based representations

⁴ I use the upper-case format of north wall, such as North Wall Community and North Wall Area, when referring to the specific archaeological deposits and residential site located directly north of the Russian stockade (CA-SON-190). I use the lower-case format of north wall in order to create a distinction between the archaeological site and the reconstructed north wall of the stockade.

of heritage places. Public outreach, in this case, has consisted of working with the tribal community to create a sustainable tribal cultural education program that contributes to the community's own decolonizing projects while also involving the wider public in dialogues about the archaeological and indigenous heritage of Fort Ross:Metini.

Part III: An Archaeology of Respect: A Site Specific Story

This section of the dissertation provides a site-specific story of how KPITP documented and interpreted one of the Russian colony's multi-ethnic neighborhoods, the North Wall Community. In Chapter 6, I provide a brief history of the Russian colony. This background places the North Wall Community into its appropriate spatial and temporal contexts. This chapter concludes with a brief outline of the major questions and goals of our archaeological investigations at the North Wall Community.

In Chapter 7, I provide an overview the development of the project's low-impact archaeological methodology for the study of Kashaya ancestral sites. This methodological approach minimizes archaeology's disturbance to both the ground and the tribal community, who views archaeology as a potentially spiritually and socially dangerous activity. Chapter 8 addressed how we applied this low-impact methodology in our research at the North Wall Community. This chapter also reports the results of archaeological fieldwork from the 2005-2008 field seasons of KPITP. Returning to the goals of fieldwork outlined in Chapter 6, this discussion highlights the material differences between the North Wall Community and the other ethnic neighborhoods at the Russian colonial settlement. Drawing upon lithic, glass and ceramic analyses, I demonstrate how the relative mobility (social and otherwise) of the residents of the North Wall Community can be used to delineate the boundary between this residential area and that of the Native Californians living at Metini Village (CA-SON-175), located 170 meters north of the Russian stockade.

Part IV: An Archaeology that Matters

In this concluding section (Chapter 9) I discuss the implications of decolonizing archaeology at Fort Ross: Metini. I summarize the steps we have taken to create an empirically-grounded, meaningful, and practical research practice that not only broadens our perspectives on colonial entanglements, but which directly contributes to the tribal community whose heritage is inextricably linked to Fort Ross State Historic Park. That this project also contributes to the augmentation of the park's interpretive programs is significant. As California and its state parks continue to face severe budget cuts and even forced closures, considering how archaeology can contribute to the further development of educational opportunities at places like Fort Ross is incredibly important. I hope that the work completed in conjunction with this dissertation will create a lasting opportunity for future visitors to experience the history and heritages connected at this ancestral homeland and former colonial outpost.

Conclusion

Combining community-based collaboration, public outreach and archaeological investigations, the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project has envisioned archaeology as a transformative practice: as a tool for creating a more diverse and inclusive approach to the past, for developing ethical relationships with communities, and for empowering tribal communities in the management of their heritage. When the work for this dissertation initially began, very few resources concerning collaboration or indigenous archaeology existed. As this work and collaboration with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians progressed, several changes within the field of global archaeologies have created a more supportive environment for our work. For example, in these intervening years substantive critiques of archaeology have highlighted the ways in which Indigenous peoples have been excluded from archaeological practice and the interpretation and museum representation of Native histories and heritage. These critiques are reviewed here not to further chastise the discipline of archaeology, but to explain how KPITP has both emerged from and contributed to the analysis of archaeology and its relationship to contemporary Native American communities

I began this chapter with a brief reminiscence of my first impression of Fort Ross. After six years of working and living at Metini, I am both hopeful and humbled that this dissertation will help change how future visitors may experience Fort Ross State Historic Park. . In the pages that follow I will examine how the above critiques have led to significant changes within our field, creating an awareness of and appreciation for the ways in which archaeologists interact with Native American communities and even engage in various forms of public outreach. The multi-faceted work associated with developing the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail makes a substantive contribution to a rapidly developing discipline in which archaeologists and communities are establishing new practices, new relationships, and new partnerships for understanding and interpreting the past. KPITP thus serves as a well-developed example of how one project has created a local, indigenous and decolonizing archaeological practice. As our discipline moves forward, such examples of local and independently worked-out research protocols and processes for collaboration provide a viable and fruitful model for these “new” archaeological practices might be applied more generally within our field.

Chapter II

Decolonizing Archaeology

In the introduction to this dissertation I asserted the value of developing a decolonized archaeological practice. Decolonization as it is referred to here relates to the process of transforming the colonial structures and institutions that contribute to the continued colonization and marginalization of individuals and communities (Smith 1999; Mihesuah 2003; Wilson 2004). While the project of decolonization generally refers to the grassroots efforts of communities to regain control over their cultural, political, and economic lives, it is also directly relevant within the Academy, as its tools have been inextricably associated with and connected to processes of colonization. Decolonization is an attempt to use the tools of the university (researching, writing, representation, and outreach) as a kind of transformative practice, reshaping the relationship between the university and its many communities so that the knowledge it produces is more reflective of Indigenous communities and their unique perspectives and individual needs (Mihesuah and Wilson 2004a, 2004b).

In this chapter I explore how a decolonizing, indigenous and feminist approach to the archaeology of colonialism can be used as a means of thinking through and understanding anthropology and archaeology's colonial past. This contextual history is imperative in order to move forward; to transform archaeological practice so that it no longer contributes to the disenfranchisement of Native Americans from their history and heritage. The goal of this discussion is to propose a future for archaeology that envisions it as a practical, political, and applied science (see also McGuire 2008). In this vision, archaeology is not just a tool for understanding our shared past, but one that uniquely contributes to reshaping our relationship to Indigenous communities in the present.

I begin the chapter with a brief overview of the history of anthropology as it is intertwined with colonial and imperial projects. Next, I discuss the history of decolonization and its transition from a political to cultural project that involves both communities and institutions. I then assess the relevance for decolonization within the academy. In this final section I outline six values of a decolonized practice: *Process, Fluidity, Epistemic Decolonization, Activism, and Capacity Building*. These values are used here in order to identify the major trends in decolonizing research and are used in the following chapter (Chapter 3) to outline a decolonized archaeological practice. Finally, the chapter concludes with a consideration of the utility and viability of creating a decolonized archaeology of colonialism.

Othering Anthropology

However noble their political values or accurate their theories, anthropologists have inherited the structural limitations of the slot that they share with the Savage. To put it differently, anthropology as a practice is part of the very geography of imagination

that it seeks to understand. Anthropology as a discipline emerges from the projection of the West, from the gap between the Here and the Elsewhere, in ways that no other discipline does. No wonder it has been accused of being an inherent tool of both colonialism and imperialism. -- Trouillot 2003:2

Trouillot's (2003) *Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World* highlights the dilemma of the anthropologist. As inheritors of a colonial discipline, how can we conduct scholarship that further illuminates the relationship between anthropology and colonialism without our work itself becoming a colonial artifact? Trouillot argues that such a project begins with the careful analysis and understanding of the ways in which anthropology is implicated in the construction of the Other (Trouillot 2003; Said 1995[1978]). In this following section, I explore the ways in which we can Other anthropology, that is understand its connection to colonial apparatuses, and use this knowledge to chart a direction for the discipline.

Said's (1995[1978]) *Orientalism* was one of the first mainstream scholarly works to systematically link how the academic and imaginative works of the West are linked to and implicated in colonial and imperial projects. Trouillot (2003) has expanded upon Said's (1995[1978]) analysis of Orientalism, the process of making the Other, drawing attention to the specific ways in which not only the imagination of the Other and the West are intertwined, but how that imagery was managed and reproduced across colonial and imperial landscapes. The creation of an ahistorical West, an object with no need for analysis because of its seeming to have always *been*, is thus a direct product of the same structures of management that enabled the spread of the world economy.

In other words, the history of unequal power relationships between the Empire and its dependant colonies is and was structurally dependent upon the colonial processes in which the minds and bodies of people located elsewhere were managed within the colony and in the colonial (and European) imagination. Smith (1999:23) succinctly illustrates how this process of establishing colonial and imperial control was dependent upon constructions of the Other:

Colonialism was, in part, an image of imperialism, a particular realization of the imperial imagination. It was also, in part, an image of the future nation it would become. In this image lie images of the Other, stark contrasts and subtle nuances, of the ways in which the indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with, which make the stories of colonialism part of a grander narrative and yet part also of a very local, very specific experience.

Trouillot (2003) is careful to point out that this process of othering is not simply a product of the Enlightenment, but is situated much further back in time to at least the 1500s, the beginning of the Age of Discovery. The expansion of European borders through the exploration, trade, and mapping of the world, and bringing these worlds back to the Europe set into motion a series of events that spurred the development of our world economy.

The role of anthropology in the colonization of non-western peoples is so difficult to understand, in part, because very few anthropologists ever self-consciously acted as agents of colonialism. In fact, many of the founding members of anthropology in the United States (e.g., Franz Boas) were champions of anti-racism and actively used the tools of anthropology (linguistics, archaeology, ethnography, and biology) to demonstrate how human cultural development was the product of specific, historical contexts and not a result of inherent biological or racial characteristics. The continued commitment of anthropologists in regards to deconstructing ideas of race and ethnicity serves to remind us that our discipline cannot be simply characterized as a handmaiden of colonialism. How then did a discipline committed to understanding the diversity of humanity and human experience become so symbolic as an instrument of scientific colonialism (Zimmerman 2001)?

Almost by definition, anthropology is the discipline of the Other. It is our job to classify, collect, and represent culture to the world, and specifically those cultures defined as existing outside of Western culture and society. It is thus the authority and power of anthropology to document the Other that implicates it in the management of the imagination (Said 1995[1968]; Trouillot 2003)—defined as the power to define and write about Others, thus creating and enabling the continued control over those labeled as such. Smith (1999:65) refers to this disciplinary action as the “totalizing appropriation of the Other,” a phenomenon that resulted in the authority of anthropologists and other sciences to speak for and about Indigenous peoples. This resulted in images of these communities that were rooted elsewhere, that elsewhere being a place of privilege, authority, and legitimacy. Memmi (1965:85), a scholar of decolonization, refers to this appropriation as a *mark of the plural* such that the “colonized is never characterized in an individual manner; he is entitled only to drown in an anonymous collectivity.” In ethnographic literature we see this *mark of the plural* in descriptions of non-western cultures as faceless entities, full of ethnographic traits, but no personal, individualized history or voices.

However direct or indirect a role anthropology played in this dehumanization, Smith, an indigenous scholar, notes that for the colonized:

The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history...It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity. It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and have developed their own culture and own nations (1999:1).

Debates over the unintended vs. intended consequences of the ethnographic gaze are rendered mute by the cumulative effect of anthropology. Taken in combination with the other colonial institutions and apparatuses designed to impose European governance and culture upon the colonized, the discipline of anthropology helped to distance the colonized from the popular production of their culture and heritage. While this process may appear to be benign, the history of anthropological and archaeological research in North America—which is so often characterized by the looting of Native American graves and

ancestral sites—proves otherwise. In these cases archaeology isn't just a symbol of or metaphor for the subjugation of Indigenous communities within the wider world (see McGuire 1992 and Trigger 1980), but plays a direct and definable role in divesting them of their human and civil rights (DeLoria 1992; Ferguson 1996; Ladd 2001; Tsosie 1997). This fact is evidenced in the continued struggle of these communities to regain access to and control over their ancestral remains (Bray 2001; Bray and Killion 1994; Burke *(ed.)* 2008; Deloria 1992; Dongoske et al. 2000; Ferguson 1996; Fine-Dare 2002; Mihesuah *(ed.)* 2000; Watkins 2003, 2004).

Anthropology of and for the Modern World

For a discipline “perceived by the indigenous world as the epitome of all that is bad with academics” (Smith 1999:67), anthropology is also uniquely positioned to deconstruct its own troubling history and give the people that it appropriated a voice. The goal for an anthropology of the modern world (Trouillot 2003) is to understand the specific processes and relations that gave rise to conceptions of the West and the Other, and acknowledge the role that the discipline played in terms of supporting colonial imaginations. Trouillot argues that this can be achieved by paying close attention to “the interface between what happened and that which is said to have happened” (2003:12). By investigating these silences (see Trouillot 1995 for methods of investigating silences; also Bhabha 1994; Hall 1999; Spivak 1988) anthropology can acknowledge its own role in legitimating the idea of the West as universal, giving a historicity and specificity to the Other. Showing how otherness is a specific product of historical processes that created the West, the Other no longer remains an immutable object relegated to what Trouillot (2003) calls the Savage Slot. The marginality of otherness is refuted within this framework and people once stuffed into this slot can reclaim their humanity (2003:136).

While Trouillot (2003) provides by no means the only exegesis of the intersection between anthropology, colonialism, and imperialism, his vision for anthropology is inspiring. He provides a path for practitioners of the discipline that is at once critical and engaged. It makes anthropology relevant today in its ability to comment on new claims of the West contained in discourses about globalization and the expansion of world markets (Trouillot 2003). By using the history of anthropology to reflect upon disciplinary practices and our engagement with Indigenous communities, we can re-imagine anthropology as an instrument of potential, positive change. Although Trouillot (2003) does not specifically address archaeology, his work is relevant for charting a new direction in the sub-discipline. Within his framework, archaeology is not demonized, forever relegated to be a handmaiden of colonialism. Rather, its tools (theories, methods, and practices) can be used to understand its relationship to colonial history and build decolonized representations of the past⁵. This gives archaeology a chance to escape its colonial underpinnings and develop

⁵ See Haber and Gnecco (2007) for an extended conversation between the authors and Nick Shepherd, Larry Zimmerman and Nayanjot Lahiri concerning the colonial roots of archaeology and the discipline's ability to respond productively to its colonial history. The discussants provide a complimentary future for archaeology to that of Trouillot's (2003) vision for anthropology. This discussion is specifically framed in terms of decolonization.

approaches to the past that re-humanize and give both historicity and specificity to colonized communities. Moreover, our temporal positioning gives us the power to comment upon these long-term colonial processes as they are evident materially across the colonial landscape. The real power of archaeology in the case of decolonization is thus our ability to speak to the specific experiences of colonialism. We also have an opportunity to repatriate this knowledge back to communities so that they may also better understand their histories of colonization.

Postcolonialism and Anthropology

The ability to understand colonial processes is not limited to anthropology or archaeology. In fact, postcolonial literature provides interdisciplinary vantage points that also critique and historicize the spread of imperialism, colonialism, and relationships of dependence. Generally, postcolonialism involves the systematic analysis of colonialism, its effect upon present day politics, and the relationship between these contemporary circumstances and the specific colonial and imperial policies employed by Western nations (Young 2001). While it is outside the scope of this chapter to provide a complete overview of the history of postcolonialism, it is necessary to note how the process of evaluating the consequences of colonialism has made the following four contributions:

- 1) It provides a useful set of frameworks for understanding this past;
- 2) Positions the discipline of anthropology in relation to the production of the historically-based power asymmetries that exist between colonizer and colonized;
- 3) Inspires scholarly work on the decolonization of former colonies, which is in its truest sense of the word the process of moving from a colony under imperial control to that of a self-governed entity or nation; and
- 4) Sets an example of “engaged theoretical work” (Young 2001:11) that compliments those established in Indigenous and Feminist research.

This chapter has thus far examined the first two points, demonstrating how a detailed and critical understanding of disciplinary history is a necessary component of moving past the colonial history of anthropology. This knowledge is fundamental for remaking the discipline so that the practice of anthropology—and in the context of this dissertation, archaeology—can be used to re-humanize colonized communities by breaking down the Savage Slot (e.g., Trouillot 2003). Though our discipline is symbolic of the process of colonization as it occurred through the Academy, we also cannot lose sight of the fact that it plays a minor role in terms of the active colonization of communities. For example, while anthropology is certainly important in terms of giving communities a platform for representing themselves to the wider world, they often face much more significant threats that endanger their futures, for example, threats from economic development, global warming, and even continued governmental and political oppression. Stating this here is not to detract from the role of anthropology in colonization, but to put into perspective the range of issues that colonized, and Indigenous communities face. It remains that we have

the ability to make positive contributions to these communities, but we just must do so with an appreciation for these wider contexts.

The remaining sections in this chapter will address the contributions of an engaged and decolonized archaeological practice. This discussion begins with an historical overview of decolonization, which situates the growing interest of archaeologists in decolonization in terms of the origins and development of this practice. I then examine contemporary approaches for decolonizing archaeology highlighting how indigenous and feminist archaeologies provide concrete methods for building an engaged archaeological practice. I then consider how the intersections between decolonization and indigenous and feminist archaeology are specifically relevant to archaeologies of colonialism.

Decolonization

Decolonization is a process of reversing the colonial structures inherent in both the institutions of colonialism and in the minds of the colonized. In relation to the decolonization of Indigenous peoples, Wilson (2004) asserts that Indigenous communities must return to their traditions (what Smith [1999:24] calls pre-colonized or intact time), reassert these traditions and their concomitant cultural and social values into everyday life, and rebuild their communities accordingly. The ability to strip away colonial mindsets and return to tradition depends upon the concept of praxis, theoretically informed action, as it situates the power of people as thinking and knowing individuals who can reflect upon their life and change them through self-action.

It is important to note here that this yearning to return to pre-colonial traditions may be practically impossible—it refers to the idea that you can return to a specific moment in time, yet it also disregards the transformations communities underwent even during this “intact time” (Smith 1999:24). Nonetheless, this desire to return is a fundamental aspect in decolonization. It represents the creative, imaginative, and personal struggles that individuals and communities must undergo if they wish to build a future in which their collective identities are valued and satisfying (Anzaldúa 1994; Bhabha 1994; Collins 2004; hooks 1990; Hull and Smith 1982). The notion of a pre-colonial past is important here as it provides a source of inspiration for understanding the exact ways in which these identities have been devalued as a result of internalized colonization. Internalized colonization refers to how a community and its members internalized the negative images of their community, images produced by the West and used in order to deny them civil rights. Returning thus represents a way for communities to reclaim ownership over their pasts and identities and to use them as sources for resisting colonization.

Decolonization relates not just to personal biography or community tradition, but also to scholarship that is activist oriented and designed to make a difference to the communities in which researchers work. This sort of scholarship is not exclusively practiced within institutions, but can be initiated by a community and undertaken by non-academically trained scholars (Smith 1999). Whether or not the scholarship is located inside or outside of an institution, it rests upon the same foundations as Wilson (2004) describes, that is it is

a self-conscious plan of action to de-center colonialism and colonial mentalities within the research process.

Emergences

Decolonization as an academic and community tradition emerged out of postcolonialism and the study of the political decolonization of former colonies. In the 1950s, 1960s and onwards, as colonial independence movements spread across the globe, former colonial nations underwent tremendous amounts of change as the institutions of governance from the imperial or colonial center were replaced and controlled by locally established governments. This change in order prompted both the term post-colonial, used to refer to this new world order, as well as decolonization, the description for the transferring of political power from the imperial center to these local post-colonial localities. The work of Fanon (1963), Memmi (1965), and Mannoni (1990[1956]) is important in this context, as it established the basis for modern postcolonial theories and critiques. Perhaps more importantly, their writings prompted academic advocacy for transnational social justice and the use of the tools of academy for furthering the process of decolonization (Young 2001). Fanon's (1963) work, in particular was important for its detailed analysis of colonized and colonizer and the role of the former colonized (neo-colonial elite) in establishing their own governments and political and economic institutions. It is from his writings, as well as those of Memmi's (1965) that the struggle for Algerian independence was broadcast to an academic audience and the idea of decolonization as a stripping away of colonial institutions was advanced.

The legacy of these works is a comprehensive body of scholarship that critiques the cultural history of colonialism and economic imperialism relating these social processes to their experienced effects by colonized peoples. For example, these scholars of decolonization and other anti-colonial activists examined the interpersonal dynamics of colonialism, exploring the personalities and psyches of both the colonized and colonizer. While it can be argued that Nandy (1983) drew particular attention to the psychological pathology of the colonized and colonizer, it is from this collective body of work (e.g., Fanon 1963; Mannoni 1990 [1956]; Memmi 1965) that the idea of decolonization was extended past its governmental and political meanings to include the individual minds and souls of those people who had been colonized (see Young 2001 for an extended discussion of the importance of Nandy's [1983] work).

Fanon best captures the psychological element of decolonization as a form of re-imagining and re-making the self:

If we want to respond to the expectations of the Europeans we must not send them back a reflection, however ideal, of their society and their thought that periodically sickens even them. For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrades, we must make a new start, develop a new way of thinking, and endeavor to create a new man (2004 [1963]:239).

Fanon's idea of creating a new man and a new creative body of work without European or colonial influence intersects with those of Said (1978) and Trouillot (1995, 2003), who place significance upon the internalization of colonialism and geographies of imagination that pit the West against the Other. Together, these sources of postcolonial thought provide a way to deconstruct the history of colonialism and its effects. They imagine decolonization as a process for reversing the myriad social, cultural, and political institutions and processes of colonialism. Approached from this perspective decolonization is personal and political, involves the creativity to create culture anew in the Other's own image rather than that of the West, and uses the space of the colony and its margins to 'write back' or 'talk back' this image (Fanon 1963; Smith 1999:23).

Whether or not one can truly strip away all colonial influences is almost beside the point; this process serves as a metaphor for developing a better understanding of colonialism and represents a self-conscious attempt at achieving social justice for colonized and marginalized peoples. As stated at the beginning of this section, this process of returning is critical for creating understandings of culture and self in such a way that it does not contribute to the continued colonization (i.e., devaluation) of marginalized peoples, their identities, and their ways of knowing about the world (Smith 1999:34-6). Thus, as Smith (1999:39) asserts: "Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes." Using Trouillot's (2003) terms, decolonization and its emphasis upon creativity and psychological restoration is a fundamental aspect of breaking apart Western geographies of imagination, which in turn allows for the colonized to create their own geographies of imagination that more clearly reflect their own social and cultural values.

Given the dependent nation status of Indigenous communities within the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere, it's questionable whether or not the term post-colonial correctly captures the experience of Indigenous peoples living in these arguably still colonial situations. Rather than using Indigenous to refer to an already existing, native population within a colony or nation, Indigenous peoples is used to convey a sense of the commonality, as well as the specificity, of experiences of colonialism as they vary or converge across colonial borders⁶. Indigenous as it is referred to here borrows from Smith's (1999:7) usage of the label as a way to "internationalize the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples." Use of this term correctly points to the continued colonization of those communities who, though they may not live in post-colonial nations, are still involved in projects of decolonization. Decolonization for these communities thus still involves the struggle to reclaim self-

⁶ Following Silliman (2008:21), Smith (1999) and Smith and Wobst (2005a:16) I use the upper-case format of indigenous, such as Indigenous communities, Indigenous peoples, or Indigenous perspectives, to denote communities of shared experience. I use the lower-cased format of the word when referencing indigenous archaeologies or indigenous epistemologies as it references the diversity of approaches and knowledge systems amongst practitioners and Indigenous peoples.

determination and sovereignty in addition to other projects such as the “recovering and investigation of Indigenous experiences, practices, and traditional knowledge systems” (Atalay 2006b:292).

Decolonizing Practices: An Overview

Decolonization in Indigenous communities can be seen as involving three goals: 1) an analysis and understanding of colonialism and its specific impacts upon a community; 2) a reassertion of positively valued identities and cultural and social traditions and values; and 3) an active struggle to regain self-determination and sovereignty. While these goals may imply a unified response or approach to decolonization, the unique historical and socio-political context of each community means that decolonizing methods vary considerably across—and even within—communities. Thus, decolonizing methodologies and research practices are developed with regard for the specific needs of a community and in relation to the wider context of the decolonizing project.

Making it even more difficult for researchers to pinpoint a standard set of practices for decolonization, much of the literature is not so much concerned with theorizing the role of the (outside) researcher in decolonized scholarship, as it is with examining and providing community methods for decolonization (e.g., Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Smith 1999; Wilson 2004, 2005). That being said there are a few guiding principles for scholars or researchers interested in practicing a decolonized and indigenized scholarship. In this section I outline six features of a decolonized practice: *Process, Fluidity, Epistemic Decolonization, Activism, and Capacity Building*. It should be noted that these six aspects of decolonization—perhaps more appropriately referred to as research values—are by no means the only hallmarks of decolonized scholarship. Rather, I use them here to identify important points of consideration for thinking about and developing decolonized archaeological practices, an issue that will be addressed in the subsequent sections of the chapter.

Activism

As Smith (1999:98) notes, “Decolonization, once viewed as the formal process of handing over the instruments of government, is now recognized as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power.” The political and social process of decolonization is founded upon a desire to achieve social justice for colonized groups such as Indigenous peoples. Thus the work of decolonization is, at its core, activist-oriented, designed to aid communities in their struggle for cultural and political sovereignty. This activism often targets a variety of social justice issues such as alleviating endemic rates of poverty or disease, providing greater access to education, working towards self-determination for Indigenous communities, or even developing sustainable environmental projects that contribute to the ability of a community to manage its environmental and cultural resources.

Decolonizing projects also take place at multiple scales, ranging from local, community-led cultural education programs to international and pan-Indigenous initiatives such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (A/RES/61/295). It is

important to note that while community-led initiatives tend to focus on community-specific needs, many of these decolonizing projects are shared across different Indigenous communities. In many cases these local level initiatives directly contribute to national, international and even global struggles for self-determination and sovereignty, such as the above mentioned UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was the result of local, national, and international activism on the parts of individual communities and national and international organizations.

Likewise, activism associated with decolonization may be directed at a variety of intra- and inter-community and institutional levels. As with scales of activism, these levels are not mutually exclusive. At the community level, activism may involve transforming intra-community relationships as a way to combat social issues such as racism, discrimination, gender, domestic and other forms of social violence, or even illnesses such as alcoholism. Examples here include projects associated with resolving tensions between traditionalists and non-traditionalists, men and women, tribal members who live on tribal lands and those who live further afield, etc. (Mihesuah 2003; Smith 1999; Wilson 2005).

Inter-community activism refers to those projects that are concerned with the relationship of a tribe to other local, national, and international communities. Decolonizing projects at this level often involve building connections between tribal and other communities on the basis of shared concern. Organizations such as the Intertribal Council of California, National Congress of the American Indian, Indian Law Resource Center, or even the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers thus offer tribes a venue to work together on issues of social justice that are relevant to multiple tribal communities.

At an institutional level, activism is directed at changing the ways in which institutions—governmental, political, academic, cultural, etc.—relate to and engage with Indigenous communities. Decolonized research that emerges out of institutional-Indigenous collaborations thus brings with it the opportunity not only to construct more ethically and socially accountable relationships with Indigenous communities, but also the potential to transform these social relationships at a larger scale. For example, many of the above inter-tribal organizations often sponsor initiatives designed to change institutional level relationships, usually through legal and political channels. Passage of legislation such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), the National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAI), and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) all serve as examples of this kind of inter-tribal and institutional activism, the goal of which was to fundamentally transform Indigenous-institutional rights, responsibilities, and relationships.

Within the context of the Academy, institutional activism often combines all levels of activism—community, inter-community, and institutional. This is a consequence of the collaborative nature of decolonizing projects. As described in detail in the following section, *Process*, decolonizing research is envisioned as a means with which to contribute to community-specific needs and goals, and as such these projects necessarily entail community-level, and depending upon the scale of the project, inter-community activism. At the same time institutional activism at this level concerns the ability to use this kind of research not only to aid community goals, but to also create more ethically accountable and

socially just relationships between researchers, institutions and Indigenous communities. This institutional activism can consist of using the Academy as a place of change, that is using decolonizing research to restructure how a discipline conducts research on or about Indigenous communities. It can also consist of making universities into more diverse institutions by including Indigenous communities not just in the process of research, but in the actual operation of the university, the formation of disciplines and individual academic departments. Diversifying the Academy directly relates to *Capacity Building*, the capacity of Indigenous peoples and communities to control and direct their presents and futures, which is discussed in a following section.

Process

Smith (1999:127) stresses that decolonized research involves a focus on process, on methodologies and methods rather than with outcomes (see also Atalay 2006a, 2006b; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010; Silliman and Ferguson 2010; Tamisari 2006; Wilson 2007). This concern with process reflects a wider reconfiguration of research goals that target community-specific needs, such as the ability of a community to heal itself psychologically or physically, educate its members, or become self-determined (see also De la Torre 2004; Hunter 2004; Mihesuah 2003; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004). By implementing practices that adhere to a community's social, cultural and political values, research can be restructured so that it mirrors and prioritizes the processes for creating knowledge that the community itself uses on a daily basis. In decolonized scholarship research methodologies and methods are thus indigenized, that is, indigenous methodologies become a central component of research, which are used to both establish research protocols and identify acceptable research methodologies. Examples of this may include placing emphasis upon consensus building in the interpretation of data, or reporting of research to a community through non-traditional formats (e.g., community meetings or home visits instead of traditional reports or formal lectures).

In decolonized research the community is thus placed in a position of power enabling them to direct the process and outcome of research while researchers themselves are re-imagined as in service to the community. In effect, there is a reversal of traditional researcher-community roles, which helps to break down the traditional power asymmetries between them. Research within a decolonized framework also transitions from being one modeled after extraction where information is taken from a community and housed elsewhere, to a model of negotiation where the process and products of research are never outside the oversight of the community. This reframing of research around community needs and goals makes it such that the Academy is no longer the sole locus of power in terms of the collection, curation, and representation of information relating to Indigenous peoples. Previously hierarchical relationships between research institutions, researchers, and communities are thus transformed into relationships of greater equality.

The idea of process here encapsulates the spirit of decolonizing research, which is to create a form of scholarship that does not alienate, but instead empowers a community in research, which remains a vital process for creating new knowledge. This requires researchers to continually assess the socio-political implications of their practice so that they may use this knowledge to devise strategies that make the process of research more

inclusive, democratic, and socially accountable. This makes it such that the Other is not simply an object of study, but rather a collective of human subjects with the right to determine how knowledge about themselves is produced and distributed to other communities.

The goal of decolonizing research is not to deny the ability of academic institutions or researchers to conduct research about Indigenous communities. Rather the process of decolonization reminds us that such relationships cannot be exploitative or extractive, as has been so often the case, as this alienates communities from their right to determine their own futures. While institutions such as universities have established guidelines for the ethical treatment of human subjects, for example through Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) or Ethical Review Boards (ERBs), scholars argue that communities must also protect themselves from further exploitation by establishing community-set standards for research practices (Mihesuah 1998, 2004; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004b; Smith 1999; Wilson 2005). This in effect gives the community a direct say—regardless of the findings of an IRB or ERB board—regarding the ethical, social, and political implications of a proposed research project. Decolonizing the research process is thus about creating contexts for equal or reciprocal collaboration that allow for communities to work with researchers in order to produce scholarship that benefits a community.

For this reason decolonizing research often uses the models of Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) as it provides a framework wherein researchers and communities establish collaborative and non-hierarchical relationships with one another. The goal of CBPR is to resituate research so that the community has the ability, and more importantly authority, to monitor and direct research that is conducted on and about the community. Within such frameworks, communities are charged with the authority to either accept or reject the merits of research on their own terms and not according to those established by outside researchers or other institutions. CBPR also provides a process for researchers to collaborate with communities on research that is mutually beneficial, contributing to both community and academic goals.

The importance of community control over research cannot be overlooked as it is directly connected to the reassertion of rights by Indigenous communities at local, national, and even global levels (Handler 1984, 2000). Within this context, an unequal relationship between researchers and indigenous communities becomes symbolic of the wider social, economic, and political marginalization and oppression of Indigenous communities. In the case of anthropology and archaeology this relationship has not been purely symbolic, but oftentimes a concrete reminder of unequal human and social rights. In the early years of the discipline anthropologists and archaeologists didn't so much benignly collect information about Indigenous communities in North America as they did forcibly extract tribal knowledge or even loot sacred remains and physical evidence in the form of the bodies of ancestors (Bray 1994, 2001; Deloria 1988, 1992; Ferguson 1996; Fine-Dare 2002; Harper 2000; Killion 2001; Mihesuah 2000; Ravesloot 1997; Tsosie 1997). The "powerful remembered history" (Smith 1999:1) of anthropology and archaeology as a direct instrument of colonization is also the primary reason why taking a decolonized approach to formulating research with Indigenous communities is so important. Despite these histories

of unequal relationships and even outright abuse, we cannot overlook the value and potential of archaeology and anthropology as ways to make sense of these connections between discipline and colonialism. Moreover, the process of decolonizing research presents a renewed opportunity to use the tools of these disciplines to make positive contributions to Indigenous communities by assisting them in the recovery of their heritage.

Fluidity

Decolonized research entails a high degree of fluidity and reflexivity due to its direct incorporation of community feedback into the process of research. Although all forms of research, decolonized or otherwise, needs be flexible in order to adjust to changing research contexts, reciprocal community collaboration demands a particularly high degree of fluidity and flexibility. Researchers must be willing and prepared to shift course or alter the goals of research and plans of work in accordance with community-identified needs (e.g., Atalay 2007; Norder 2007; Rossen 2008). They must also be prepared to cease avenues of research if the community requests it, for example in cases where research may negatively impact the health and or wellbeing of the community.

Along with this flexibility in research, a researcher or research project must also anticipate a community's questions ranging from what would be considered normal under institutional circumstances (How will this information be reported? What is its long-term impact? Who owns the knowledge produced in the project?) to questions of a personal nature ["Is her spirit clear? Does he have a good heart? What other baggage are they carrying" Smith (1999:10)]. This marrying of personal and scholarly is in direct opposition to Western models of research, but is often critical for a community to fully evaluate a research plan and all of its potential effects.

Personal flexibility on the part of the researcher is needed as community research involves personal relationships and social ties that are built through the course of a project and often over many years. This entails an acceptance of being more than just a researcher, but an individual with responsibilities that extend far beyond your intended research (Clarke 2008; Lea et al. 2006; Smith 2006). Decolonized research is built upon the development of personal acquaintance whereby the researcher/outsider comes to know the community, while the community's members also come to know him or her (Norder 2007; Tamisari 2006). It carries with it a willingness and ability to move across and between boundaries in order for both parties to learn and contribute towards building "knowledge with" as opposed to "knowledge about" Indigenous communities (Tamisari 2006:20-24; Atalay 2007). This distinction is important as the latter implies an unequal relationship between those involved in the knowing process while the former, "knowledge with" contextualizes such knowledge as humanized, embedded in sociality, and the result of a collaboration and negotiation amongst equal partners.

In a sense, flexibility refers to the researcher's ability to surrender the idea of conducting "pure" research for the benefit of humankind in favor of adopting an applied approach that defines research problems in relation to a community's changing spiritual and material needs (Norder 2007). This does not mean that researchers involved in decolonizing

research do not attempt to generate knowledge that benefits such higher academic goals, as indeed the express goal of decolonizing projects is to contribute to expanding our general knowledge. Yet what is different in decolonizing projects is that those initial research questions and topics of inquiry are generated through collaboration between researcher and community and as such *both* academic and community goals provide the impetus and motivation for specific research trajectories.

Epistemic Decolonization

While the trend *Process* indicates the need for indigenous methods of research, decolonizing epistemology is about fundamental shifts in terms of how disciplines recognize and interpret data. As described in more detail in Chapter 3, the marginalization of Indigenous communities in society is not solely an issue of social and cultural exclusion, but one of epistemology. It is at the level of epistemology—how we define knowledge and who has the authority to create it—that Indigenous peoples are excluded from the process of creating knowledge about themselves and their experiences (McConkey 2004; Wylie 2006). The goal of epistemic decolonization is thus to resolve these epistemic injustices by engaging with Indigenous epistemologies and admitting them as valuable (and valid) sources of knowledge within our disciplinary frameworks (Lahari and Shepherd in Haber and Gnecco 2007; Mihesuah 2003, 2004; Wilson 2004). Taken in combination with frameworks for research that empower Indigenous communities within the research process, the diversification of disciplinary epistemologies is a fundamental aspect of generating decolonized scholarship that is both scientifically rigorous and grounded in Indigenous experience and knowledge.

Within the context of research on and about Native Americans, epistemic decolonization involves the use of Native epistemologies, especially Native oral histories and oral traditions, as legitimate means for interpreting indigenous histories and experiences. Integrating these other ways of knowing with standard disciplinary methods for recovering and interpreting Indigenous experience is a critical element of resolving the disparities between different sources of knowledge—Indigenous and Western—and rejecting what is viewed as a false dichotomy between spirituality and science (Mihesuah 2003, 2005; Watkins 2000; Zimmerman 2001).

Mihesuah and Wilson (2004b) also point out another, deeper issue associated with epistemic decolonization: the idea that the academy is a colonial institution. Part of the issue of using Western models of research is that their foundations rest upon colonial institutions and policies, which directly and/or indirectly contributed to the alienation of Indigenous peoples from their bodies, land, time, and history (Haber and Gnecco 2007; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Smith 1999; Wilson 2007). In order to practice a decolonized scholarship, researchers must critically evaluate the history of their discipline in relation to colonialism so that they may fully understand the intersections between disciplinary practices and modern socio-political contexts. Trouillot (2003), Said (1978) and other postcolonial scholars have called for a similar process whereby discipline is critiqued as a

means of creating “a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values which inform research practices” (Smith 1999:20).

As Shepherd notes, this process “... is not about “cleansing” or “purifying” the discipline of bits and pieces of a tainted past. Rather it is about creating the discipline anew” (quoted in Haber and Gnecco 2007:401-2). While Shepherd may be overstating the idea that decolonization creates disciplines entirely anew, the spirit of what he says remains true: to create disciplines of research that no longer objectifies Indigenous peoples or their communities, a process that often involves creatively rethinking what it means to do research. Epistemic decolonization is thus not a total rejection of the Academy, but a creative rethinking about how to repurpose its tools for research. Smith (1999:39) perhaps states it best when she says:

Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes.

The goal of critique then is not to reject models of Western research, but to create knowledge that can be used to reframe disciplinary practices so that they no longer contribute to the dehumanization of Indigenous communities. This is fundamentally a process of collaboration, creation, and reflexivity whereby researchers and Indigenous peoples work with one another to develop practices that are mindful of the many social, cultural, and ethical impacts of research.

In fact, the Academy is an essential part of decolonization as it is from these centers that Indigenous communities have the opportunity not only to alter how knowledge is created about their communities, but also to help transform future social relations. Mihesuah and Wilson (2004b:5) see epistemic decolonization as a vital pathway for contributing to a liberatory pedagogy:

Perhaps as teachers we can facilitate what bell hooks refers to as ‘education as the practice of freedom’. Perhaps we might engage in an educational dynamic with students that is liberatory, not only for the oppressed but also for the oppressors. Perhaps as scholars we can conduct research that has a beneficial impact on humanity in general, as well as on our Indigenous peoples. Perhaps the scholarship we produce might be influential not only amongst our ivory tower peers, but also within the dominant society. Perhaps our activism and persistence within the academy might also redefine the institution from an agent of colonialism to a center of decolonization.

As Mihesuah and Wilson (2004b) indicate, the use of education as a medium of working towards social justice is not a new idea (e.g., Freire 2000 [1970]; hooks 1989, 1990, 1994, 2003; McLaren 1989) or one that originated through decolonization. Nonetheless, liberatory pedagogy and its imagination of education and the university setting as a site of radical possibilities and transformation (hooks 1989, 1990) is valuable here in that it demonstrates that the Academy is not simply an agent of colonialism, but a dynamic space

that can greatly contribute to the values and processes of decolonization. Within this framework, the Academy's role as both the center of knowledge and education is valuable, as the ability to teach future generations of scholars about what a difference it makes to consider the social, political, and ethical implications of research also brings with it the opportunity to change the Academy's—and dominant society's—relationship to Indigenous, and even other minority communities (see also Watkins in Haber and Gnecco 2007 and Atalay 2003, 2005 for parallel arguments concerning the value of liberatory and Indigenous pedagogies).

Though it may seem that the goal of a decolonized or liberatory pedagogy is to indoctrinate students—a perspective fostered when we think of education as devoid of moral values involving only the simple process of transferring knowledge (this is what Freire 2000[1970] refers to as a banking model of education)—the goal of teaching within these frameworks is to acknowledge the student as an active and engaged learner who has the ability and authority to contribute as much to the process of learning as does the teacher or Professor. Liberatory pedagogy is also useful in terms of decolonization simply for the fact that it envisions education as a site of politics in which the ability of a student to become a critical and engaged learner brings with it the possibility of thinking in new and challenging, analytical ways. As bell hooks (1989:102) so eloquently states, “the most important learning experience that could happen [in her] classroom was that students would learn to think critically and analytically, not just about the required books, but about the world they live in.” This same goal applies for those who advocate for an Indigenous approach to education; that the students who learn within these frameworks will take this learned knowledge and apply it to other aspects of their lives and that the researchers who advocate for Indigenizing the Academy will work towards making their institutions more open and accountable to their surrounding communities.

Capacity Building

One of the primary goals of decolonization is to develop the capacity of a community to manage its governmental, cultural, economic, and political affairs. Capacity building thus refers to the process of assisting local governments with the development of infrastructure that is necessary for a functioning government and civil society. While this process has been an integral feature of the political decolonization of former colonial nations, it is also used in reference to continuing development projects throughout the world, a recent example being the current rebuilding of Haiti's infrastructure following the devastating 2010 earthquake. However, within the context of contemporary decolonization projects capacity building is directly linked to Indigenous struggles concerning self-determination and sovereignty, as many tribal communities are relegated to dependent nation status or live as minority communities with limited rights of self-government.

For federally recognized Native American Tribes in the United States, capacity building refers to the ability of the tribal nation to function as a nation and as such to assume all responsibilities regarding managing the health and welfare of its citizens. While Federal Indian Law requires federally recognized tribes to maintain a system of government, the US

Department of the Interior, Indian Affairs Office has traditionally assisted tribes in the process of governance, assuming control over, for example, the management of natural resources and trust lands, economic development, education, land and water claim settlements, law enforcement, tribal courts, social services and so on. Many tribal communities have begun to work towards self-determination, that is reclaiming the authority and ability of the tribe to manage its own tribal affairs and oversee the above aspects of governance. However, self-determination depends upon tribal capacity: does it have the necessary infrastructure, resources, individuals, and knowledge to operate, for example, its own education department or Tribal Historic Preservation Office or law enforcement agency?

Consequently, capacity building involves training and educating the members of a community in a variety of roles so that community members themselves have the necessary knowledge and power with which to govern their own communities. Education and training here also refers to tribal members being trained in community methods as the goal of self-determination is not simply to gain control over governance, but to reassert tribal models and methods within the process of governance, education, and even research (see the following for examples Ball 2004; Bunten 2010; Dana Sacco 2010; Gronin and Ostergren 2007; Ishii 2010; Lee 2010; Washington 2004; Welch and Brauchli 2010). In the case of the latter, developing indigenous-centered models for research is critical for the ability of a community to direct and manage research on and about itself.

Indeed, the goal of decolonizing projects is to integrate indigenous models and methods for research into Western scientific models so that the products of that research reflect both the values of science and those of the community. As Smith (1999:39) states, this aspect of decolonization “is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes.” This is a unique kind of capacity building that empowers communities in the process of creating research and knowledge and one that is critical for Indigenous communities if they wish to understand how traditional values and worldviews can be used alongside other strategies in order to help resolve community issues ranging from high rates of health problems (Galvan 2003; Mihesuah 2005; Vernon and Thurman 2009) to issues of economic and environmental development (Anderson 2004; Bunten 2010; Goldtooth 2010; Gronin and Ostergren 2007; Hindle 2005; Smith 2007) and even education (Atalay 2006b:297-299; Ball 2004; Shield 2009; Welch and Brauchli 2010).

Conclusion: Decolonizing Discipline

Taken together, these five aspects of decolonization— *Activism, Process, Fluidity, Epistemic Decolonization*, and *Capacity Building*—provide a foundation for thinking about what it might mean to practice a decolonized scholarship. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, this field of research has only recently been applied within many academic settings. For example, at the outset of this dissertation project few sources of inspiration

existed for thinking about how to develop a decolonized archaeological practice.⁷ In fact, it is only within the last three to four years that archaeologists and Indigenous communities have begun to discuss specific ways in which we can decolonize archaeology. Certainly, indigenous archaeologies have provided numerous case studies and contexts for developing collaborative relationships with Indigenous communities, but it is only within the last five or so years that these new relationships and archaeological practices have been linked to the wider process of decolonization.

While some may argue that there is little difference between decolonizing and indigenous archaeologies, the former speaks to a larger scale project that is concerned with issues of social justice for colonized communities and which entails the systematic and critical evaluation of disciplinary practices as they relate to processes of colonialism. Indigenous archaeologies, though they share many of the same goals as decolonization, emerged out of specific archaeological contexts, namely indigenous critiques of the discipline and the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Both of these developments provided the impetus behind a reevaluation of the relationship between archaeologists and Native American communities, which resulted in an increase in collaborative relationships.

Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing acceptance of the value and necessity of collaboration with Native communities, which has perhaps allowed practitioners the opportunity to further consider how indigenous archaeologies might contribute to the decolonization of the discipline. In this way indigenous archaeologies become part of a larger project that is associated with transformative practice; that uses the theories, methodologies, and tools of the discipline for the betterment of both disciplinary practice and communities. Archaeology, as a decolonized practice, empowers the communities whose heritage it studies and uses both the process and products of research as instruments of social justice (see also Atalay 2006b).

Although some critics of archaeology may question the ability of the discipline to transcend its colonial history, I believe that archaeology has great potential in terms of contributing to decolonization. The divide between Indigenous communities and archaeologists, for example, is not so great that it impedes all dialogue or collaboration. In fact many instances of collaboration between archaeologists and communities have proved valuable to both researchers and communities (Bruchac et al. 2010; Silliman 2008a; Smith and Wobst 2005). Likewise, archaeology as a discipline concerned with the systematic recovery and interpretation of material culture provides a unique insight into the history and heritage of a community. In many cases, archaeological approaches to the past may compliment and or reveal aspects of the past that may have been obscured or entirely omitted from historic and ethnohistoric sources (Deagan 1990; Deetz 1991; LaRoche and Blakey 1999). The

⁷ The majority of discussions concerning archaeological practice and indigenous peoples relates to indigenous or community archaeology and does not specifically refer to decolonization as a process or practice. Notable exceptions include the 2007 *Archaeologies* and 2006 *AIQ* special journal issues on decolonization, Smith and Wobst 2005, and the recently published Bruchac et al. 2010.

opportunity to contribute to our understanding of the excluded pasts of those overlooked or forgotten in historical documents thus provides critical insights in the material lives of these individuals and communities.

Likewise, the ability of archaeologists to look at cultural history over the long-term makes it especially useful in terms decolonization. This diachronic perspective, combined with multiple lines of evidence at multiple scales is especially valuable here as it contributes to detailed understandings of the specific impacts of colonialism upon a communities by situating these contemporary histories according to their wider historical, cultural, political, and economic contexts (Lightfoot 1995, 2005; Rothschild 2003; Rubertone 2001, 2004). This knowledge is critical for communities working to uncover the specific processes and impacts of colonization as this knowledge provides a foundation for that community to remember, heal and transcend these histories. Similarly, though many Indigenous communities curate oral histories and oral traditions, the methods of archaeology may represent one of the only avenues a community has left in order to recover history, ancient or otherwise. Again, this knowledge of past lifeways is an essential part of a community remembering its history and even using that history or those past traditions as points from which to re-group and re-value its modern culture and identity.

Moving Forward

The previous sections in this chapter addressed decolonization as a general research practice, but what does it mean to take these ideals presented here and translate them into archaeological theory, method and practice? In the following chapter, I consider the ways in which indigenous and feminist archaeologies converge on the topic of decolonization and outline the ways in which we might use these perspectives to develop a decolonized archaeological practice. I draw upon relevant case studies from archaeology and elsewhere to demonstrate how we might foster the values of *Activism, Process, Fluidity, Epistemic Decolonization, and Capacity Building* and make them priorities in our archaeological practice.

Chapter III

Intersections at the Margins: Decolonization Indigenous and Feminist Archaeologies

Within the past twenty years feminist and indigenous critiques of archaeology have led to new ways of thinking, approaching, and writing about the past. Independently, these archaeologies and their practitioners have made significant strides towards creating a more diverse and inclusive archaeological community. Taken together, these perspectives force us to recognize the many possibilities of the past and to approach people as multi-faceted and creative, continually involved in the process of making themselves and their worlds. Despite the shared concerns of feminist and indigenous perspectives, in many ways these approaches or versions of archaeology occupy opposite sides of the margin. Their perspectives, however, are not antithetical to one another. Rather, as indicated in Chapter 1, they provide alternate, complimentary critiques of archaeology that open up dynamic spaces from within which to reexamine our research and to think about the ways in which a politically committed archaeology can matter to us and to the world.

Moving beyond critiques of archaeological practice, feminist and indigenous perspectives offer a solid basis from which to create an engaged archaeological practice that works towards resolving issues of both science (how we engage in our research) and society (how we engage others with our research and institutions). The goal of this chapter is to draw attention to the resources and inspirations that these archaeological approaches archaeologies bring to decolonization, and specifically to the interpretation and representation of indigenous colonial histories. Addressing the six features of decolonized practice, I explore how indigenous and feminist archaeologists can help us think through the nature of archaeological activist research, resolve epistemic inequalities in the interpretation of indigenous heritage, frame our relationship to indigenous and other minority and descendant communities, and build the capacity of communities to manage their own heritage. The remainder of this chapter addresses how my own work with the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project has used an Indigenous and feminist approach to understand and represent colonial history at Fort Ross State Historic Park. Specific attention here will be placed upon the utility and viability of creating a decolonized archaeology of colonialism that integrates community collaboration with public outreach.

Exploring Intersections at the Margins

Despite the commitment of researchers to empirical depth and integrity, the work we produce still occurs within the context of multiple relations of domination. Following Patricia Hill Collins (1999), looking at the intersectionality between alternative perspectives is a key component in pushing past the partialities of any vantage point, political or otherwise. Exploring the intersections between indigenous and feminist archaeologies is thus a powerful tool in overcoming our limited perspectives. The intersections, and perhaps more importantly the points at which these perspectives

diverge also provide new opportunities for interrogating the underlying assumptions, questions, and research practices that they advocate.

Though other perspectives, notably critical and Marxist archaeologies, have offered simultaneous critiques of archaeology I specifically address the overlaps of indigenous and feminist perspectives as they relate to a decolonized archaeological practice. This focus stems from one of the over-arching goals of archaeological investigations at the North Wall Community, which is to understand the nature of colonial marriage and interethnic unions at Fort Ross State Historic Park (see Chapter 6). There is a rather rich literature of specifically indigenous and feminist approaches to writing about the lives of Indigenous women, which is perhaps a result of the increasing concern in feminism with diversifying concepts of womanhood and feminist politics. Considering these rich resources and the existing overlaps between indigenous and feminist thought, exploring these specific respects relates directly to the subject matter of this dissertation.

Engaged Practices

Exploring feminist and indigenous perspectives is as much about using these intersections to better understand my specific research problems as it is about personal biography (Miheuah 2003). As academics, we are often depicted as creators of objective knowledge whose private and political lives are isolated from our academic ones. As a Mexican-American first generation college and graduate student, I find this image deeply unsatisfying. Our personal politics should not be left outside our office doors, as they provide inspiration for our research and form the basis for our other commitments within the Academy. This other work, whether it be creating curricula inspired by liberatory pedagogy, fostering campus diversity initiatives, or mentoring students is as important as theorizing the field or field of practice (Collins 2004; hooks 1990; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1983). It is from these endeavors, this institutional activism, that we can make positive contributions to universities and communities by changing mainstream practice. In terms of my own biography, feminism, postcolonialism and indigenous archaeologies have provided the tools for me to understand my discipline, to situate myself as a researcher of Indigenous histories, and define my role as an activist within these arenas.

Feminist and indigenous archaeologies represent a political engagement that merges academia with practical, social activism. As activist scholars, indigenous and feminist archaeologists often have common goals and targets for their institutional activism, such as: expanding the diversity of the archaeological community, providing support for both students and faculty from historically underrepresented backgrounds, creating social and academic support networks for students and junior faculty across departments and even universities, and promoting access to archaeology to those communities typically excluded from the university and discipline.

Within the archaeological community, feminist archaeologists have been particularly instrumental in developing an intersectional approach to institutional activism that connects traditionally feminist issues (e.g., equality for women in the work place and society) with those that concern other marginalized communities. This is perhaps a result

of Third World or Third Wave feminism that critiqued the overwhelmingly white and middle-class make-up of feminists themselves, which in turn forced feminists to understand how androcentrism and sexism works alongside and in combination with other forms of domination such as racism. In addition to inspiring new generations of feminists to consider the intersectionality of oppression and marginalization, Third Wave feminism attempts to establish cooperative activism with other oppressed social groups so as to speak to the multiple relations of domination that impact all communities, female or otherwise.

Within the context of archaeology, this intersectional approach to activism has resulted in several unique overlaps between feminist and indigenous archaeologies. For example, feminist archaeologists have been instrumental in developing a feminist, liberatory pedagogy that contributes to the empowerment of both students and communities (Conkey and Tringham 1996; Gero 1996). At institutions such as the University of California at Berkeley, feminist archaeologists Margaret Conkey and Ruth Tringham helped to create the Archaeology After-School Program at Roosevelt Middle School in Oakland. Through this program undergraduate students in archaeology and anthropology mentor youths, who are mostly from under-represented minority communities, and use archaeology as a conduit for increasing these students' media literacy. This use of pedagogy and university resources for the benefit of community education is also shared with indigenous scholars of archaeology, who have similarly developed educational programs for both tribal and local communities (Atalay 2003, 2007)

The linkages between feminist and indigenous archaeology can also be observed at the level of mentorship of indigenous and other minority archaeologists. At a department like the University of California, Berkeley, for example, archaeologists and feminists Margaret Conkey, Christine Hastorf, Rosemary Joyce, Ruth Tringham, and Laurie Wilkie have worked to create a diverse and supportive academic community both in terms of the graduate students they have helped to admit and the wider university community where several have served on diversity and equity panels. This has resulted in an incredibly diverse graduate student population that includes African-Americans, Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, Japanese-Americans, Native Americans, many first-generation college students, and several international students from countries such as Turkey and South Africa. Although it lies outside the scope of this dissertation to compare the diversity rates across all departments that offer a Ph.D. in anthropological archaeology, it is significant to note that out of a total fifteen current indigenous-identified archaeologists, the Berkeley program has produced two of these graduates and is currently mentoring four more self-identified indigenous archaeologists, not to mention those graduates, such as myself, who work on issues related to indigenous and other community archaeologies. Though this evidence is anecdotal I believe it reflects wider trends associated with feminist activism within the academy. Further inquiry into the connections between feminist archaeology and its support of indigenous and other minority archaeologists may prove especially fruitful and valid outside of this limited case study.

Nonetheless we can also see these connections at a larger, disciplinary level as many feminist and indigenous archaeologists (not to mention other archeologists located on the

margins or “fringe” such as Marxists, critical archaeologists, African-American archaeologists, etc.) have created unique partnerships and networks with one another. This cooperation is perhaps best witnessed at yearly society meetings hosted by the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) and American Anthropological Association (AAA) where members connect with one another, plan joint sessions, and support each others work.⁸ This cooperation is also reflected in the Closet Chickens listserv, comprised of a collection of indigenous scholars and those who support indigenous archaeology (see Atalay 2006a for a description of the origins of the Closet Chickens), and the Coalition for Indigenous Archaeologists (CIA), create what is, in effect, a support network for scholars whose work and personal identities still lie somewhat outside the mainstream of archaeology. These virtual and real communities allow individuals to connect with one another across institutional, and even international borders, share messages of support and encouragement, and even mobilize as a community of scholars in response to new developments (e.g., the coordinated response of CIA and Closet Chickens members to the publication of the new rules regarding Culturally Unidentifiable Human Remains by the Department of the Interior). It is perhaps no surprise that many of the archaeologists involved in these networks transcend boundaries and borders and actively identify as feminists, Marxists, critical and community archaeologists, etc.

Lest we minimize the work of individual scholars, we also see how these political commitments impact their individual research agendas. For example, Margaret Conkey’s support for indigenous and feminist archaeology is not only evidenced in her commitment to increasing indigenous perspectives in the SAA, of which she is the current President, but her own scholarship further illuminates the ways in which feminist and indigenous perspectives overlap on issues of archaeological theory and methods (e.g., Conkey 2005). Marxist, indigenous and feminist archaeologists like Randall McGuire, for example, have also explored these academic intersections while also working on issues of equity and diversity within the academic community (McGuire 2008). Amongst indigenous scholars, many indigenous archaeologists self-identify as feminist as well, and similarly use a feminist and indigenous approach in order to make sense of the lives of indigenous women both in the past and the present (2005 AAA). Taken in combination with feminist and indigenous approaches to activism, these intersectional approaches to archaeological practice have much to offer in terms of opening up the discipline of archaeology to diverse communities, perspectives, and practices.

The Limitations of a Politically Engaged Archaeology

Putting politics into practice, however, is not without criticism. This is especially true in developing decolonized research where the validity of a politically committed practice is a

⁸ Examples of these disciplinary connections include the “Feminist and Indigenous Archaeology” session at the 2005 AAA meetings in Washington, DC. This session, organized by Margaret Conkey and Sonya Atalay, brought together numerous indigenous, feminist, and Marxist archaeologists to discuss the intersections and common bonds between their research. Quite memorably, the solidarity of these archaeologists (and archaeologies) was put on display when the hotel staff tried to wrap-up the session so as to set-up for the next event, the reception for the Association for Africanist Anthropology. The head of that interest group, Martin Wobst, vociferously dissuaded the workers from interrupting the dialogue.

concern, certainly in archaeology (see McGhee 2008 for a recent critique of activist, indigenous archaeologies), as well as in other scientifically oriented disciplines (Mihesuah 2003). It is useful in this case to think about, as Alison Wylie frames it, whether or not our “research itself is just as limited in its own biases as that which it means to displace” (1993:53). Wylie (1993) responds to this question by delving into the nature of evidential constraints, arguing that the validity of knowledge claims ultimately rests upon the convergence of independent strands of evidence, not to an adherence of narrow empiricism (see also Wylie 1986, 1989, 1992, 2004). Wylie (1993, 2004) also argues that the use of politics has a positive effect upon archaeological interpretations as it encourages greater reflexivity and rigor, which lends a different kind of strength to such interpretations. The framework for producing knowledge that Wylie has developed provides a solid basis both for engaging with alternative epistemologies (i.e., contributing to the goals of epistemic decolonization outlined in later in this chapter) and using multiple, independent lines of evidence in archaeological interpretation (see Anyon 1996; Echo-Hawk 2000; Farris 1988; Galloway 1991, 2006; Lightfoot 2005, 2008 for a complimentary discussion of the integration of ethnohistories, historical records, and oral histories and oral traditions as independent lines of evidence within archaeology).

While Wylie (1986, 1989, 1992, 1993, 2004) relies upon philosophies of science and feminist standpoint theory to make her argument, Mihesuah (2003), an indigenous scholar and historian by training, takes a different approach. In response to critics who claim that re-writing the histories of North America to include Indigenous perspectives results in a relativized past without value, Mihesuah (2003) argues that the validity of historical revisions is tied to scholarly integrity. It is a scholar’s commitment to honesty and truth that allows him or her to uncover previously obscured or unacknowledged truths. These commitments also protect that work from biases that may emerge from the politically engaged nature of the scholarship. Thus, the use of political frameworks for research does not preclude a researcher’s ability to produce knowledge; rather quite the opposite may be true. Borrowing from Collins (2004) and hooks (1990) assertions that the margins provides radical spaces from which to rethink discipline, these alternative perspectives for approaching Indigenous histories provide new opportunities for understanding the linkages between methodology and practice and their potential impact upon wider social and political relationships.

Resolving Epistemic Inequalities and Injustices

Both feminist and indigenous archaeologies assert the value of multi-vocal and reflexive approaches to the past; that is they recognize that there are multiple ways of experiencing and interpreting the past and that these interpretations take place within the context of the present. Fostering multi-vocality generally involves integrating multiple perspectives into the process of research, which can be achieved through numerous methods such as community collaboration or even the use of multiple lines of evidence in order to interpret archaeological remains. Encouraging greater reflexivity usually entails detailed examinations of the specific the ways in which the present contexts of researchers directly impact the archaeological processes of discovery, interpretation, and representation

(Beaudry 1994; Cash Cash 2001; Ferguson 1996; Gero 1985, 1991, 1993, 1996; McGuire 1992, 2008; Shepherd 2003, 2006; Wolle and Tringham 2000).

Additionally, these perspectives advocate for the use of more humanistic frameworks for interpretation, which embrace understanding, lived experience, and emotion as valid ways of knowing (Watkins 2000). As Conkey (2005:16) has noted:

When we engage, as we should, with “experiences” as a dimension of interpretation, as integral to our own epistemologies, and as of powerful potential, we begin an inquiry into the ways in which subjectivity is produced, and in which politics (broadly speaking) organize and interpret experience. The lesson from feminist, other critical and Indigenous archaeologies is that we should be openly discussing what counts as experience and, furthermore, who gets to make that determination.

This emphasis upon alternate, but equally valid and legitimate epistemologies, is relevant here in that it addresses how certain frameworks for knowing (for example, lived experience and indigenous histories) have been excluded from archeological interpretation. As described in more detail in Chapter 4, the marginalization of individuals and communities in society is not solely an issue of social and cultural exclusion, but one of epistemology, or what Fricker (2003, 2006, 2007) calls an issue of epistemic injustice. It is at the level of epistemology—how we define knowledge and who has the authority to create it—that Indigenous peoples are excluded from the process of creating knowledge about themselves and their experiences.

In archaeology, we see this exclusion in terms of the reluctance of archaeologists to integrate indigenous experience and knowledge, and specifically oral histories and oral traditions into the representation of the past. Deemed unscientific these ways of knowing about the world are contrasted with other more legitimate methods for producing knowledge (i.e., the science of archaeology) (McGhee 2008, 2010; Meighan 1992). Thus the exclusion of indigenous communities from archaeology is not just a result of the lack of dialogue between Native American communities and archaeologists, or even a consequence of the low numbers of indigenous archaeologists in the field (Chanthaphonh [2010] cites only 15 self-identified Indigenous archaeologists with a Ph.D.). Rather, it is this continued labeling of indigenous epistemologies as incompatible with archaeology that is responsible for excluding these communities from archaeology at a most fundamental level (McGuire 1992; Trigger 1980; Watkins 2000; White Deer 1997; Zimmerman 2001).

When Conkey (2005:16) states that we must be “discussing what counts as experience and, furthermore, who gets to make that determination,” she is directly referencing these issues of epistemic inequality and indicating that they must be addressed in order to construct more multi-vocal and reflexive interpretations of the past. The recovery of experience and emotion as methods for understanding the past relates well to what Shepherd (in Haber and Gnecco 2007: 345-47) refers to as epistemic decolonization. Shepherd uses this term to describe two related processes: 1) understanding how the colonial contexts of archaeology gave rise to practices that distanced Indigenous peoples from their past; and 2) charting new directions forward that use alternate epistemologies as resources for

countering these colonial relationships and ultimately decolonizing archaeological thought and practice. The first of these projects requires greater reflexivity on the part of archaeologists, while the second one emphasizes that multivocality—in this case using alternate ways of knowing and approaching the world—is a critical part of reimagining future practice.

Feminist and indigenous archaeologies are important here in that they both offer concrete methods for creating more multi-vocal and reflexive approaches to the past. The literary inspirations and creations of many feminists (Anzaldúa 1983a, 1983b; hooks 1990; Joyce 1994, 2002; Joyce and Tringham 2007; Moraga 1983; Morales 1983; Moshkovich 1983; Spector 1993, 2001; Tringham 1991, 2010) demonstrate the value and utility of using personal narratives and experience in interpreting and explaining the past. These feminist approaches to narrativization help to break down traditional methods of constructing authority in archaeology by showing how traditional scientific narratives work to actively exclude other interpretations and ways of knowing about the past. Writing and narrativization are thus identified as political acts. This is what makes feminist narratives so powerful in terms of developing decolonized practices, as writing offers a medium for creatively retelling history so that individuals and communities may speak directly about their experience and of the ways in which they have been excluded and denied a voice.

Similarly, indigenous projects associated with “writing-back” and storytelling—the processes whereby individuals and communities testify to their own unique experiences and histories (Smith 1999)—further demonstrates the value of using Indigenous experience as a method for interpreting the past (see Brown 2007; Lippert 2005; Nicholas 2010; Norder 2007; Two Bears 2006, 2008). These archaeologies also highlight how the use of Indigenous epistemologies and specifically oral histories and oral traditions are important sources for understanding Native American history (e.g., Anyon 1998; Champagne 1998; DeLoria 2004; Echo-Hawk 2000; Lightfoot 2008; Loring 2001; Mihesuah 1998b; Rubertone 2000; Watkins 2000; Zimmerman 2001). Combined with collaboration between archaeologists and Native communities, reintegrating Native oral histories and traditions and ways of knowing the past into our archaeological interpretations provides the most concrete method for resolving the epistemic inequalities discussed earlier in this section.

Taken together, the critical and creative use of narratives and lived experience in feminist and indigenous archaeologies demonstrates the utility and value of integrating alternate epistemologies into our archaeological frameworks. Inclusion of these other ways of knowing are critical for reformulating archaeology’s relationship to Indigenous communities, as exclusion of these epistemologies directly contributes to the exclusion of these communities not only from archaeological practice, but also from the process of creating heritage and history. These sources of inspiration encourage archeology to make room for multiple interpretations and perspectives on heritage so that we may all better understand the diversity and complexity of both the past and present.

That many feminist and indigenous projects of writing and narrativization use alternate formats for publishing (e.g., hypermedia and hypertexts, personal narratives, fictional

narratives, other audio-visual formats, etc.) points to the possibility that digital and New Media (Manovich 2001) may be of particular use in constructing more democratic, multi-vocal and inclusive representations of indigenous heritage. In comparison to traditional print-publication formats, New Media formats allow for a greater level of flexibility and reflexivity both in terms of how an author chooses to present his or her narratives and also in terms of how audiences may respond to them. The accessibility of publishing in New Media also offers new opportunities for individuals and communities to publish their own histories and experiences. While indigenous archaeologists advocate for community-authored publications (e.g., Bendremer and Thomas 2008; Nicholas 2010; Silliman and Dring 2008), community members not trained in academic writing may find it daunting to publish in traditional academic journals. Furthermore, the style of writing in many academic print publications is not consistent with many indigenous storytelling and writing traditions; whereas, New media projects such as digital stories (e.g., Lambert 2006) may be more compatible and accessible for indigenous communities. This issue of compatibility and accessibility is important in terms of decolonization as New Media formats may help us to communicate indigenous experiences in formats that are consistent with traditional storytelling and historicizing.

Understanding Power and Practice: Critical Approaches to Process and History

Feminist and indigenous commentaries on the intersection of thought and action, theory and practice, activism and philosophy, serve to remind us that our scientific inquiries take place within specific socio-political contexts and that these contexts of research can and do impact the ways in which we practice discipline and construct interpretations. The emphasis these archaeologies place upon the analysis of the contexts of knowledge production is valuable in two ways. First, the evaluation of these contexts can reveal previously obscured or unacknowledged linkages between wider social dynamics and archaeological practices. For example, feminist analyses of androcentrism in archaeology documented the myriad ways in which specific archaeological practices resulted in the alienation of women from the discipline and gender in the archaeological record. Indigenous archaeologists have similarly highlighted the ways in which the early practice of anthropology and archaeology lent credence to larger narratives concerning what McGuire (1992) refers to as the narrative of the vanishing Indian. Taken together, such critiques have brought a new sense of awareness concerning the nature of archaeological field practice and interpretation. This has had the result of encouraging researchers to understand the unique ways in which even simple practices such as site photography and illustration or even the ways in which an archaeological dig is operated reflect the wider socio-politics and social dynamics of archaeology (Gero 1985, 1990, 1996; Perry 2009; Tringham 2009).

Second, the purpose of feminist and Indigenous critiques is not simply to further chastise archaeologists, but to inspire new ways of relating to the archaeological record. The goal of critique is thus to use this knowledge as a critical and imaginative basis for transforming disciplinary practices so that they no longer contribute to androcentric, sexist, racist, or colonialist agendas. While it may be naïve to assume that archaeology can always insulate itself from bias, using this process of critique allows us to create a dynamic archaeological

practice that can be used to resist or combat such bias as we see it emerging. This dynamism of discipline is precisely what Trouillot (2003) argues is essential if we wish to construct an anthropology of the modern world that is both critical and engaged and which contributes to change.

Indeed, indigenous and feminist critiques of practice and power dynamics provide a solid basis for creating a decolonized archaeological practice from the ground up; the ground up referring to restructuring not just our theoretical approaches to the past (which relates to the epistemic decolonization of the discipline), but the very methodologies and methods we use on the ground. The importance of examining all aspects of our practice relates to understanding how seemingly simple choices such as choosing a field crew or setting field camp policies are actually very meaningful in terms of the kinds of knowledge we are able to produce.

In terms of decolonizing archaeological practice, developing community-based research is perhaps the most important step that archaeologists can take in order to resolve the structural issues of inequality between themselves and indigenous communities. Indeed, the earliest calls for indigenous archaeology in the United States emphasized the need for greater collaboration between archaeologists and Native Americans. Collaboration, as outlined by indigenous archaeologies, depends upon the development of reciprocal, non-hierarchical relationships with indigenous communities. These relationships in turn lead to productive dialogue between archaeologists and communities and are an essential component of constructing interpretations of the past that are equally grounded in archaeological and indigenous perspectives. That such collaboration both recognizes and establishes the right and authority of communities to manage and interpret their own cultural heritage also results in a more equitable and socially just archaeological practice (Atalay 2006a, 2006b; Bruchac et al. 2010; Cash Cash 2001; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Dongoske et al. 1997; Ferguson 1996; Foster 2007; Hansen 2007; Loring 2001; Martinez 2005; Nicholas 1997; Silliman and Dring 2008; Silliman and Dring 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005; Wall 2004; Warner and Baldwin 2004; Watkins 2000).⁹

Although the exact methods that archaeologists use for community collaboration vary, many indigenous and collaborative archaeologists rely upon community-based participatory (CBPR) models for research as they provide an established set of guidelines for community collaboration. CBPR overlaps with other models for decolonized research in that both specify an active and equal role for the community in the process of research. Drawing upon indigenous and other community-based case studies, the following outlines what might constitute a decolonized archaeological research protocol:

- 1) The community helps to set the standards and protocols for research;
- 2) Research goals integrate community needs and perspectives alongside those of archaeologists;

⁹ See the following for specifically indigenous and feminist approaches to community-based research Atalay 2007; Clark 2009; Miheuah 2003; Smith 1999; Spector 2001; Tamisari 2006.

- 3) Community members that participate in community-based research are compensated for their time and work at levels consistent with other paid research consultants;
- 4) The community has rights of ownership over the products of research;
- 5) The community retains the right to restrict and or control research into specific topics;
- 6) The community helps to determine how to share and/or disseminate the results of research and takes an active role in this process;
- 7) Collaboration is envisioned as a long-term commitment to the community; and
- 8) Where possible, research strategies and field methods are developed in accordance with community perspectives on cultural heritage management;
- 9) A significant goal of research included contributing to the capacity of the community to manage its cultural resources (i.e., archaeological capacity building).

These characteristics are by no means the only possible elements of a decolonized research protocol, rather they should be viewed here a minimum set of guidelines for thinking through one's research. The importance of these protocols for research is establishing the authority and co-stewardship of communities in the process of archaeological research, from outlining the protocol to using indigenous methods for research and interpretation to the control over the resulting products. This last issue often is the most contentious aspect of a decolonized research agenda (specifically characteristics four through six), as it asserts the rights of a community to bar research or limit publication of research on topics they deem too sensitive. While archaeologists must certainly maintain their commitment to honesty and integrity, these commitments also need to be balanced with the community's own rights of ownership over its tangible and intangible cultural heritage.¹⁰

Yet, is community collaboration alone enough to resolve these issues of inequality? Might there be other factors archaeologists need to address in order to create more multi-vocal approaches to and interpretations of the past? Although community collaboration implies equal collaboration between research partners, it does not necessarily entail equal collaboration amongst *all* project participants. In fact, feminist critiques of archaeological

¹⁰ During the 2008 World Archaeological Congress Plenary "Decolonizing Archaeology" a significant topic of debate concerned the ethics of withholding publication concerning sensitive cultural data. Many expressed their concern that a researcher's commitment to integrity and truth could be compromised, for example, if a community refused the researcher the right to publish material that—even if factually truthful—might portray the community negatively or subvert modern political claims. Indeed, archaeologists engaged in community collaboration face unique ethical dilemmas that deserve legitimate and thoughtful consideration. It should be noted that indigenous and collaborative archaeologies are beginning to discuss and debate the ethics of collaborative research. One such case being the 2009 Society for American Archaeology session "The Life of a Project: Negotiating the Practicalities and Ethics of Collaborative research" organized by myself and Michael Wilcox of Stanford University.

field work (Joyce and Preucel 2002; Pyburn n.d.) demonstrate how a hierarchical field structure can result in equally hierarchical and univocal interpretations of the past (Joyce and Tringham 2007). In a sense, the internal hierarchy of a field project acts to censure multi-vocal interpretations in that the interpretations of individual field workers are filtered through crew chiefs, whose own reports are filtered through specialists whose own reports are again filtered through the project director(s).

Breaking down hierarchy must thus occur at both a community and project level so that the structure of the project itself does not act as an impediment to the construction of more multi-vocal representations of the past. The issue of hierarchy as examined by feminists also has a direct bearing upon how we define and implement community collaboration itself. Many question what makes community collaboration. Does it literally involve all community members, a select few individuals, or even just one community representative? Also, how are collaborators chosen or identified and how do collaborators interact and engage with the entire project? We must also be aware of how communities deal with varying perspective amongst their members—how do they incorporate (or perhaps even exclude) individual voices or perspectives on research? Is there a way to ensure that a diversity of opinions within and outside of each community (indigenous, archaeological, local, etc.) are represented and considered in the process of research? These questions are exceedingly relevant for examining the effectiveness of collaboration between archaeologists and indigenous, or even other communities.

It is important that we distinguish between community consultation and community collaboration. The former references legal requirements for consultation under such laws as Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act and the National Historic Preservation Act, while the latter speaks to sustained engagement with a community at multiple levels. Successful collaboration is not the notification of a community of your research, but the involvement of that community in establishing and defining the nature and scope of that research. This is not to say that negotiating collaboration is easy—it is not—or that collaboration with one community, say a federally recognized tribe, will mirror the process of collaboration used with a non-federally recognized tribe or even a local community. In fact, the structural differences between communities often necessarily entails that researchers use different processes of collaboration, but the spirit of that process remains the same: to empower a community in the process of research.

Building Capacity

It is through the previously discussed efforts of feminist and indigenous archaeologists to diversify the archeological community, our research, and approaches to the past that the ranks of archaeologists have slowly began to mirror the community at large. These efforts contribute to the ability of archaeologists and archaeology to develop the capacity of communities to manage their heritage. Archaeological capacity building is thus composed of multiple elements, which include greater training for indigenous peoples in archaeological method and theory and the integration of indigenous perspectives into that method and theory through such means as epistemic decolonization and community-based research partnerships.

Indigenous and feminist efforts to increase training and mentorship of indigenous scholars in archaeology plays a critical role in building the capacity of Native American tribes to oversee and manage their cultural resources. Current federal and state legislation regarding the management of tribal cultural and environmental resources enables federally recognized tribes to manage these tribal resources through the operation of a Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO). THPO's assume responsibilities typically assumed by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), which include managing databases of archaeological information and commenting on the impact of development upon cultural heritage resources. Still, the ability of a tribe to operate its own THPO is dependent upon its capacity; capacity in this case referring to having tribal members who are adequately trained in archaeology and cultural heritage laws, and have the knowledge necessary to make decisions regarding the disposition of cultural resources, as well as oversee all archaeological work on tribal territories. Given the low number of Native American professional archaeologists, this means that communities often lack the capacity to directly manage their archaeological resources (Haber and Gnecco 2007; Nicholas 2006; Two Bears 2006; Watkins 2000). This fact is reflected in the numbers of THPOs currently operated in the United States and in California, which as of September 2010 is 102 and 19, respectively (NATHPO).¹¹ For reference there are 565 federally recognized tribes in the U.S., and 103 in California (Federal Register 2010). Viewed in this context, the creation of indigenous cultural resource management courses and programs, such as those established at Northern Arizona University and the University of Oregon, represents a concrete contribution that archaeology can make to community decolonizing projects.

There is another important way in which an indigenous and feminist archaeology might contribute to the capacity of a tribe to manage its resources and that is through the development of indigenous-centered heritage management plans. As stated above, current state and federal heritage management legislation such as the National Historic Preservation mandates archaeology as a primary tool in evaluating the significant of historic and cultural tribal resources. The problems for tribes is that the practice of archaeology often runs counter to indigenous perspectives on the management of heritage, usually through the perceived destructive impact of field and laboratory work, both socially and materially (see for example Cash 2001; Dowdall and Parrish 2003; Hunter 2004, 2008; Ladd 2001; Mihesuah 2000; Parrish et al. 2000). Tribal communities thus often struggle to make archaeology work *for* and *in accordance* with tribal values and worldviews.

One of the results of collaboration between archaeologists and indigenous communities is the development of alternate methodologies and research practices that bring together scientific and indigenous approaches to the past (Bray 2001; Croes 2010; Dongoske et al. 2000; Silliman 2008; Silliman and Ferguson 2010; Smith and Wobst 2005; Swidler et al. 1997; Warner and Baldwin 2004). Such collaboration offers new opportunities for archaeologists and communities to design frameworks for research and archaeological methodologies that integrate indigenous perspectives on heritage management. This

¹¹ As of January 2011, the Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation has officially opened its own THPO, bringing this number to a total number of 20 THPOs in the state of California.

transformation of archaeological practice so that it adheres to indigenous research values in turn creates an exciting possibility in regards to developing indigenous-centered heritage management plans. For example, the use of low-impact research methodologies that repurpose the tools and methods of archaeology in order to make them compatible with indigenous methods for understanding and managing the past have much to offer in terms of an indigenized and decolonized archaeological practice (Gonzalez et al. 2006; Lightfoot 2006a, 2006b; Schneider 2010). Such reconfigurations of archaeology serve to strengthen community values and, importantly, demonstrate how important archaeology can be to indigenous communities.

Discussion: Thinking through a Decolonized Archaeology of Colonialism at Fort Ross, CA

Throughout the course of this chapter I have outlined the ways in which we might try to decolonize our archaeological practice and identified how such a goal can be beneficial to both indigenous communities and our discipline. In subsequent chapters I explore, in detail, how we have attempted to integrate the values of *Process, Fluidity, Epistemic Decolonization, Activism, and Capacity Building* into The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project. Here I briefly summarize four elements of this project that foster these goals.

1) A Community-Based Approach to the Archaeology of Colonialism

This project relies upon a community-based participatory framework for collaboration, which establishes all collaborators as equally responsible for determining the process, practice, and outcomes of archaeological research through KPITP. This framework is fundamental for ensuring that the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians is an equal steward in the project, as well as in the management of their heritage at Fort Ross. It is from this foundation that project participants have been able to develop both professional and personal relationships with one another, which allow for collaborators to freely share and contribute to the development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail (Chapter 6).

2) Holistic Approach to the Archaeology of Colonialism

This project employs a holistic, diachronic, and broadly comparative approach to the archaeology of colonialism (Lightfoot 1995, 2005; Rothschild 2003; Silliman 2004; Voss 2008). This approach relies upon the critical integration of multiple lines of evidence—archaeological, historical, environmental, archaeological, etc.—at multiple scales of analysis in order to interpret the long-term impact of European colonialism upon Kashaya history and heritage at Fort Ross. As such KPITP builds upon over twenty years of archaeological research at Fort Ross, which has investigated the variety of indigenous colonial experiences at the colony. This research has documented how differences in status, employment, residence, proximity to the colonial center, and colonial intermarriage all contributed to unique experiences for the different indigenous communities who were attached to Fort Ross.

In the context of this of this project, using a holistic approach not only contributes to more robust interpretations of Kashaya heritage at Fort Ross, but is also an essential component

for integrating Kashaya epistemologies into the interpretation and public representation of their heritage. Although some have criticized the validity of using Native oral histories and oral traditions in archaeological interpretation, combined with historical and archaeological lines of evidence, these lines of evidence have provided a powerful lens for better understanding the variety of perspectives and experiences of colonialism at Fort Ross (Farris 1988; Lightfoot 2008b). Furthermore, recognizing the value of oral histories and oral traditions is an essential component of epistemic decolonization, both in how we interpret Kashaya heritage (Chapters 5-7) and how we represent it through the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail (Chapters 3-4).

3) Public Archaeology as Decolonization

KPITP takes an integrative approach to the archaeology of colonialism, which merges academic and social concerns. The project has two basic goals: 1) to increase our understanding of the dimensions and variety of Kashaya experiences of colonialism at Fort Ross and 2) to integrate this information directly into the public interpretation of Fort Ross State Historic Park. In regards to the first goal, our archaeological research contributes to our academic understandings of colonial encounters and the diversity of indigenous responses to and experiences of Russian, as well as mercantile colonialism. This research also serves another goal, that of recovering knowledge relating to Kashaya history and traditions. As discussed previously, archaeologies of colonialism are particularly positioned to help communities understand the specific processes and impacts of colonialism. The knowledge we produce can thus be a vital resource for communities, assisting them in their own projects of decolonization.

The second goal, that of creating the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, indicates our desire to both increase the knowledge of the public concerning archaeology and the Kashaya, and to use the venue of public outreach to contribute to the decolonization of heritage at Fort Ross (Chapters 3-4).

4) Contributing to an Indigenous-Centered Heritage Management Plan at FRSHP

KPITP explores how the practice of archaeology can contribute to the capacity of the Kashaya to manage their cultural resources. Although the community has significant concerns about the use of a technique that is potentially destructive and spiritually dangerous (Chapter 6), collaboration has identified ways in which the practice of archaeology can be made into a safe and effective heritage management tool. We have thus worked with the tribe to develop a low-impact methodology for the study of Kashaya ancestral sites.

Conclusion:

Part of the value of an indigenous and feminist approach to archaeology, and specifically to decolonization, is the varied ways in which each of these perspectives offer new avenues of inquiry and activism. Already, the convergence of feminist and indigenous activism in archaeology has shown how important it is for archaeologists on the margins to work together to help transform the face of the archaeological discipline. Continued exploration of these margins as they relate to the practice and formulation of decolonizing research has

much to offer both to the wider discipline of archaeology and to dialogues concerning decolonizing methodologies.

PART II:
CREATING TRAILS FROM TRADITIONS

Imprints: Past, Present, Future

On what seems like a remote stretch of the California coastline, a rough-hewn stockade overlooks the Pacific Ocean. Its timbers stand tall while military blockhouses hide stocky canons, on watch for invisible enemies. Inside the parade ground of the stockade, redwood plank houses with whitewashed window frames look out onto a dried-up well. A Chapel, tucked into a corner, beckons with its bell. Once a thriving agricultural settlement and mercantile outpost, *Selenie Ross* is now a picturesque California State Historic Park: Fort Ross. Gone are the neighborhoods where the colony's ethnically diverse residents lived. The crafting workshops and warehouses stand no longer and the beach—once the launch pad for Alutiiq, Chugach, Unangan, Dena'ina, and Tlingit hunters—is now home to sea-shell gathering tourists. The only enduring reminders of California's Russian venture are the park's visitor center, its small museum, and the impressive reconstruction of the Russian stockade complex.

With its high walls and countless canons, Fort Ross State Historic Park has become a fortress on the Sonoma coast. This belies the reality of the colony's main purpose, which was to secure fur seal and sea otter pelts, as well as supply the Russian American Company's (RAC) colonies in Alaska with grains and other craft products. The lives and histories of those who once lived outside the stockade are also trapped within the fort's shadows, overlooked and almost forgotten by a landscape that shows no signs of its former communities and households. What is remembered is a spectacle of military prowess and defense; the sounds of children firing canons, the ghosts of colonists on night-watch.

My field crew leads the first tour of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. Nervous and anxious we walk around the stockade, pointing out the unrepresented landscape of *Selenie Ross*. We begin to relax and regroup. I listen as the students begin to guide visitors out onto the coastal terrace, introducing them to a new landscape. Everyone listens attentively. "This was like a huge playground for children, a place where they could run free while their mothers and aunties and grandmothers told stories. This is where you would learn, your outdoor schoolhouse, a place filled with history and memories and stories." I smile and think of yesterday when Violet and Vivian told us some of these stories.

Chapter IV

Making the Museum Matter: A Framework for Public Archaeology and Heritage

Fort Ross State Historic Park (FRSHP) is not unique in how it seeks to educate visitors about its history and heritages. Like other interpretive environments that create a place in which cultural and natural heritage is represented, the park draws upon a similar set of methods to educate its visiting public about the cultures, histories and people who are connected to and by this place. And while these representations of heritage may not be designed to be political, they nonetheless generate and contribute to commentaries on the social and political contexts in which they were and are created (Stone 2000:283). The power to interpret and represent carries with it the responsibility of creating definitions of heritage; definitions that can alternately be used to include or exclude particular understandings of the past, and by extension, the communities and individuals who hold them.

In this chapter I explore the burgeoning field of public archaeology, which is concerned with using archaeology as a basis for constructing heritage representations. I provide a brief overview of the growing outreach-imperative in archaeology, focusing on how debates over our intended messages have led public archaeologists to create interpretations of heritage that challenge popular misconceptions of the past. As archaeologists increasingly enter into the realm of designing interpretive environments, understanding the underlying debates and techniques of representation and exhibition is imperative. I thus draw upon debates in museology concerning the relationship between museums and communities in order to outline interpretive methods that archaeologists can draw upon in order to create culturally and politically mindful heritage representations. The goals of this discussion are to 1) create an awareness of the contexts in which we produce heritage representations; 2) identify the dominant trends associated with constructing more democratic, inclusive, and multi-vocal representations of the past in archaeology; and 3) foreground the methods we have used to decolonize and indigenize representations of Kashaya heritage through the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. This chapter will outline the first two stated goals, while Chapter 5, the succeeding chapter, will address how these issues relate to the formulation of the interpretive trail.

Making Archaeology Public: Public Archaeology

In 1996 the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) adopted a revised statement of professional ethics. In addition to stressing archaeologists' role as stewards of the past, the *Principles of Archaeological Ethics* identified Accountability, Public Education and Outreach, and Public Reporting and Publication as three of the society's eight principles (SAA Ethics in Archaeology Committee 1995; Lynott and Wylie 1995a, 1995b). The result of this revision is clear: archaeologists are beholden to the public and ethically bound to inform them of their research. The ensuing growth of public archaeology as a distinct sub-field

within the discipline, as well as the proliferation of outreach programs and activities undertaken by both professional and academic archaeologists, not to mention federal and state departments or professional organizations such as the SAA, is a direct reflection of these new ethical commitments (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008).

In the following section I observe how debates over the messages of public archaeology help us to identify what exactly our primary objectives are in taking on outreach initiatives and engaging with the wider public. While early proponents of public outreach in archaeology focused upon garnering increased appreciation for and understanding of archaeological resources and their need for preservation, contemporary approaches tend to highlight how archaeology can be used to create more democratic, inclusive and reflexive representations of heritage.

Defining our Messages

Certainly, these ethical directives have encouraged archaeologists to don several new hats: the educator, interpretive specialist, graphic designer, public relations officer, marketing professional, and not least of all, storyteller. Likewise, as archaeologists have begun to create their own outreach, interpretive or educational programs, new questions have arisen that force us to think through everything from the methods of interpretive design to how we handle the diverse learning styles of our audiences. What is our core message? How will we communicate this or these messages to the public? And how can we create an interpretive project that is mindful of the ways in which people learn, yet is still engaging enough for our audiences?

Out of these questions, asking what the core message of public outreach, or public archaeology is, or rather *should be*, is the most important step in crafting an interpretive environment. Not surprisingly it has also been a source of continued debate in archaeology at large. Francis McManamon (1994:63), the National Parks Service's former head archaeologist, forcefully argued that public archaeology should be a central part of archaeological practice in the 21st century, "as an active, informed public, supportive of archaeology and archaeological preservation, can serve as an invaluable source of political, voluntary, and economic backing." Seizing upon the demonstrated interest of the public in archaeology—evidenced by the immense popularity of fictional archaeologists Indiana Jones and Lara Croft—McManamon asserted that the discipline has a unique opportunity to engage the public and instill amongst them a preservationist ethic.

He also warned against confusing our messages:

Although local, community-specific messages are essential to successful public education, [our messages] should directly or indirectly make general points related to the value of archaeological resources, the care that must be used when studying these resources and the non-renewable, often fragile, nature of archaeological remains (McManamon 1994:65).

Public archaeology for McManamon, is thus a kind of self-preservation strategy: a better educated public will not loot sites, will advocate for better funding of archaeological research, and will act as proto-stewards of the archaeological record.

Although McManamon rightfully acknowledged the importance of public outreach and education in contemporary archaeological practice, his advocacy for an overarching preservationist message raises concerns. As Cornelius Holtorf (2000:214) observes in his reply to McManamon (2000a), “archaeologists are not all willing to transmit the same ‘messages’ to their audiences, nor do they necessarily see themselves as ‘messengers at all.” Holtorf (2001) further disagrees with McManamon’s (2000a) characterization of the archaeological record as a non-renewable resource, indicating that the desire to protect a “fragile” past is deeply rooted within our own western cultural values. Though most archaeologists, especially those involved in public outreach, wouldn’t argue against using such opportunities to discourage the looting of sites, to advocate a strong preservationist ethic creates unique problems.

First, preservation refers to a specific heritage management plan that manages resources by attempting to preserve them intact by halting all natural and cultural transformational processes (Head 2000). Second, to focus solely upon a preservationist ethic, and thereby management strategy, privileges preservation above other, alternate conservation ethics and strategies. It is important that we understand the range of conservation ethics in managing heritage, especially in North America where the vast majority of sites that archaeologists work with are Native American ancestral sites and sacred places. In many cases tribal governments have developed their own management plans, which do not take an interventionist approach such as that advocated by preservationists (for examples of indigenous heritage management strategies see Applin 2002; Eloundou and King 2003; Ferguson and Anyon 2001; Fuller 1997; Jackson and Stevens 1997; Ladd 2001; and Martin 1997). In many indigenous heritage management strategies, sites are often left alone to degrade and return to the earth, something that would be considered bad policy within a strict preservation ethic. Thus, adopting a strong preservationist message would, as Holtorf (2000, 2001) notes, serve to alienate alternative views of heritage management and needlessly limit dialogues concerning the complexity of caring for heritage resources.

Holtorf (2000:215) thus argues that we should not use public archaeology to indoctrinate within the public a singular version of the past, nor a specific view of its management in the present. Rather, the goal of archaeologists should be to represent the diversity of views on the archaeological record. Furthermore, Holtorf (2000) argues that by engaging with multiple versions of the past and alternative approaches to archaeology, public archaeology has an opportunity to explore how different perspectives and approaches can be used to examine archaeological data in complimentary ways. Within this perspective, the public archaeologist allows audiences to form their own opinions on what heritage is and how it should be managed into the future.

McManamon (2000b) at least partially rejected this vision of public archaeology, indicating that archaeologists have a responsibility to draw distinctions between “real” and “fake”

archaeology. Discussing the dangers of pseudo-archaeology and looting, he goes on to identify the danger of admitting the validity of alternative perspectives in archaeology:

Another perspective is one that so undervalues scientific approaches to the investigation of archaeological sites that its proponents object to any such study and work actively to block such investigations. Unfortunately, some aboriginal people in some parts of the world have adopted this perspective...All those who wish to learn about the past using archaeological data and investigations should be prepared to object to this alternative perspective (200b:218).

McManamon indicates here that any form of archaeology or view on heritage that attempts to preserve the archaeological record *from* archaeologists is both antithetical to archaeology and an illegitimate perspective. Where alternative perspectives on the value of heritage resources and the role of archaeology in preserving and/or documenting them exist, McManamon essentially labels them dangerous, and therefore, unworthy of being communicated to the public.

The views expressed by McManamon (2000a, 200b) can be viewed as an alienating, or exclusive, form of stewardship, wherein archaeologists are privileged as the sole authoritative and legitimate stewards of the past. In having the authority to document and manage the past, archaeologists are also positioned as the rightful interpreters of the archaeological record, a record that they need not be directly affiliated with or connected to. This effectively places archaeologists in direct opposition to descendant and/or indigenous communities are labeled simply stakeholders under this rubric.

As Zimmerman's (1995) review of the SAA's stewardship principle shows, advocating for an exclusive concept of stewardship is divisive and potentially serves to further cement, in the minds of the public, that archaeologists are the rightful custodians of the archaeological record. This unnecessarily alienates the people whose heritages are preserved in that record and impedes their ability to speak for and about their own pasts. Observing the need for archaeologists to accept these communities as rightful custodians of their own heritage, Zimmerman (1995:73) notes:

Archaeologists must recognize that there are other legitimate agendas about the past than their own...Perhaps a necessary archaeological task should be to seek the overlap between various archaeological agendas and those of others. A Guiding Principle might be that it is important to learn about the distant past, in all its versions, using every method possible. This would be true Accountability and Service.

Indeed, the emphasis that McManamon (1994, 2000a, 2000b) places upon a singular vision of archaeology, preservation, and stewardship obscures the collaborative nature of archaeological work (Silliman and Ferguson 2010) and needlessly dichotomizes archaeology and alternative perspectives on heritage (Wylie 2005). With public outreach we have the opportunity to educate the public not only about the value of archaeology or

what it can tell us about the past, but also the complexity of issues such as stewardship, conservation, and alternate methods for approaching and valuing heritage.

Democratizing our Messages: Indigenous, Feminist and Marxist Sources of Inspiration

The exchange between McManamon (2000a, 200b) and Holtorf (2000) on the nature of public archaeology's message reflects the levels of debate concerning the nature and scope of public outreach in archaeology. Their respective positions concerning whether or not archaeologists engaged in outreach should have a unified message is representative of the growth of post-processual archaeologies within the wider discipline of archaeology. The current emphasis on multi-vocality, lived experience, reflexivity, and diversity, however, owes as much to post-processual perspectives as it does to feminist, Marxist, and indigenous archaeologies. In the following, I briefly examine the contributions of these sub-fields as they relate to archaeology's growing interest in understanding the socially and politically charged nature of heritage representations. As this dissertation is concerned with constructing an intersectional approach to the archaeology of colonialism (as was discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3), considering the overlaps among these varied perspectives is especially valuable for showing how these independent strands of archaeology can contribute to the construction of inclusive, multi-vocal, and democratic representations of the past.

Feminist archaeologies, for example, have been instrumental in dissecting the processes of archaeological interpretation and narrativization, demonstrating how we construct authority and privilege in our everyday practices as scientists. Contributing to feminist critiques of science (e.g., Fricker 2007; Haraway 1991; Harding 1986; Longino 1987), feminist scholars in archaeology document how the knowledge we produce in our discipline is situated and constructed through the specific contexts in which we work. Contemporary ethnographies of archaeology demonstrate how these contemporary contexts are implicated in everything we do, from our practices on the ground, to our work in the lab, and even in the words we produce about the past (see Beaudry and White 1994; Conkey 1993; Conkey and Gero 1991; Conkey and Spector 1984; duCros and Smith 1993b; Gero 1985, 1990, 1991, 1993; Moser 2007; Tomášková 2007; Wylie 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 2004, 2007). Projects aimed at understanding how we create narratives about the past have also raised important questions about how we write, showing how the methods we use to write about the past and communicate this past to our chosen audiences are inextricably connected to frameworks the discipline uses to create authority and legitimacy (e.g., Conkey 2007; Gero 2007; Joyce 1994, 2002; Joyce and Tringham 2007; Spector 1993, 2001; Tringham 1994, 2009).

Similarly, the critiques of Marxist and critical archaeologies regarding ideology and knowledge construction have created a renewed awareness for understanding the context of knowledge production, and using this knowledge to expose dominant ideologies such as class ideology and the naturalness of capitalism. Mark Leone and P.B. Potter's work at Annapolis, Maryland is particularly valuable here, as the project has attempted to fuse public archaeology with their concern about how narratives about the past are used to support the construction of ideology in the present. The public outreach programs at

Annapolis are an instrumental part of the project's goal of raising consciousness; they directly educate the public about how the heritage at Annapolis reflect the legacy of capitalist ideology, deconstructing for them how simple elements such as gardens were used to inscribed class differences among the residents of Annapolis (Potter and Leone 1992; Potter 1997; Yamin 1997). By uniting theory (a critical approach to archaeology) and practice (using the products of this approach to change how people view capitalism today), the work of Marxist and critical archaeologists provides a framework for taking an integrated and practical approach to archaeology, one that attempts to use the knowledge generated by the discipline for a public good.

Indigenous and community archaeologies have likewise endorsed a practical, or applied, approach to archaeology, which integrates community concerns with archaeological practice. Defined by Nicholas as *archaeologies done by, with, and for indigenous communities* (Nicholas 1997), indigenous archaeologies collectively assert the value of reciprocal collaboration between Native Americans and archaeologists and argue for the reintegration of native oral histories and oral traditions and native perspectives into archaeological narratives (Champagne 1998; Deloria 1992; Loring 2001; Rubertone 2000; Silliman and Ferguson 2010; Swidler et al. 1997; Watkins 2000). Taken together, these archaeologies prompted a reevaluation of the ways in which western science contributes to the colonization of indigenous bodies and epistemologies (e.g., Watkins 2000; Zimmerman 2001) and have advocated for the increased representation of indigenous peoples in archaeology as an essential component of empowering Native communities to take control over the documentation and interpretation of their heritage.

Together, the shared emphasis that feminist, Marxist and indigenous archaeologies have placed on alternative—but equally valued and legitimate epistemologies—has encouraged archaeology to embrace multiple interpretations of and perspectives on the past. Rather than treating the past as a lifeless and homogenous entity full of “faceless blobs” (Tringham 1991), these archaeologies have also forced us to think of and approach the past as part of a dynamic tradition, multiply known and experienced—both then and now. The fact that these archaeological practices are typified by the use of a more humanistic approach to science translates into narratives that are based in understanding and emotion as valid ways of knowing—and presenting—the past. This has resulted in a greater appreciation of and desire to communicate to our audiences, both academic and public, the unseen stories and experiences that archaeology so often can't provide direct knowledge of, but which we can imagine. These trends have encouraged the community of archaeologists at large to use their creativity and imaginations in communicating the past to the public (Hamilakis et al. 2009; Joyce and Tringham 2007; Perry 2009; Spector 2001; Tringham 2010).

Reflecting Diversity and Community in Public Archaeology

Perhaps nowhere else have the trends discussed in the previous section—multi-vocality, reflexivity, inclusivity, collaboration, practical action—reverberated more than within the distinct sub-field of public archaeology. With the establishment of new journals (*Journal of Heritage Management*; *Public Archaeology*, *Journal of Social Archaeology*) as well as numerous volumes dedicated to the social and interpretive contexts of archaeology (e.g.,

Chiarulli et al. 2000; Jameson 1997, 2004; Jameson and Baugher 2007; Merriman 1999; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Smardz and Smith 2000; Stone 1994; Stone and Molyneaux 1994; Stone and Planel 1999; Rubertone 2008), public archaeology has become one of the fastest growing areas of interests in the discipline, not to mention an integral component of archaeological projects in the 21st century. For example, with each passing year, more and more sessions at conferences hosted by the Society for American Archaeology, Society for Historical Archaeology, and American Anthropological Association are dedicated to exploring public outreach and community and educational partnerships between archaeologists and the public.

Much of this discussion and literature centers upon the social and political implications of heritage representations and explores the methods that public archaeologists have used to construct more democratic, inclusive and reflexive representations of the past (see for examples Jameson 2004; Jameson and Baugher 2007a; Merriman 1999; Stone 1994; Stone and Molyneaux 1994; Rubertone 2008). Attempting to counter lifeless or didactic displays of archaeological materials, these volumes re-conceptualize interpretive environments as public spaces in which meaning and heritage are produced. The individual chapters within the above volumes thus focus on the strategies their authors have used in order to create representations that reflect the contingent and contextual nature of archaeological interpretation.

Much like advocates for information literacy who argue for teaching people the basic tools to critically assess media products (e.g., Center for Media Literacy; Tyner 1998, 2010), advocates of this approach in public archaeology argue for increasing the archaeological literacy of the public. By communicating the ways in which archaeology creates meaning about the past, these authors argue that we can achieve a greater service; that of giving the public the tools with which to inquire about and understand how representations of past are created, whether they be archaeological, fictional, or educational (see for detailed examples of this narrative approach Kwas 2000; Merriman 1999a; Potter 1997). Proponents of these interpretive presentations argue that the public can more closely relate to messages concerning the diversity of and ways of knowing about the past, than they can to didactic messages intended to foster a strong stewardship and preservationist ethic.

Indeed, the importance of community partnerships in current public archaeologies cannot be overstated, as a vast majority of them feature community-based participation and/or have been generated as a result of such collaborations (e.g., Atalay 2007; Bender 1999; Birt 2004; Clark 2009; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Hantman 2008; Hoobler 2006; Jameson and Baugher 2007a; Julien 2008; Loring 2001; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Wilson 2007;). There is a certain overlap here with the growth of Indigenous and community archaeologies, which have prompted archaeologists to collaborate more closely with communities on research projects that give them direct input into the interpretation and representation of their heritage (Atalay 2007; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Hantman 2004; Rubertone 2008b).

These moves towards highlighting an archaeology-as-process message and integrating community perspectives into heritage representations are illustrative of the response of archaeologists to critiques concerning the nature and power of representing culture. In fact, many of the emerging trends in public archaeology can be traced to ongoing debates within museum studies, which as a discipline has thoroughly dissected the relationship between representations and the formation of identity: civil, national, and cultural. Whether through their roles as creators and curators of heritage or a result of their place within civil society, museums have been at the forefront of discussions concerning the meaning and methods of interpreting and exhibiting culture, history, and heritage. Exploring this literature provides an alternate, and useful, means of situating public archaeology's emerging trends towards inclusivity, democracy, and multi-vocality.

The Rise of the Democratic Museum

Within the last twenty years, critics of the museum—academics, museologists, and indigenous and minority communities—leveled intense criticism of the colonial legacies of museums (Atalay 2006a; Hilden and Huhndorf 1999; Lonetree and Cobb 2008). These internal and external critiques often deconstruct the museum environment itself, dissecting how narratives are constructed through the interplay of displayed objects, the tangible interpretations proffered in exhibits, and the implied understandings communicated by that which is not directly stated (or exhibited), but which are perceived by the museum visitor (Cooper 1997). This literature also systematically examines how all levels of the museum, from acquisitions and education departments to exhibitions and staffing, have alienated minority perspectives in the interpretation of cultural heritage (e.g., Clifford 1997; McLoughlin 1999; Merriman and Poovaya-Smith 1996).

Some of the most scathing evaluations of museums emerged in regards to museums in colonial nations (see Gaither 1992; Harper 2000; Hilden and Huhndorf 1999; Lonetree and Cobb 2008; McLoughlin 1999; Simpson 2001). Mazel and Gaby (1994), for example, provide a detailed analysis of how national and regional museums in South Africa lent credence to apartheid rule through their material contents and exhibition practices. Similarly, reviews of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. expounded upon the negative connotations implied in the displays of Native American history in the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) (e.g., Cooper 1997; McGuire 1992; Trigger 1980, 1989). While the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in 2004 signifies a change in exhibition practices and strategies, the colonial legacy of the collections curated by the NMAI is not likely to fade into memory (Lonetree and Cobb 2008; Simpson 2001). Indeed, these legacies are continually brought to light as objects of cultural patrimony are displayed that had been acquired through site looting, grave robbing, and other dubious means (see for a discussion of the trauma associated with the collection and display of such objects Bray and Killion 1994; Harper 2000). The continued debate over the repatriation of the human remains of ancestors and items of cultural patrimony has amplified these debates, leading many indigenous peoples to question the value of colonial institutions such as the museum (Bray 2001; Hilden and Huhndorf 1999; Swidler et al. 1997).

These negative evaluations are revisited here not to further chastise museums, but in order to call attention to the continued implications of displaying cultural patrimony, especially that associated with minority communities. Following Galla (1997) it is important that we recognize and place into context these critiques in terms of the struggle of these communities to gain legal, political, and cultural legitimacy, autonomy, and sovereignty. Without this framing the “heritage debate”—characterized by a concern with museum representations and understanding the role of the museum in civil society—appears as a superficial dispute over meaningless institutions and images. The following discussion of the heritage debate is intended here to call attention to the power of representation—more accurately phrased as the power *to* represent—as a meaningful process that is inextricably tied to the contemporary situation of Indigenous and other minority communities.

Representations in museum contexts are caught up within wider webs of meaning related to the creation of value and distinction within society. As Karp states:

The discussion of the poetics and politics of museum display illustrate how the selection of knowledge and the presentation of ideas and images are enacted within a power system. The sources of power are derived from the capacity of cultural institutions to classify and define peoples and societies. This is the power to represent: to reproduce structures of belief and experience through which cultural differences are understood (1992:1).

The role of museums in making and reproducing society, however, is obscured when we see it simply as representing what already exists, or to borrow the words of Witcomb: “Museums need to be understood not as institutions which represent communities and cultures—which create a ‘place for all of us’—but as institutions which actually *produce* the very notions of community and culture” (2003:80). As an arbiter of meaning, the role of the museum is thus to produce images of culture and heritage that are to be consumed outside of its walls; images that serve to reproduce society according to the values imbued in them.

The museum can thus be thought of as an instrument of civil society, a site of active cultural production—or as Clifford (1997) has called it, a “contact zone”—wherein a series of power relations and certain threads of meaning are shaped and asserted (Witcomb 2003:89). The walls of the museum provide a dynamic space in which assertions of legitimacy, dominance, periphery, and inclusion take place. In other words, this is a space for articulating and reproducing the ideas and values of a civil society. As individuals and citizens process the representations offered by the museum, they bear witness to definitions of themselves and others, internalizing or rejecting the explicit (or tacit) messages of the museum.

Museums, however, are also contested arenas in which social ideas and values are continually asserted, contested, reworked, and reproduced (Merriman 1999b). Though museums and curators may intend to convey specific messages for visitors, people are not passive consumers, but active participants in the construction of civil society. Quite simply, a museum cannot impose its meanings upon an unwilling audience. Yet, as a civil institution—a sanctioned instrument of civil society whose primary function it is to

represent civil society *to* civil society—its exhibits and meanings are imbued with authority and legitimacy. The ability of the individual to reject the meanings offered is consequently limited by the perceived authority of the museum's products.

What we see here is the interplay between the meanings generated by museums and those understandings held by the visitor who may not have a direct say in how her or his community is represented within the museum. The discrepancies between these meanings and the foundations from which they are constructed often point to what Fricker (2003, 2006, 2007) calls epistemic injustices, which result from unequal access to the process of meaning making. Epistemic injustices occur on two levels: the level of the credible witness or knower (testimonial injustice), and the level of the knowledge producer (hermeneutic injustice) (Fricker 2007). To be a credible witness, one must have the necessary credibility and authority in order to have others believe their testimony (for a discussion of the importance of claiming and testimony in relation to indigenous peoples see Smith 1999). Likewise, the ability to create testimonies regarding one's own experiences is dependent upon the ability to make sense of that experience. In the case of hermeneutic injustices, the conceptual framework for understanding aspects of experience—especially those experiences associated with marginalized or oppressed individuals and communities—does not exist.

If we accept the definition of knowledge, or meaning, as being a justified, true, belief in order to make or assert new knowledge, it must be supported by evidence, deemed credible and reliable, and be believed. Museums, as institutions, have the authority and credibility to assert new knowledge; we believe them if only because we trust that what they say is rooted in evidence and that the evidence they use is trustworthy and true. Yet the knowledge that museums create is dependent upon those individuals who manage and oversee the creation of its narratives. This creates an exclusionary aspect to museums, one that is related to power asymmetries among different social groups.

As Molyneaux states:

How the past is represented and communicated is the significant aspect here, as ideological and political processes at work in society are revealed in the way they affect such knowledge resources. In a given society, for example, some versions of the past may be highly visible and even iconic, especially if they are caught up in the webs of power that suffuse social relations and structures; others may be hidden, overlooked or intentionally excluded—the pasts of the marginalized, the unenfranchised, the ignored or unwanted. And this is the problem: the past that is presented may be that of a single, dominant group in society, or as is so common in countries now independent but with a colonial past, one that still reflects the colonialist view (1994:2-3).

The authority that museums carry thus serves to mask the fact that the knowledge that it creates can be situational or limited, not to mention connected to larger ideological and political contexts that may influence the use or disregard of certain lines of evidence to support a narrative, not to mention the selection of certain narratives over alternate ones.

Applying the concept of epistemic injustices here points to the unequal power that museums have in regards to resources of knowledge. Museums not only have the authority to create new knowledge, but their control over representing heritage is further cemented by their access to the knowledge resources that they manage. They are thus active sites for the definition of what constitutes knowledge—they help to create the knowledge frameworks that we use to make sense of the past and heritage and define the ways in which we can draw information from the study and representation of material and cultural artifacts. Bringing this back to the concept of hermeneutical injustices, in defining what constitutes evidence and how that evidence is to be used in order to create knowledge, the museum actively determines the hermeneutical frameworks for understanding the meaning of cultural artifacts. In so doing they exclude—and to a certain degree preclude—the possibility of using different frames of reference for explaining the importance or significance of cultural objects.

For minority communities or those excluded from the museum, their ability to challenge its representations and narratives is limited at the most basic level: neither are they deemed credible witnesses by a civil society that marginalizes them, nor do they have the same access to the knowledge the resources that are necessary to create new representations of themselves or their communities. As McConkey asserts (2004), being able to contribute new knowledge about oneself and the world is different from affirming already existing knowledge:

Cultural imperialism describes the experience of groups who have their means of expression curtailed...Groups who live with cultural imperialism find themselves defined externally, positioned by a web of meanings that arise elsewhere. These meanings and definitions have been imposed on them by people who cannot identify with them and with whom they cannot identify (2004:202).

Marginalized people thus face a double injustice: not only are they socially marginalized, but their capacity to render intelligible the exact ways in which they have been marginalized or oppressed, is curtailed by hermeneutic frameworks that both externally define them and exclude their ways of knowing from the process of creating new knowledge. As a marginalized person your ability to create knowledge is thus circumscribed; your own experiences are excluded and even absent from the underlying rules we use to create knowledge. This is what McConkey (2004) and Fricker (2006, 2007) refer to when they discuss the epistemic marginalization and resulting hermeneutic injustices faced by minority social groups and individuals.

In using these concepts to describe the marginalization of groups, such as Indigenous peoples, from the museum, we run the risk of further alienating these communities. There are very real consequences of being excluded from the museum and archaeology that we cannot lose sight of when we discuss this situation in terms of epistemic injustice. For example, the struggle to repatriate ancestors is a deeply emotional and spiritual issue for communities and the description of repatriation in such somewhat obtuse, academic terms runs the risk of stripping it of its emotional, social, and political weight. While we cannot forget the experiential aspect of the exclusion of communities from museums I would argue

that there is a place for using the concept of epistemic injustice to describe these disparities, as it demonstrates that exclusion is not just a surface issue, easily corrected or rectified by the repatriation of grandmothers and grandfathers or the consultation of community members.

In fact, the value of using this term to understand the process of making heritage representations is that it correctly identifies how the political, cultural, and historic contexts of the museum have alienated the ideas and perspectives of those communities deemed outside or peripheral to the nation, or civil society, at a most fundamental level. Epistemic injustices thus help us to conceptualize and understand how the resources of the museum have been used to deny people access to their own past and, in the process, facilitate the reproduction of ideologies that continue to deny groups such as Indigenous peoples the right to know and represent their own heritage and pasts.

New Museology: Creating Democracy

The work of Critical Marxists in museology has been instrumental in both documenting the number of ways that museums work to exclude segments of society and knowledge from its representations, and in proposing an alternate model for museums that reintegrates them within their local, national, and global communities. This work has led to creation of what is called New Museology, which uses critical theory to restructure the ways in which the museum operates. These goals include: 1) opening dialogues between researchers, museums, and their public audiences; 2) raising consciousness in regards to the ideologies produced through the museum; and 3) directly involving public audiences in consciousness raising by creating exhibits and/or interpretations that lay bare the process of interpretation.

New Museologists also re-conceptualize the role of the museum and the very methods its uses to produce meaning:

New museologists criticize the traditional museological notion that objects possess inherent moral, aesthetic characteristics or reflect an objective, empirical representation of the social world. They argue that this notion has been part of a hegemonic discourse in which claims about social knowledge are presented in absolute terms (Witcomb 2003:103).

Proponents of this approach advocate opening up the museum to its diverse communities, increasing their access to the means of signification, thus ensuring that their perspectives are integrated into museum curation and exhibition. New Museology tries to resist and dismantle the hegemonic discourses produced through museums by means of an explicit focus on improving community relations, fostering dialogue between museums and their communities, and de-privileging the role of the museum itself (Simpson 2001). As Witcomb (2003:103) points out: "Such criticisms are themselves a reflection of the changing contexts within which museums now have to operate. It is a context in which the cultural authority of the museum is increasingly being questioned." Although the goals of New Museologists have been challenged by those labeled Traditionalists, who advocate for

the privileged role of museums in interpreting heritage, the critiques leveled at museums by New Museologists—not to mention those from diverse communities—have made it almost impossible to disregard the politics of the museum and meaning making (Karp 1992; Lavine 1992; Stone 1994; Witcomb 2003:102-4).

The centrality of community for the restructuring of the museum and its representations cannot be overstated. Both Traditionalists and New Museologists agree that museums produce community and culture. Indeed, it has been almost impossible for museologists to discount the importance of including community interests into all aspects of the museum including staffing, education, research, curation, and exhibition (Bray 1994; Mazel and Ritchie 1994). Edmund Gaither summarizes these new community obligations in the following:

Museums have obligations as both educational and social institutions to participate in and contribute toward the restoration of wholeness in the communities of our country. They ought to increase our understanding within and between cultural groups in the matrix of lives in which we exist. They ought to help give substance, correction, and reality to the often incomplete and distorted stories we hear about art and social history. They should not dodge the controversy that often arises from the reappraisal of our common and overlapping pasts (1992:58).

Similarly, Karp et al. (1992) and San Roman (1992) argue that these new asserted responsibilities encourage museums to become more pluralistic entities whose goal is to democratize the narratives that they generate. Constructing multicultural and pluralistic heritages within the museum has thus become a socially beneficial act, which has helped to open the way for the museum to validate alternative perspectives and epistemologies and reinforced humanistic values through heritage representations (see the following for examples of this change in values Connolly 2000; Cooper 1997; Galla 1997; Horne 1992; Karp et al. 1992; Potter and Leone 1992; Pyburn 2000; San Roman 1992).

The divisive issue within museology remains just *how* we can make museums more pluralistic, democratic, and accountable to their diverse publics. Museologists have offered countless suggestions ranging from overhauling outdated exhibitions, presenting the achievements of minority communities to increasing community involvement and consultation in exhibition and curation projects (Mazel and Ritchie 1994:235; Merriman and Poovaya-Smith 1996; Molyneaux 1994) even argue that the real project of making multi-vocal and democratic representations involves more than the simple inclusion of previously excluded pasts and knowledge: the museum must restructure the way it operates, create new, community-generated goals, and assess how it defines cultural heritage and the impact of these definitions upon the museums' publics. The goals set out by Mazel and Ritchie (1994) are certainly far-reaching in scope, yet it is this desire to re-make the museum by addressing all the different levels involved in making heritage representations that makes their approach so valuable and applicable within the context of public archaeology.

Drawing Lessons from Museums

While much of the literature on museological methods addresses the concerns of large-scale art, culture, or science museum, the approaches used to create more democratic and inclusive representations are directly relevant to the often smaller-scale interpretive and public outreach programs developed by archaeologists. In the following section I provide a brief review of what I see as the dominant trends in constructing more democratic, inclusive, and pluralistic representations: Community Consultation, Narrativization, Education, and Interactivity. For each trend I review the dominant methods that museologists and researchers have used to address the issue of democratic heritage representations, and I discuss their relevancy for public archaeology. Where appropriate, I draw upon archeological museum case studies in order to demonstrate how these trends have been translated when working in anthropological or archaeological contexts. The goal of the following discussion is to highlight how these themes can be used to create a mindful approach to public archaeology that integrates the values of community, democracy, and justice.

Within the context of this dissertation, the last value is of utmost importance as it speaks to the ability of both communities and archaeologists to create heritage representations that address, and perhaps even works towards resolving, both the epistemic and social injustices that these communities face. Within this framework public archaeology becomes not simply a task in representing the heritage of others, but in using the process of representation to beneficially impact the communities we work with by creating knowledge that reflects their experiences and changes how they are represented in the public commons. This point relates directly to our ability as archaeologists to work towards the decolonization of heritage representations, a topic that will be more fully addressed in the following chapter as it relates to the construction of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail.

Community Consultation

Community consultations and collaborations are not new to the museum world, nor to archeological outreach. However, due to the increased emphasis upon making museums accountable to their diverse publics community partnerships have become increasingly important within these contexts (e.g., Bender 1999; Gather 1992; Golding 1999; Jameson and Baugher 2007a; Ladd 2001; Madul-Zadka 1999; Shackel and Chambers 2004a Zimmerman et al. 1994). The goal of these partnerships, and of consultation in general, is to forge working relationships whereby museums may incorporate community feedback and perspectives into their educational, curatorial, exhibition, and interpretive programs. Consultation takes places at many levels and includes everything from the creation of community advisory boards, whose responsibility it is to integrate community needs into all aspects of museum practice, to federally mandated consultations between museums and other cultural repositories and federally recognized Native American tribes. At a smaller scale, community consultation may involve informal partnerships between museum professionals and community members and be directed towards the creation or revision of exhibits that focus on their heritage.

Within the setting of large museums, museologists often take a multi-pronged approach towards community involvement that incorporates all of the above aspects of consultations. For example, Clifford's (1991) consideration of museums in the Pacific Northwest illustrates how both the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology and the Royal British Columbia Museum have incorporated the perspectives of Northwest Coast communities into their museums. Both museums sponsor contemporary Native American artists, featuring their works of art within the museums walls, thus linking historic collections with their present day production. Likewise, both institutions also offer long-term loans of cultural objects (especially those deemed sacred or ceremonial) back to tribal communities so that they may continue to use these objects. Exhibitions, themselves also create connections between past and present lifeways, choosing to highlight issues of contemporary concern to these communities such as the ongoing legal struggles to regain land-claims, and the persistence of cultural traditions into the present. The University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology has also opened up the entirety of their collections to both tribal communities and the general public, giving them immediate access through their "visible storage" system of display (Clifford 1992:221).

Other museums such as the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) in Washington, D.C. have created community anthropology or archaeology programs designed to reinterpret and re-curate collections according to indigenous knowledge and values. The Arctic Studies Center (ASC) at the NMNH, for example, has created a community anthropology project that:

- 1) [Provides] training for Native land managers and community cultural affairs administrators who are able to articulate community needs with governmental bureaucracies and administration;
- 2) [provides] an opportunity for community scholars, artisans, elders, and young people to discuss the use and significance of museum collections;
- and 3) [instills] in young people knowledge about the accomplishment of ancestors (Loring 2001:186).

Through direct consultation and collaboration with communities through the Alaska Collections Project, the ASC has undertaken an extensive re-cataloguing of artifacts from the Smithsonian's extensive arctic collections. This re-cataloguing involves bringing in tribal elders and scholars from the communities where these artifacts were originally collected, giving them an opportunity to both examine and interpret their cultural significance. These consultations are then used to design appropriate curation and exhibition strategies for artifacts within the collection and identify and develop a plan for the repatriation of objects of cultural patrimony.

In addition to the Alaska Collections Project, the ASC's Anchorage, Alaska office, directed by Aron Crowell, produced in collaboration with the Alutiiq Museum and the Alaska Native Heritage Center a collaborative, community exhibition entitled *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People of Southern Alaska* (Crowell et al. 2001). The travelling exhibit, companion volume, and resulting website were designed directly by Alutiiq community members and stands out as an example of how museums have

partnered with communities in order to develop community-based heritage representations (Crowell et al. n.d.). These kinds of projects are designed in order to give communities unrestricted access to the knowledge resources of the museum, enabling them to reintegrate cultural items back into their traditional cultural contexts, as well as create public and educational content that reflect their own concepts of community, tradition, and culture into museum exhibits (see also Crowell and Biddison n.d. for description of the Arctic Studies Center's collaboration with Alaska Native communities).

The practice of community consultation in exhibition design is a growing trend amongst museums, many of which have set aside specific "community galleries" that feature exhibits produced directly by the communities themselves (Simpson 2001:51). While large-scale museums such as the NMNH now routinely feature community collaboration in designing their exhibit, local community centers and community museums have enshrined the ideals of consultation and collaboration (Simpson 2001). These smaller venues, often funded and managed by a community, provide an alternate venue in which the community has the opportunity to tell its own stories without having to work with larger, bureaucratic and externally managed institutions.

Both Clifford (1991) and Merriman and Poovaya-Smith (1996) stress that the community center or museum creates not just a space in which to represent heritage, but plays a much larger social function within the community. These centers aren't simply a traditional museum, but a meeting facility that communities can use to host any number of social, cultural, or familial events. In many cases the center also functions as an educational facility where members can take part in language retention programs, seminars on folkways, and art workshops (e.g., the Alutiiq Museum). Of course, these spaces also offer the freedom to tell community-specific stories that may often run counter to official histories or traditional ways of interpreting cultural items. For example, the U'mista Cultural Center and the Kwagiulth Museum in the Pacific Northwest are able to highlight issues such as community and familial relations and the impact of colonial policies upon them, issues that are rarely addressed in larger-scale contexts (Clifford 1991).

Exhibits and the display of objects within these centers also tend to focus not so much on the artifacts themselves (sometimes referred to an artifact-as-fetish approach), but upon the original cultural contexts in which they were owned, cared for, and used by the community. In effect, the community center is able to transform the concept of the museum as a medium for showing artifacts as art objects often remaking the museum into a place of community dialogue where these objects aren't simply objects, but part of a living culture that are used to facilitate community expression (Witcomb 2003; Simpson 2001:70-77).

Many larger-scale museums, such as the NMAI are incorporating aspects of the community center in their exhibitions. At the NMAI, for example, community galleries offer the space for Native American tribes to present their own exhibitions. This strategy is carried through in three permanent exhibit halls that feature rotating community exhibits: *Our Universes: Traditional Knowledge Shapes Our World*, *Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities*, and *Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories* (Figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3).



Figure 4.1 Our Universes Gallery at the NMAI.



Figure 4.2 Our Lives Gallery at the NMAI.

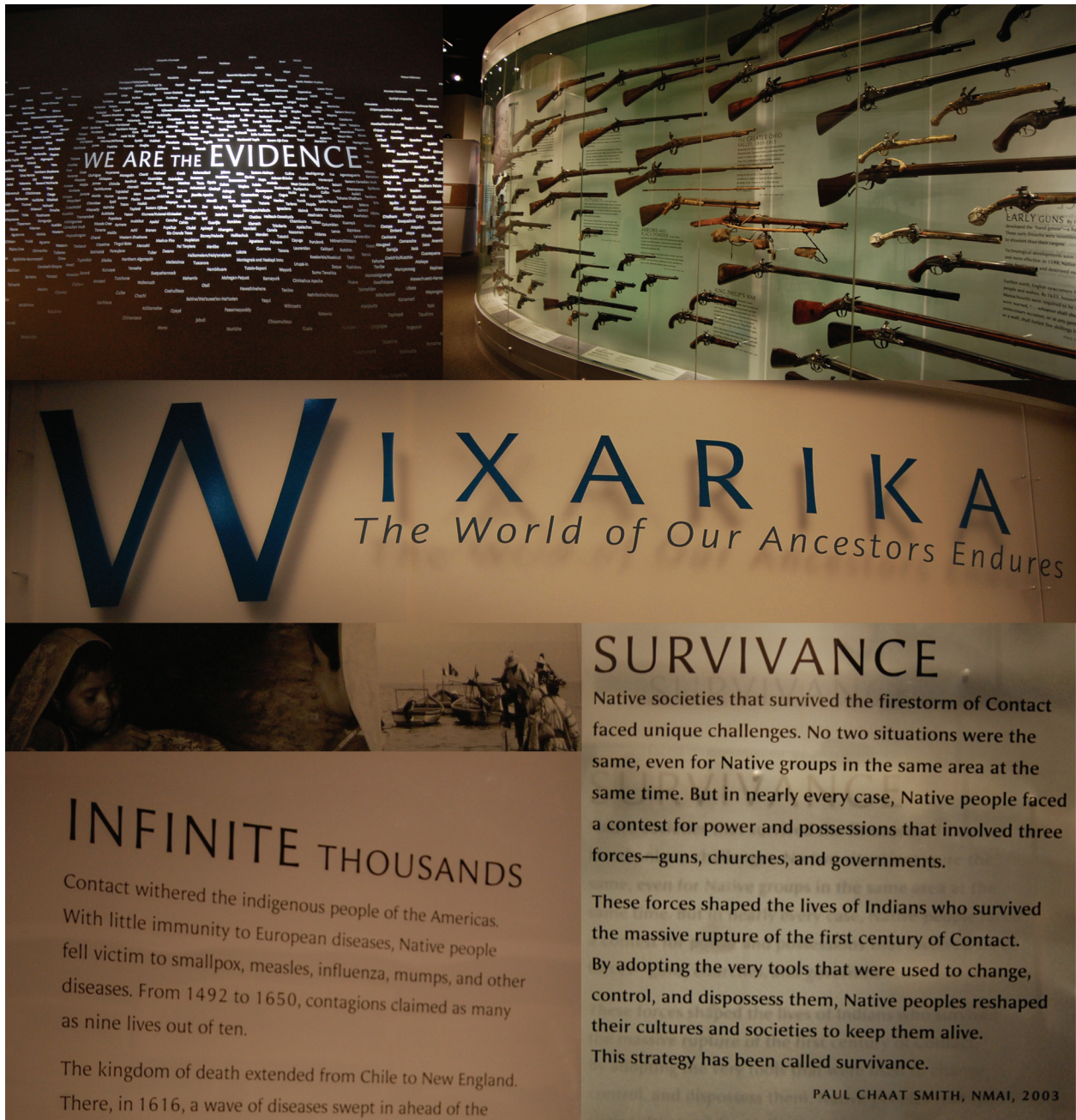


Figure 4.3 Our Peoples Gallery at the NMAI.

Designed in collaboration with curators, each of these community exhibits is primarily directed by a team of community curators, who determine the focus, narrative, and actual design of their exhibit. These exhibits also rotate among different tribal communities, giving multiple communities the opportunity to have their voices represented in the community gallery spaces.

Whether or not mainstream museums can model the format of the community center is limited by several factors. Clifford's (1997) discussion of the Portland Museum's collaboration with Pacific Northwest Coast tribes on the exhibition of its Rasmussen collection highlights several of these issues:

Staff at the Portland Museum were genuinely concerned that their stewardship of the Rasmussen Collection include reciprocal communication with the communities whose art, culture, and history were at stake. But could they reconcile the kinds of meanings evoked by Tlingit elders with those imposed in the context of a museum of 'art'? How much could they de-center the physical objects in favor of narrative, history, and politics? Are there strategies that can display a mask as simultaneously a formal composition, an art object with specific traditional functions in clan/tribal life, and as something that evokes an ongoing struggle? Which meanings should be highlighted? And which community has the power to determine what emphasis the museum will choose (Clifford 1997:191-2)?

Given the polysemous nature of artifacts, choosing which story to tell can create an obvious dilemma, but what stands out in the above discussion are the dilemmas faced by museums when working with diverse stakeholders. Communities are heterogeneous and individual members may not all have the same perspective or authority with which to speak for the entirety of the community. In choosing to consult with community members, interpretive staff also needed to understand the internal socio-politics of the community in order to best determine how to decide which members to work with, and whose voices include in the process. What is evidenced here is that while consultation is a vital step in integrating community perspectives and values into the design of heritage representations, it is not without its own pitfalls. What is required here is lucid and careful planning that acknowledges the unique ethical, moral, and personal questions that are bound to arise when navigating the internal politics and history of a community.

Atalay's (2007) work at Çatalhöyük provides an excellent example for how the trends of community consultation can be applied in public archaeology. Working with local Islamic communities surrounding the Neolithic tell (habitation mound), Atalay has developed a community-based participatory research framework for creating educational and outreach activities designed to better inform local community members of the archaeological project, many of whom are employed as part of the large-scale excavation team. Another goal of this project is to develop educational materials, which have been incorporated both in local schools surrounding Çatalhöyük, as well as in schools here in North America. While the local community does view the tell as being part of their heritage, they are nonetheless interested in the archaeology and thus the project has attempted to incorporate their perspectives by development of these educational curricula.

Narrativization

While community consultation has provided an important source of feedback, allowing for the incorporation of minority perspectives into museum representations, curators have also been interested in how to use the basic methods of exhibition to communicate diversity and encourage reflexivity. Traditionally, what is on display in museums is not people or culture, but a series of disembodied objects that exist independently of the people who produced or used them. The arrangement of such displays typically use technological attributes to arrange objects within display cases, themselves arranged temporally and linearly. This display tactic fosters narratives of technological and social evolution, which are further cemented by the lack of extensive textual information; cards, if provided generally only display what the exhibit deems important: year of manufacture, material type, and catalogue number.

These basic techniques—classifying artifacts, organizing them in physical space, and describing them to audiences through textual interpretation—have long been the core methods of exhibition design. Together these methods are used to construct narratives about people, culture, time, and place. In the case of traditional culture-history displays, these techniques are often used to fetishize objects, distancing them from audiences who are expected to accept them at face value or try to interpret the cryptic textual clues regarding the significance of the artifact's origin, style, and classification (James 1999; Merriman 1999b; Skeates 2002). As Simon James notes of this kind of approach: Everyone is intended to *know* that certain types of knowledge and taste are prestigious, but only the initiated few are taught to fully appreciate their subtleties; all others are thus taught to know their place" (1999:127).

Recent trends in exhibition design indicate a move away from these traditional, didactic displays towards exhibits that focus upon placing artifacts and cultural objects within their original and/or contemporary contexts of manufacture and use. In this approach, artifacts are displayed next to other associated objects and textual descriptions focus on cultural, social, and temporal contexts. The Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley's *Native California* exhibit exemplifies this approach. Objects in the display cabinets are grouped together, not according to cultural origins or type of technology, but by the context of their use. While textual descriptions accompanying the artifacts are sparse, accompanying binders provide additional contextual information, including accounts of how the artifact was originally used, who owned it, and how the museum acquired it.

Witcomb's (2003) curatorial work for *Travelers and Immigrants*, an installation for a Portugese community center in Perth, Australia, which focused upon the memories of Portuguese immigrants of their home communities, also uses this strategy. In her design of the exhibit, Witcomb originally wanted to de-center objects by using abstracted artifact descriptions that questioned their singularity. Following collaborations with members of the community, they decided instead to use archival research and oral histories to establish the historical context and tone of the exhibit and then displayed artifacts alone, without descriptions. Portuguese titles and labels were used throughout the exhibit, and the use of

audio-recorded oral histories allowed for the community's own remembrances and words—and not the artifacts—to define the community and its story.

As noted above, another trend in exhibition design is to display ancient or curated objects alongside their modern equivalents. This trend is strongly evidenced in art museums, which have traditionally displayed non-western art apart from any explanation of its appropriate cultural contexts. Presenting non-western art in this manner not only imposes western conceptions of “art” upon material culture forms that may not be regarded as such in their original communities of use, but also functions to fossilize the tradition so that those same modern communities today appear to have no contemporary “art” worthy of display.

Clifford's (1991) study of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology and the Royal British Museum exemplifies how art museums have begun to recognize the power of this “art gaze” by reintegrating ancient, or curated, artifacts with contemporary artistic and crafts traditions. Both museums actively commission works by contemporary Pacific Northwest Coast artists, displaying their works alongside curated objects. These new works are not merely copies of older pieces, but part of living and dynamic cultural and art tradition. Furthermore, objects such as intricately carved masks and 19th century soapstone figurines are displayed within the context of their cultural traditions. In the case of the figurines, the museums highlight the fact that the art form was created in response to the demands of Euro-American art, thus locating these pieces in terms of the history of collection practices and relationship between the production of art as a commodity during the colonial period (Mullins and Painter 2000).

Cultural museums have also begun to use this strategy, creating exhibits that present and explain curated objects in terms of both their past and present day cultural contexts. For example, the Heard Museum's *Old Ways, New Ways* exhibition, featuring the Zuni of the Southwest, the Tsimshian of the Northwest Coast, and the Iowa of the American Plains, made the modern cultural traditions of these communities its interpretive focus (Simpson 2000:38). Canada's Museum of Mankind's *The Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North* used a similar approach, drawing parallels between the importance of hunting and trapping in Inuit communities, both in the past and the present. In this case, prehistoric and early historic hunting traditions were discussed alongside issues such as the impact of the anti-fur lobby and restrictive European import policies upon these traditions and the community (Simpson 2001:38-39). One intention of linking past and present contexts within a single exhibition is to shift the audience's gaze away from artifacts as embodying references to the past, and instead use them to spark dialogues about issues that are relevant to modern communities.

Another technique museologists have used to highlight the context of their collections is choosing overtly political messages as their exhibition theme. In making the exhibit about the politics of collection, display, and the past, Simpson (2001:47) argues, “museums can adopt a socially relevant role that engages the public in debate and demonstrates a democratic approach to the interpretive process.” The National Museum of American Art's (NMAA), *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920*, typifies

this approach, as the exhibit explicitly addressed the relationship between Native American frontier portraits and the ideology of Manifest Destiny (Simpson 2001:29-30). The exhibit spawned considerable debate amongst the viewing public and was even discussed in the United States Congress due to the ways in which it demonstrated how the iconic images referenced the larger scale social, cultural, and political processes of colonization.

Many of the exhibitions that were generated as a result of the Columbian Quincentenary in 1992 similarly chose to focus upon a political theme, again using interpretive spaces to directly discuss the political implications of Columbus's discoveries and the ensuing colonization of North and South America by Europeans. These exhibits highlighted the colonial histories of Native American communities and the subsequent struggles that they face today. This approach was also used at Colonial Williamsburg where after ignoring the history and experiences of the town's African-Americans, the interpretive venue changed course and began to include narratives about the Atlantic slave trade, slavery in the United States, and racism (Brown and Chappell 2004; Simpson 2001:23-4). In all of the above cases, the political subject matters of their exhibition narratives encouraged audiences to deconstruct representations of the past, western colonialism, and racism. In so doing, these spaces worked towards raising the public's awareness and consciousness of these difficult, and often intentionally ignored issues.

In making the underlying contexts of display, tradition, and history the topic of exhibitions, the three aforementioned exhibition strategies attempt to democratize museums by constructing messages that encourage people to understand the multiple and underlying contexts of museum objects. This focus upon narrativization—laying bare for the public the process of creating interpretations about the past and linking these interpretations to contemporary contexts—has been one of the most popular themes in contemporary public archaeologies (e.g., Atalay 2003, 2007; Ellick 2007; Hansen 2007; Hurry 2007; Lucas 2004; McDavid 2004; Potter 1997; Potter and Leone 1987, 1992). As discussed in previous sections, the popularity of this trend in public archaeology can be explained, at least in part, by the growth of post-processual, feminist, Marxist, and indigenous archaeologies, which have encouraged all archaeologists—not just those involved in public outreach—to examine the socio-political contexts of archaeology. Like the focus of public archaeologists on collaboration and community-produced heritage representations, making context a primary focus of outreach narratives helps to further reveal how archaeologists create meaning, and how this meaning is relevant in today's contexts

Barbara Bender's (1999) *Stonehenge* exhibit exemplifies how an archaeologist interested in public representations of heritage has created a low-budget exhibit that both incorporates the values of democracy and inclusivity into the process of outreach, and which uses some of the above strategies of narrativization in order to communicate these values. Bender used a community-based approach to *Stonehenge*, inviting a diverse set of stakeholders and communities, including English Heritage, Druids, and the New Age Travelers (the latter two being groups who have consistently been denied access to the stone), to take part in the development of the exhibition. Visitors to *Stonehenge* thus had the opportunity to hear from each community about their views on Stonehenge and its present management, and were able to witness the complex cultural and political landscapes surrounding the stones.

Bender's (1999) inclusive approach to creating *Stonehenge* demonstrates a conscious desire to create a multi-vocal exhibit that presented the heritage site as a living heritage place with very real spiritual and emotional connections. It's no surprise that her own theoretical interests in post-structural and feminist archaeologies were translated into an outreach project that fostered inclusivity, de-centered the authority of heritage managers to tell THE story of Stonehenge, and conveyed the contextual histories and meanings of the stones.

Nick Merriman and co-curators Jonathan Cotton and Barbara Wood used an alternate strategy of narrativization in their exhibit, *The People Before London*, at the Museum of London (Wood and Cotton 1999). While Bender used community collaboration as the basis for showing the multiple constructions of Stonehenge as a heritage place, *The People Before London* highlighted the process of archaeology, making explicit issues of authority and the limits of archaeological interpretation. The exhibit drew visitors' attention to the fact that we interpret the past through the lens of our present. Describing their approach to narrativization and wider goals of the exhibit, Wood and Cotton state:

Freed from the domination of contemporary written record, displays of prehistory are potentially (and peculiarly) well placed to explore ideas, challenge myths and preconceptions, and pose questions—to open dialogues with visitors about the way in which evidence was used, inviting them to become participants rather than passive consumers (1999:30).

The heading on the first interpretive panel succinctly illustrates how they attempted to deconstruct prehistoric representations for their audiences: "This gallery is a reflection of our present" (1999:36). Other interpretive panels followed delved into matters of evidence, interpretation, and curatorial authority and the guiding theme of "Can You Believe What We Say?" was used throughout the exhibit as a way to draw attention to the authority of the curators and archaeologists. The curators self-consciously employed these strategies in order to encourage their audience to question issues of authority when viewing museum exhibits.

Merriman, Cotton and Wood's approach to displaying prehistory can also be seen in the earlier public outreach programs at Annapolis, Maryland. Potter and Leone (1992) applied a similarly open and reflexive approach to the display of archaeological materials and historical records uncovered through their research of historic Annapolis. Interpretation at the site highlights the process of interpretation in archaeology and educates audiences about the linkages made between different lines of evidence in order to create representations of the past. As Critical Marxists, their goal is to raise the public's consciousness in regards to ideologies of class and industry; thus Potter and Leone (1992) see their outreach program as a way to teach visitors the tools they need to critically examine the subtexts of visual and textual representation.

As described previously in this chapter, many other examples of public archaeology have adopted the same kind of archaeology-as-process narrative approach. While in the case of Potter and Leone (1992) this strategy makes sense in terms of their overarching political

and interpretive goals, in other cases teaching the public about how archaeologists “know” what they know helps to increase the informational and archaeological literacy of the public (Chiarulli et al. 2000; Pyburn 2000). This model for archaeology education is interdisciplinary, showing how archaeologists use multiple lines of evidence—scientific, mathematic, biological, cultural, historical—in order to construct arguments and interpretations about the past. Within outreach programs specifically targeting K-12 students, this approach has increased in popularity due to the fact that it adheres to American curricula standards, which encourage teachers to teach across multiple target areas (e.g., Math, Science, Social Studies, English). By demonstrating the interconnectedness of archaeology with other disciplines, archaeology educators can use the discipline as a model for developing student’s critical reasoning skills (Chiarulli et al. 2000; Connolly 2000; Zimmerman et al. 1992). The thought here is that in addition to teaching school-aged children to appreciate other cultures, archaeology education can be incorporated into not only social science curricula, but math and science ones as well. This approach has been used in numerous archaeology after school programs such as those operated by Archaeology in the Community (Alexandra Jones and Darren Modzelewski *personal communication*, 2010); the Archaeological Research Facility at UC Berkeley; the Department of Anthropology at UC Berkeley’s Afterschool Education Program; and Big Dig curricula project at the Wood School (Alameda, California).

In each of the above archaeological case studies, context is a central concern of narrativization. Whether it be teaching audiences how to properly dissect and examine images of the past; introducing them to the multiple cultural and political contexts of heritage places; making apparent issues of authenticity, legitimacy and authority; or all of the above, contextual representations give public archaeologists the opportunity to make archaeology relevant outside of the museum or classroom. A focus on the process and context of archaeology is also one of the simplest ways that we can connect past and present contexts. Visitors, or students, don’t just walk away from these outreach engagements with an appreciation for the perceived glamour of archaeology or impressions of archaeological treasures, but with the tools to better understand how it is that we create knowledge about past lifeways that are directly relevant in our own, everyday lives.

Education

Education in the museum is not a new trend in museology, but the focus upon the educational needs of the visitors is a relatively recent development (Lea 2000). This change is a result of the establishment of education departments in museums, whose goal it is to specifically study how people learn and then use this knowledge to design or revamp interpretive spaces and programs. As a result of this focus on education and visitor-ship, museums have begun to both acknowledge the differential learning and visiting styles of the public and to design programs that target these individual needs. Although many of these education departments are being scaled back (as is the case at publicly funded museums such as the Smithsonian Institution’s museums), the feedback studies and initiatives begun by these departments continue to influence the future operation of these institutions. Notably, educational departments have been instrumental in getting museums

to acknowledge the importance of relating a museum's collection to the specific needs of its visitors, incorporating a view of exhibits that envisions them as communicative environments in which the visitor is an active participant and not simply a passive consumer (Lea 2000:317; Wilkinson 1999:14-7). Within this model, education becomes a tool for empowering audiences and the museum is charged with the responsibility of understanding the ways in which the museum can foster the educational development of its audiences.

According to museum educators, how visitors experience the museum and what they take away from their visit are dependent upon whether or not the museum and exhibits target their individual learning styles. For this reason museums such as the Museum of London (Wood and Cotton 1999) have integrated feedback studies as a vital part of exhibition design. Likewise the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Bais 1999) actively targets multiple learning styles—active, affective, and kinetic—in exhibits such as *Les Paradis du Monde* by providing a combination of interpretive environments that alternately provided factual knowledge, create the feeling of being in alternate environments, and engage audiences one-on-one with archaeologists.

The integrated educational programs of the Vasa Museum in Stockholm, which target school-aged children in the city, similarly embraces multiple learning styles in its extended educational visits of the museum and its restored 17th century ship, the Vasa (Stapf 1999). The intensive program consists of several classroom visits by interpretive staff, followed by 3-4 visits to the museum, which culminate in a final night visit by the students during which they interpret the museum for their parents. The program features hands-on activities, story telling, and collection exercises, in addition to writing and scientific drawing units designed to fit with the distinct learning style of K-4 graders (Johnson 2000; Stapf 1999). In addition to this program they also offer a specialized tour for students from the local school for the blind, which concentrates on hands-on activities that teaches the students about daily life on the vessel and the construction methods that were used to build the Vasa, something the students can directly experience through sensory touch.

There is an important distinction between these two case studies. In the case of the Vasa Museum, its interpretive programs were directed at school children whereas the *Les Paradis du Monde* was specifically targeted towards a museum's more mixed-age audiences. Despite these differences in audiences, both examples point to the need for exhibits that target a combination of learning styles, as well as age-groups, which is important given that families constitute the main group of museum visitors (Luby 2004).

Given the mix of learning styles and ages within a family, places such as Fort Ross State Historic Park have attempted to provide a host of age- and learning-appropriate interpretive programs (Fort Ross Interpretive Association 2005). The park offers a standard museum exhibit, as well as guided interpretive tours that mix hands-on activities with brief lectures and Q&A sessions, followed by the requisite canon firing. The Fort Ross Interpretive Association also hosts a bi-annual Living History Day (Figure 4.4) in which the local community and visitors are invited to dress up in period dress and partake in a range of demonstrations hosted by interpretive staff, park rangers, researchers, and local



Figure 4.4 Living History Day at Fort Ross State Historic Park.

members of the Russian Orthodox and Kashia Pomo tribal communities. In addition to these programs, the Environmental Learning Program, operated as a non-profit educational entity, hosts an immersive overnight program for 4-5th graders in California, a program I had the opportunity to participate in when I was a 5th grader. Through this program, educators have developed an intensive classroom curriculum designed to teach students about daily life at the former Russian American Company mercantile settlement (<http://www.fortrossstatepark.org/elp.htm>). Individual teachers incorporate this curriculum within their classroom. At the end of the curriculum unit, students then get the opportunity to embody one of the colony's residents and spend a day in their life at *Selenie Ross*.

The trend that unifies Fort Ross' diverse interpretive activities, as well as those employed by other archaeological parks and museums is the use of physical, hands-on activities to reach multiple age groups and learning styles. This strategy has clearly gained in popularity in archaeological outreach programs, many of which use mock or simulated excavations, or dig kits, in order to teach students about the process of archaeology (Chiarulli et al. 2000).¹ Such activities have also become a mainstay at archaeological parks like Fort Ross, Parc de la Prèhistoire (Ariège) in France (Clottes and Chippingdale 1999), Missouri's Cahokia (Iseminger 1997), and the Jorvik Viking Center in York, England (Jones 1999). Much like interactive science or discovery museums, these venues use a combination of artifact show-and-tells, technological demonstrations such as atlatl throwing (Figure 4.5), metallurgy, and house building (Owen 1999:173).

Moser adds insight into the growing popularity of "interactives", indicating that, "Museums are increasingly harnessing the power of emotion as a way of communicating with visitors, having established that if exhibitions make a personal connection with their audiences, the latter will gain more out of them" (2003:16). The added value of hands-on activities is thus their ability to make the visitor feel empowered in the process of learning and to create a personal connection between themselves and the subject matter of the museum (see also

¹ The Archaeological Research Facility (ARF) at UC Berkeley's Outreach Office has partnered with The Wood School in Alameda to operate a full mock dig. The Big Dig, as it is so named, is a multi-week curricula, which involves both pre- and after-visits by archaeologists enrolled in the Graduate Seminar for Public Outreach. In addition to this formal program, the ARF Outreach Office routinely uses dig kits in outreach activities such as Eggster at UC Berkeley (an annual science fair hosted at the university) and in classroom visits made by graduate students enrolled in the Graduate Seminar for Public Outreach. Recently, David Cohen (former ARF Outreach coordinator), Darren Modzelewski and myself created *Digging Archaeology* for San Francisco's Asian Art Museum's AsiaAlive program. The exhibit used a combination of hands-on activities such as a mock dig, and interactive paleoethnobotanical, zooarchaeological, and classification exercises. We also produced a video *So You're an Archaeologist?!* (Cohen and Morgan 2009). In addition to these components, teachers that scheduled formal visits for their classroom received a companion curricula guide for students that introduced them to archaeology prior to their visit. Throughout the exhibit's duration, archaeologists enrolled in the Graduate Seminar for Public Outreach were on hand to lend their expertise and oversee the mock-dig site.



Figure 4.5 Atlatl throwing at Cahokia Mounds. Photographs by Shanti Morell-Hart.

Lea 2000). In the case of the Vasa Museum and the Environmental Living Program at Fort Ross State Historic Park, immersive visits allow for visiting school children to experience for themselves the differences and similarities between their own lives, and those of the people who once lived on board the Vasa or outside Fort Ross's stockade.

Changes to labels and textual panels in museums have also been an instrumental step in opening up museums to their audiences. As discussed in previous sections, traditional textual descriptions are sparse and generally highly technical, often impeding understanding and/or requiring expert knowledge in order to interpret the importance of artifacts on display (Skeates 2002:209). In museology, the shift towards context has also resulted in the reshaping of the content and form of textual descriptions in museums. According to Roberts (1996), Judy Rand of the Monterey Bay Aquarium in Monterey, California, was one of the first curators to experiment with more accessible and intelligible label formats. Rand employed a hierarchy of text with generalized and specialized messages that were written in the 2nd person voice and were short, simple, and direct, often using colloquialisms and humor. This abbreviated and accessible format is characterized by the "use of simple spoken language, the active form of verbs, and regular short lines and paragraphs" (Skeates 2002:211). Shortening the length of textual descriptions and providing a tiered set of headlines and topics also relates well to the differential attention span of audiences. In short, if you want people to actually read the exhibit's text, messages should be concise, on-point, and easily digestible, no more than 200 words. The content of this type of label also tends to highlight issues of context. In the case of *The Peopling of London*, discussed in the preceding section, the curators of the exhibit used this kind of label in order to question authority and provoke discussion about stereotypes of the past (Wood and Cotton 1999; see also Moser 2003:16).

Together, these trends in education—the focus upon the visitor's needs, creation of relatable messages, increasing use of interactives, and abbreviated and accessible textual descriptions—have helped to re-conceptualize the museum as a site of consumption and entertainment. The fact that people come to museums to be entertained and to have fun, however, does not detract from the experience of the museum as an educational space. Rather, what these developments indicate is a growing recognition that visitors should be given the opportunity to control their experiences and to be approached as active participants in the communication of heritage.

In terms of the relevance of these trends for public archaeology, we can clearly see them across a variety of settings, such as in K-12 outreach, archaeological museums, on-site archaeological heritage places, and public archaeology days. Their varied adoption within these contexts demonstrates a desire to engage on a personal level with a wider variety of publics. As archaeologists continue to develop outreach programs it is imperative that they are mindful of the needs of their visitors, whether they be educational, entertainment, or otherwise.

Interactivity

Within the contemporary landscape of museology, interpretive specialists are working to remove the filters and barriers between objects and people by developing exhibits that allow audiences to directly experience and interpret the museum and its collections. In a move away from didactic and cryptic displays of material culture, museums are attempting to create exhibits that are relevant outside the museum's walls. In the previous sections I detailed the growing trends of community collaboration, narrativization and education as each highlights the main strategies and methods museologists have used in order to create a more open, inclusive, and accountable institution. In this final section I explore how interactivity—the ability of the visitor to directly experience and/or control their access to the museum's resources—encompasses aspects of each of these themes and stands out as one of the defining features of modern interpretive environments.

As discussed in the previous theme, increasing interactivity between audiences and interpretive environments is one of the dominant educational trends in museology and public archaeology. This trend is highly evident in what are referred to as experimental archaeology sites, parks of archaeology, or open-air museums like the Le Parc de la Prèhistoire, Butser Ancient Farm, and the Jorvik Viking Center use a combination of hands-on activities, archaeological experimentation, and reconstructions to increase audience participation. Drawing upon current trends in narrativization, these spaces also construct messages that instill in the public an appreciation for the contingency of archaeological interpretations. For example, at the Le Parc de la Prèhistoire, designers chose not to reconstruct the Ice Age cave art found inside the *Salon Noir* at Niaux cave as they recognized from other reproductions, such as at Lascaux II, since these recreations lack authenticity and “can never be what it was like—even if it were to be physically the same” (Clottes and Chippindale 1999:194). The interior of the Parc thus tries to evoke a *sense* of cave art, but one that is translated within a modern, and disparate context. Outside of the main interpretive center, designers also created a “landscape of sounds” that are triggered by movement so that as people walk through the garden into a hunting scene with large concrete bison, images of the hunt are called to mind (Clottes and Chippindale 1999:200). The overarching goal here is to provide visitors the immediacy of the past, while ensuring that visitors understand that their experiences of the past are rooted in the present.

This question as to the power of reconstructions to naturalize and obscure certain representations of the past is also evident at Groß Raden, an open-air museum in former East Germany that features reconstructions of a Slavic fortified village. Ulrike Sommer, one of the curators at Groß Raden, poses the problem with reconstructions thusly:

To make the past accessible, to help visitors to start a discourse of their own, we *have to* create images, albeit that they will always be false. The question we have to solve is how to make this obvious, and thereby empower visitors to begin to question the images presented, perhaps to form alternative images based on the excavated facts (1999:166-7).

When Sommer and her interpretive staff installed a rotting horse's head above one of the rooms in the fortification, she thus attempted to present an alternate image of Groß Raden; one that wasn't directly implied in the archaeological record, but which was common at other settlements of the same time period. The choice of such a salient and grotesque image was also consciously chosen in order to evoke a dirtier and grittier side of the past that is often overlooked and forgotten (for examples of this at Fort Ross State Historic Park, see Clifford 1997).

Similarly, curators at the Jorvik Viking Museum have chosen to bring visitor's attention to overly sanitized reconstructions and representations of the past by creating an un-romanticized smell- and visual-scape. Set up much the same way as an amusement park ride that takes people through Viking York, visitors are treated to the smells of manure, vomit, human waste, and see people in unexpected (not to mentioned rarely displayed) contexts such as outhouses. Further underscoring the more visceral (or one could say nasty and grotesque²) aspects of the past, the public even has the opportunity to purchase scratch-n-sniff postcards in the museum store; again the smells recalled in these cards are neither remotely bucolic nor romantic.

Other open-air parks grapple with the naturalness of their reconstructions differently. Butser Ancient Farm in Hampshire, England, an experimental archaeology park that is open to the public, emphasizes two core messages: "how do we find out" and "what evidence is" (Reynolds 1999:133). Students and visitors are able to attend story-telling sessions, participate in hands-on activities at the farm, and witness demonstrations of "dangerous technology" (everyone's particular favorite activity). In addition, the farm conducts ongoing outreach with local universities, providing courses in archaeological experimentation. According to Reynolds, "The paradox of modern technology in the form of computers and scientific measuring instruments in association with ostensibly prehistoric material" (1999:134) helps to convey an image of an open lab, rather than a naturalized version of the past, which could be implied by the farm's reconstructed buildings.

In each of the above cases, curators and interpretive designers recognize the problematic nature of reconstructions. Although such interpretive techniques are immensely popular and give visitors an immediate and experiential sense of the past, their completeness and grandeur also make it difficult to convey how *constructed* these images actually are. This is the reason why so many of these open-air archaeology parks work to de-stabilize the completeness of their representations such as Sommer (1999) did with the rotting horse's head, as at Butser Farm (Reynolds 1999) with the contemporary experiments, and at Jorvik (1999) with its cornucopia of smells. The value of these techniques is that they still enable visitors to "see" the past and even be enchanted by it, but at the same time they are also encouraged to question how those same images were created through a series of decisions on the part of curators.

² On my visit to the Jorvik Viking Center in January 2005, I overheard visitors providing these descriptions of the exhibits. I also witnessed several weak-stomached individuals have issue with the potency of the "smell-scape".

Multimedia and Interactivity

By far and away the biggest trends towards interactivity in museums involve the integration of digital technology into exhibition spaces. At the heart of the “heritage debate” is the championing of multimedia and hypermedia technologies as a way to engage contemporary audiences. This touting of technology as a democratic force is uniquely tied to debates of postmodernism. From a post-modern perspective, the growth of virtual technologies signals the death of the object, and with it, notions of pure objectivity. These new mediums of communication also signify the increasingly global flow of capital and information (Hodder 1997, 1999; MacDonald 1992).

The seemingly endless contextualized reinterpretations available through the Internet and World Wide Web contribute to audience perception of knowledge as relational and constructed, as equally viable, competing interpretations jostle with one another in these contexts, thus leaving the viewer in the position of filtering through this information and constructing their own interpretations (Lock 2003:219). The concept of technology as giving way to notions of meaning that are fluid, flexible, and relational also stems from the use of electronic media and technologies as mediums for deconstructing elite cultural values. Popular culture theorists such as Grossberg (1992) argue that popular culture and new media provide minority groups with a valuable creative space, or commons. Contra arguments made by Adorno (1991), Grossberg (1992) posits popular culture as an active and creative arena in which people don’t simply “download” hegemonic constructions of ideology, but simultaneously rework, counter, and resist them.

New Media ostensibly offers access to anyone—regardless of education, authority, or resources—the ability to broadcast his or her thoughts and interpretations to the wider world. Within these venues, minority groups have the power with which to construct representations of their own communities in a manner that is consistent with their own ways of perceiving and representing that world (Grossberg 1992; Lipsitz 1990; Witcomb 2003). Much is also made of the equalizing power of these technologies for their ability to bring together diverse audiences in one space and time, allowing for individuals to create connections and networks [in the sense of Smith (1999)]. In giving people a voice and connecting these disconnected voices through online communities (e.g., YouTube, Tumblr, LiveJournal, Twitter, Facebook, Reddit) individuals and communities help to break down traditional notions of authority and people have immediate access to flows of information at an unprecedented rate (Lock 2003; MacDonald 1992; Manovich 2001). The popularity of new media further represents the democratization of these technologies and the ability of minority communities to use them as tools of empowerment (see Smith and Ward 2001).

The incorporation of these technologies into museum interpretive environments is, consequently, heralded as an unprecedented opportunity to both open up the walls of the museum and use them in order to further deconstruct the authority of the museum and the contingent nature of heritage representations (MacDonald 1992; Pink 2007, 2009; Perry 2009; Wolle and Tringham 2000). The reticence of some in the museum community towards incorporating multimedia and hypermedia originates from a desire to maintain the museum as a site of privileged authority. From their perspective, the introduction of

these technologies into the museum is a sensationalized and crass form of communication, one that threatens to cheapen the value of the institution (Kenny and Giessler 2003:36). While fears of the “Disneyfication” of the museum deserve consideration, reactions against these technologies unnecessarily discard the potential value of these technologies in relation to reconnecting communities with important knowledge resources.

Proponents of digitally interactive exhibits argue that the technology provides a new way for museums to engage with its visitors, visitors who need not be confined to the space of the exhibition hall. As MacDonald’s statement implies, digital technology allows the museum to transcend its traditional borders: “We see [the Canadian Museum of Civilization] as a museum not just for the Canadian nation, but for the global village” (1992:159). In the case of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, multi-media kiosks in its exhibition halls and an integrated website connects visitors from all over the world with its collections and learning environments. In fact, museologists increasingly use digital collections, museum and departmental websites, digital exhibits, and other multi-media programs in order to appeal to modern audiences and to increase the direct access of these audiences to the museum’s collections and other resources (see also Crowell et al. n.d.; Crowell and Biddison n.d.).

According to MacDonald (1992:162):

Museums alone cannot create a sense of cultural identity. The media and the entertainment industry have much more impact here. But what museums particularly offer is an object base—the collection of the real, material remains of the past—as a sort of yardstick that people could use (if they were taught the skills) to evaluate cultural mythologies.

Following MacDonald (1992), the future of the museum depends upon how museums can use their information to create new understandings of humanity, and in how they can assist their audiences in interpreting and exploiting its primary resources. The role of new media (Manovich 2001) in this process is in its ability to increase the immediacy and accessibility of these resources; resources which audiences can use, in turn, to construct their own narratives.

Museums initially used digital technologies in order to create open and searchable collections’ databases, giving visitors unprecedented access to materials normally under the control of individual curators or departments. (Archaeology Data Service 2005; Kuckelman 2003; Lock 2003). The Archaeology Data Service (ADS), for example, allows audiences to explore its catalogues without the filter of a curator. Visitors to the service can access primary source-level data concerning archaeological sites, and view information about these places at multiple scales. Access to this information theoretically gives the public unrestricted access to the materials they would need to construct their own interpretations about the value and nature of archaeological resources. Whether or not novices to archaeology can readily interpret the data that the ADS provides is questionable, but the goal of such initiatives is valuable in that it promotes the free flow of information and ideas across the discipline and with the public.

Excavation teams and even individual archaeologists have followed the lead of museums and the ADS, offering unrestricted access to excavation and analytical data. The Çatalhöyük website, for example, allows the public to search its archaeological databases (Wolle and Tringham 2000), enabling unprecedented access to information that is normally guarded and controlled by project directors, including original provenience information, site photographs, and specialists reports. Tringham and Stevanovic (In Press) have carried this spirit of openness into the publication of the Berkeley Archaeologists at Çatalhöyük (BACH) monograph, providing an accessible database of archaeological data, site photographs, and related tables that can be accessed through the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Likewise, individual researchers have begun to offer their own primary source data to the public through personal websites, encouraging other researchers to use their data in their own research (Shackley 1996/2010). The spirit behind these initiatives involves making the entire process of archaeological interpretation transparent, which includes providing both the scientific community and wider public with the raw knowledge resources needed in order to evaluate and/or reinterpret their significance. Exemplifying this trend, in the United States the National Science Foundation now requires grant applicants and their recipients to indicate precisely where their data can be publicly accessed. Giving people access to raw data is not only an important way of giving the public a ground's-eye view of research, but it also promotes the free sharing of information among researchers, promoting greater scientific dialogue and openness amongst colleagues.

The use of digital technology in order to generate greater interactivity between museum collections and/or archaeological information is also evidenced in the creation of companion websites, movies and self-contained CD-ROMs by museums and archaeologists. For example, the Ocaneechi Town simulated excavation puts a new twist on the open artifact catalogue, enabling "excavators" to comb through Ocaneechi's excavation and artifact records, all within the context of excavating the site (Davis et al. 2003). The format of the digital mock dig, again, encourages greater transparency and interactivity with the archaeological process, making the visitor into a sort of discoverer, piecing together primary source information to choose where to dig and how to interpret the remains uncovered with each click of the mouse.

The multimedia format of Ocaneechi town is significant as the layered and interactive nature of such multimedia and hypermedia exhibits allow designers a great deal of flexibility in giving audiences access to a wide range of information, in multiple formats, and within a viewing environment that the visitor can customize. Through the nature of website and digital interpretive design, designers have the ability to create multiple, overlapping layers of information which they can use to give audiences a high degree of control over how they, individually, wish to view this information. A visitor to a site such as Ocaneechi Town thus has the opportunity to choose his/her pathway through the information, which in turn allows him/her to construct unique interpretations of materials that are dependent upon the contexts in which those lines of evidenced are accessed.

The ability to mirror the contextual nature of archaeological interpretation using digital technologies was one of the primary factors in an exploration by practicing archaeologists of hypermedia documents as a way to alternatively present archaeological data and narratives. Rosemary Joyce's (1994) project concerning the life of Dorothy Hughes Popenoe, a female archaeologist working in Honduras, used the format of hypermedia in order to create a non-linear story about Popenoe's life history. The linkages she provided between nodes of information about the archaeologist allowed Joyce (1994) to use hypermedia as an interpretive device. In this case, hypermedia and the ability to create multi-linear narratives is used to highlight the hegemonic nature of linear histories, which obscure the interconnected and disconnected aspects of disciplinary history, not to mention the lives of women like Ms. Popenoe. Combined with subject matter that explores the contextual nature of archaeological interpretation, these kinds of interactive, non-linear, and multi-layered platforms provide an alternative means by which to communicate the messages of an interpretive environment (Manovich 2001; Pink 2007, 2009a, 2009b; Rosenzweig 2000), not to mention have the potential to resist and dismantle traditional pathways of authority and narrativization (see also Joyce and Tringham 2007; Tringham 1994, 2010; Tringham and Stevanovic n.d.).

The incorporation of other forms of digital media into exhibits is also notable here. Heritage places such as Belgium's Ename museum, which uses digital reconstructions to show audiences the different life-histories of an ancient church no longer standing on site, provides visitors with an unprecedented opportunity to re-imagine the site's significance (Pletinckx et al. 2000; K. MacDonald 2003). Researchers at many other heritage sites such as Tambo Colorado, Peru and Angkor Wat, Cambodia have used digital scanners as a strategy to digitally document, preserve, and represent these places to the public and colleagues (e.g., see Addison 2000a, 2000b; Refsland et al. 2000; Stone 2000 for a discussion of digital technology in heritage preservation and representations). What these techniques provide to both the archaeologist and heritage professional is a way to document and show for audiences the scale and changing histories of heritage places. In cases where these places are under the threat of development or have already been destroyed, the technology allows future audiences the chances to see, for themselves, exact recreations of these places (e.g., Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008).

Though not quite as technologically savvy or awe inspiring as 3-D reconstructions of temples and churches, movies and video installations have also become mainstay techniques in presenting heritage to the public. Museums such as the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History, for example, have gone so far as to install a full IMAX theater, which features impossibly large-scale, dramatic documentaries on topics such as dinosaurs and penguins. It's hard to argue with the entertainment and emotional value of the stunning visuals created in these contexts, coincidentally one of the biggest reasons museums look to such mediums as a way to lure in audiences. Even small-scale interpretive programs such as that run by Potter and Leone (1992) at Annapolis, Maryland have used video displays as a way to engage audiences in the messages for their interpretive space. Although they ultimately chose to discontinue the installation because they saw the medium as an impediment to raising people's awareness about the constructedness of images, many other interpretive specialists, and especially

archaeologists see view the format favorably as it gives people, both expert and novice, a potentially democratic way to produce narratives about the past (Pink 2007, 2009a, 2009b; see also Lambert 2002). Indeed, this technique has been used extensively through the Multimedia Authoring Center for Teaching in Anthropology (MACTiA) at UC Berkeley (, where numerous professors and graduate students have used digital storytelling as a medium for developing both undergraduate and K-12 students' digital and informational literacy. This is just one local example of an international trend.

In each of the strategies used to implement interactivity—digital media, videos, digital reconstructions, open-air museums, public education, and outreach programs—the goal remains the same: to give audiences increased access to, control over, and direct participation with heritage and archaeological resources. The value of re-conceptualizing audiences as active participants in the process of making heritage enables both museums and public archaeologists to directly engage them, on multiple levels, with messages about the past. At the extreme end of these trends, heritage professionals view interactivity as a means with which to expressly demonstrate for visitors how the past is relevant in their own lives. This focus on making heritage relevant and as understandable as possible is indicative of the overarching trends towards inclusivity, reflexivity, and multi-vocality.

Conclusion: Making Heritage Matter

In the beginning of this chapter I outlined internal debates concerning the messages and goals of public archaeology. Early advocates for outreach in archaeology focused upon a strong preservationist and stewardship ethic, viewing outreach as the prime way that the discipline could teach the public about the value and necessity of protecting America's cultural and historical resources. This as a singular and quite constrained or limited view has since given way to a vision of public archaeology that uses the context of outreach and archaeological education as a means of fostering a greater goal: that of creating more democratic, inclusive, and multi-vocal representations. This approach to public outreach is a reflection of an awareness of and appreciation for the power of representations. For in representing heritage we tell stories that are as much about the present as they are about the past. Considering this relationship between past and present contexts, we have a certain responsibility to be mindful of the powerful impact our images can have upon present day communities, who are so very often excluded from the walls of our museums, and in civil society.

Drawing upon the heritage debate in museology I documented how this shift in public archaeology was precipitated by the ongoing dialogues of museologists and other interpretive specialists. From these debates we see the power of museums as instruments of civil society, and concomitantly, the ability to use them as resources with which to construct more democratic and engaging definitions of heritage. The movement of museologists and public archaeologists towards constructing heritage stories that reflect the diversity of humanity, that focus on the interpretive process, and that incorporate the multiple voices and needs of communities attests the acceptance of this responsibility. The contemporary trends of museology—Community Consultation, Narrativization, Education, and Interactivity—represent the conscious attempts on the part of interpretive specialists

to place the needs of multiple communities as central to the heritage process. Many of the strategies and methods developed therein are salient for public archaeology and, indeed, in a number of cases they have been directly applied in archaeological outreach and education.

These trends are especially salient in the case of this dissertation project, as how we create heritage representations is very often connected to the struggle for contemporary Indigenous communities to reassert their right to and sovereignty over their heritage and histories. Within the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project, our express purpose is to create a decolonizing archaeology that contributes to the ability of the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians to direct and control the contemporary study and representation of its community. Integral to this project is the development of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, what is a public outreach initiative that is designed not just as a means for educating the public, but simultaneously as an avenue for decolonizing and indigenizing the representations of Kashaya heritage and archaeology.

In the case of KPITP, public archaeology presents both the means and the methods of thinking through how we can decolonize Kashaya heritage at Fort Ross State Historic Park. This process of decolonization depends upon a detailed awareness of the process and contexts of representing heritage, which is critical for understanding the ways in which heritage representations can be used as tools of empowerment. Empowerment here refers to the ability of the tribal community and project to construct representations of Kashaya heritage that are democratic, inclusive, and multi-vocal. As many of the examples highlighted herein demonstrate, public archaeology can be a powerful—and empowering—tool in and of itself if only because it has the potential to engage the public and our audiences directly with issues that are important to Indigenous communities such as those like the Kashia. Through the format of a cultural heritage trail we are able to work with the tribal community to give the Kashia a visible voice in the representation of their heritage, and communicate to the public the issues that are important to them: the preservation of their heritage for future generations; the struggle to regain sovereignty over their cultural, natural, and political worlds; and the ability to tell their own histories about their ancestral homeland and of their experiences of colonialism.

Combined within a framework that reasserts the right of the tribe to define and direct the process of archaeology on its ancestral sites, the public outreach component is an integral element in reconfiguring archaeology as a practical, or applied practice. As described in the next chapter (Chapter 5: Telling Stories Through Places) and in the next section of this dissertation (Part III: An Archaeology of Respect), this applied practice imagines archaeology not just simply as a tool for recovering information about the past, but as a means for fostering social justice.

Chapter V

Telling Stories Through Places: The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail

In the previous chapter, I outlined a framework for public archaeology that encourages both archaeologists and the wider public to consider the ways in which heritage and its representations are connected to and implicated by our present contexts. Directed at uncovering and representing the diversity of the past, this kind of public and educational outreach re-situates the museum and other related interpretive environments within the context of community relationships and responsibilities. I examined how trends associated with community collaboration, narrativization, education, and interactivity provide concrete methods for creating interpretive environments that are mindful of the process of representation and which reflect the lives and experiences of the people who lived that heritage and those who live and view it today.

In this chapter I demonstrate how the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, as a community-based public archaeology project uses this framework in order to create an indigenized representation of Fort Ross State Historic Park. Combining community collaboration within the context of a creating a new interpretive program for the park has created an avenue for the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians to tell their own stories and heritage, and to teach the public, in the words of Reno Franklin (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer), how Kashaya have learned to walk in two worlds. In this case, public archaeology is a platform for both decolonizing the process of creating Kashaya heritage representations, and also contributing to the community's own decolonizing projects (see Smith 1999 for an explication of tribal decolonizing projects).

In the following pages I will provide an overview of the history, goals, and outcomes of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project (KPITP). First, I will address the origins of the project and provide an overview of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. Next I will outline the goals of the project, demonstrating how our concern with three issues: voice, literacy, and decolonization intersect with one another. In relation to the decolonizing aspect of KPITP I will discuss how the project contributes to the kinds of indigenous-centered projects identified by Smith (1999). This discussion provides the context for public archaeology as it is applied through KPITP. Finally, I will present an overview of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail and its companion website. This overview will indicate how the preceding trends in museology and public interpretation have been used in order to create indigenized representations of the past at Fort Ross State Historic Park (FRSHP).

The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project

Project Background

KPITP is the outcome of over 20 years of collaboration between the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians at Stewart's Point Rancheria, the California Department of Parks and Recreation (CA DPR), and UC Berkeley archaeologists. KPITP is an outgrowth of the Fort Ross Archaeological Project (FRAP), the goal of which was to better understand the communities, households, and lives of Fort Ross's Indigenous residents (Lightfoot et al. 1991, 1997; Lightfoot et al. 1998). Prior to FRAP the majority of archaeological investigations at FRSHP were centered within the stockade compound, focused solely upon the architectural history of its associated buildings, and by extension, upon the lives of its higher class, Russian and Creole residents. It was the goal of FRAP to step outside the stockade and conduct large-scale investigations of the multi-ethnic neighborhoods that once surrounded the colony's stockade. It is important to note here that the majority of the colony's workforce lived outside the stockade's walls and resided in households that were, by and large, interethnic, and composed of Russian, Creole, and Native Alaskan men and their partners, the vast majority of whom were Native Californian (Lightfoot et al. 1997; Parkman 1996/1997).

As part of FRAP, archaeological investigations were carried out at the Native Alaskan Village, home to the colony's Native Alaskan workers and their wives (the majority of whom were Native Californian) (see Lightfoot et al. 1997; Lightfoot et al. 1998), and at Metini Village, a 19th century Kashaya Pomo village located roughly 180 meters north of the north wall of Russian stockade (Lightfoot and Gonzalez *forthcoming*; Lightfoot et al. 2001). In addition to this work, a large-scale surface pedestrian survey of the park's property was designed to document and record the full history of Kashaya settlement along Metini's coastal terrace and adjacent ridge system (Lightfoot et al. 1991). Combined, these projects helped to shed new light upon the Kashaya's heritage within their ancestral homeland and revealed in greater, and in material, detail aspects of daily life within the Russian American Company's ethnic neighborhoods and interethnic households.

In 2004, KPITP began as a project designed to integrate FRAP's 20-year history of research at the Fort Ross into the current interpretive programs at the park (see also for a description of FRAP related archaeological projects at FRSHP Allan 1997; Martinez 1997, 1998). While the Visitor's Center features a small museum run by the Fort Ross Interpretive Association, in which the archaeology of the Native Alaskan Village is discussed, it was our hope to further expand upon the interpretation of archaeological remains at the colony. It is the project's desire to use the archaeology conducted through FRAP as a means with which to discuss the communities no longer represented or visible on the physical landscape at Fort Ross.

As stated at the beginning of Chapter 4, the imposing Russian stockade stands in stark contrast to the un-reconstructed ethnic neighborhoods and extra-mural spaces of the settlement. Visitors are thus presented with a lop-sided view of Fort Ross, which emphasizes the military history and Russian-character of the colony; this despite the fact

that the majority of its residents were of Indigenous descent (Istomin 1992; Parkman 1996/1997). This interpretive focus has changed in recent years with the installation of interpretive plaques around the stockade compound that identify the Russian and Creole Village, Native Alaskan Village, shipbuilding and industrial complex, and Russian windmill. Despite these improvements, direct interpretation of the archaeological remains associated with these spaces—not to mention the continued lack of interpretation concerning the Kashaya’s history and settlement at the fort—is grossly lacking.

Project Description

It is the express purpose of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project to change this represented landscape by creating a cultural heritage trail whose interpretive focus is to highlight the heritage of the Kashaya Pomo within their ancestral territory, and represent the multi-ethnic workforce of *Selenie Ross* and their relationships to and with local Indigenous communities (Kashaya Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Southern Pomo). Named the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail in honor of the first inhabitants of Fort Ross: Metini, the trail is designed as a walkable interpretive trail that features the on-site interpretation of archaeological sites within the park. The wide range of archaeological resources at the park present numerous contexts for exploring the diverse heritages and histories that intersect with one another at Metini: Fort Ross. For example, sites range from 6,000-8,000 year old lithic scatters and 2,000- 100 year old shell middens associated with the Kashaya all the way 19th century habitation and timber processing sites associated with successive waves of Russian (and Alaskan), Mexican, and American settlement on the coastal terraces adjacent to the stockade. In order to illuminate the lives—past and present—of the Kashaya Pomo and the other Indigenous residents of Metini: Fort Ross, the trail integrates Kashaya oral histories and oral traditions directly into the interpretation of these ancestral places. Similarly, historical documents, environmental data, and ethnohistoric data is also used to demonstrate for visitors how these independent lines of evidence can be used to construct interpretations about the past, both ancient and historic.

The proposed trail is divided into two loops, an East and a West Loop (Figure 5.1). Together, these two interpretive loops will engage the public in a flow of history that begins with the earliest archaeological sites in the park, continues with the interactions of the Kashaya Pomo with Russian, Native Alaskan, Mexican and American colonists, and culminates with conversations about the contemporary Kashaya Pomo tribe and its people. The West Loop takes visitors out onto Fort Ross’s adjacent marine terrace and introduces visitors to the deep history and heritage of the Kashaya Pomo at Metini. This history is archaeologically estimated at 6,000-8,000 years old, however, tribal oral histories and oral traditions indicate that the Kashaya have lived at Metini since time immemorial (Vivian Wilder Parrish and Violet Parrish Chappell, *personal communication*, 2004; see also Oswalt 1964 for Kashaya Pomo creation history). Sites along this segment of the trail consist of a variety of sacred places, rock art locales, lithic scatters, shell middens, and a range of historic sites associated with the park’s ranching and timber harvest activities.

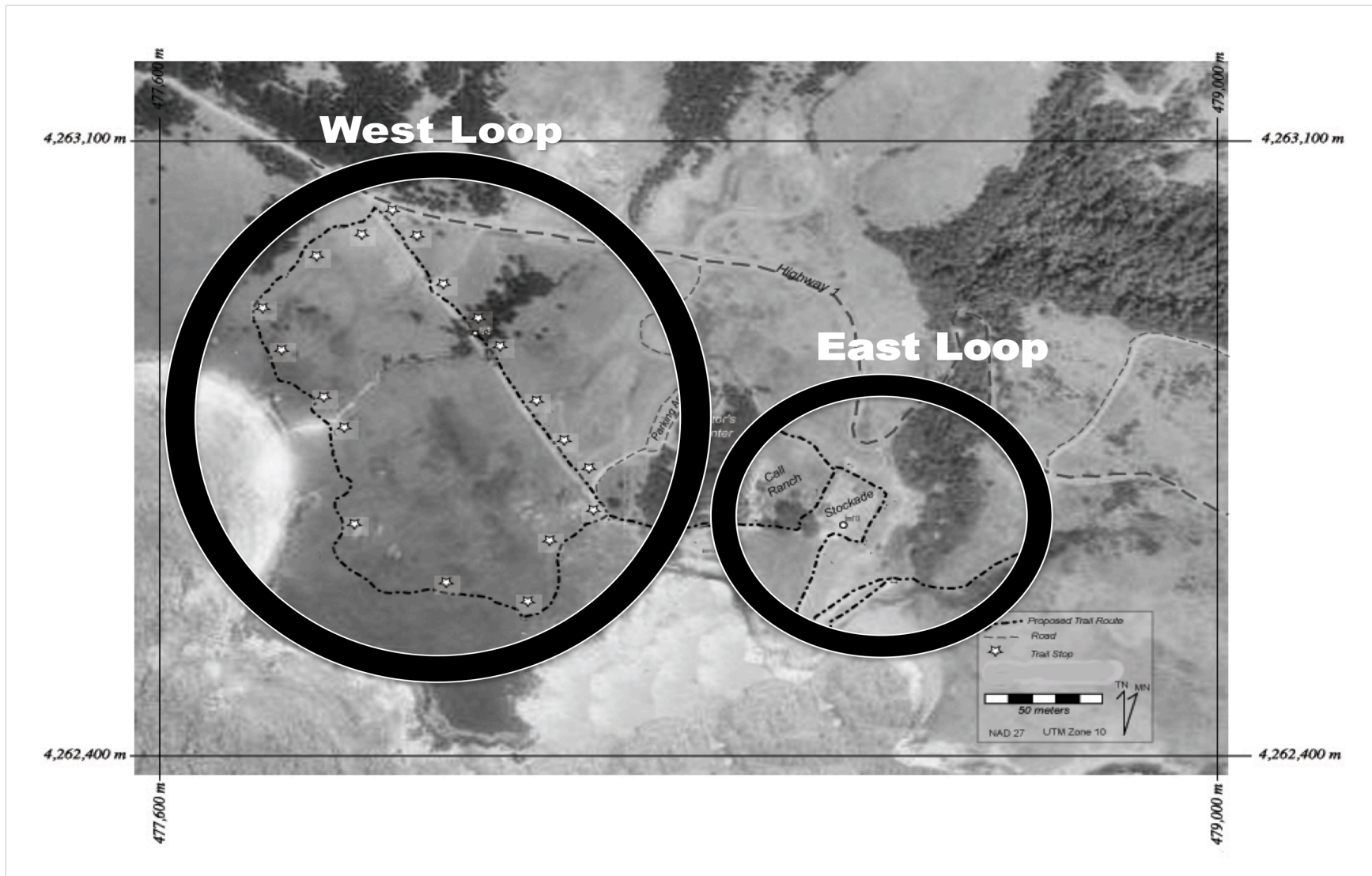


Figure 5.1 The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail

The East Loop will wind around the Russian stockade and highlight the lives of the colony's Native Alaskan and Native Californian workers and residents. The purpose of this trail segment is to represent the multi-ethnic neighborhoods surrounding the fort, drawing visitors' attention to these currently unseen and mostly unrepresented communities. Sites to be interpreted on the East Loop include the Russian and Creole Village (also called the *sloboda*), Native Alaskan Village, Shipbuilding and Commercial sector, North Wall Community, Windmill, and Metini Village, the 19th century Kashaya village located less than 200 meters from the existing stockade.

The project itself was co-directed by Kent Lightfoot (UC Berkeley) and Otis Parrish (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians) from 2004-2006. Beginning in 2007 and continuing to the present, myself (Sara Gonzalez, UC Berkeley) and Reno Franklin (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians Tribal Historic Preservation Officer) have taken over the directorship of the project. Project members include the following: Roberta Jewett (director of archaeology, 2004 field school); Breck Parkman (CA DPR archaeologist); Glenn Farris (CA DPR archaeologist); Gary Shannon (CA DPR, trail development); Walter Antone (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, tribal elder and scholar); Violet Parrish Chappell (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, tribal elder and scholar); Vivian Parrish Wilder (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, tribal elder and scholar); and Eric Wilder (Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, former Tribal Chair).

KPITP ran two field schools, one in 2004 and another in 2007. The California Archaeology Lab's Undergraduate Research Apprentices also lent support to the project from 2004-2009. The 2004 field season's primary goals included the following: the survey of the proposed West Loop's pathway; the identification of all archaeological sites within this pathway; the examination of the potential impact of the trail upon these resources; and, finally, the selection of sites that would be suitable for on-site interpretation along the trail. The results of this fieldwork are in the process of being reported, though Chapter 7 provides a brief overview of the process and methodology used to define the trail's boundaries and interpretive content.

In 2007, KPITP shifted its focus to a detailed examination of the North Wall Community, a multi-ethnic settlement located directly outside the Russian stockade's North Wall. This site had been identified in 2004 as suitable for interpretation along the East Loop and archaeological investigations were designed to construct a more detailed understanding of the occupation history at the site, and gather more in-depth information concerning the daily lives of the community's Indigenous, Russian, and Creole inhabitants. The results of this work are described in more detail in Chapter 8.

Project Goals, 2004-onwards

As noted in the previous sections, the creation of the interpretive trail began several years ago and was related to FRAPs ongoing collaboration with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. Members of FRAP, most notably Kent Lightfoot, Otis Parrish, Roberta Jewett, and Sherry Pearce Parrish, recognized that an interpretive trail would serve three purposes (Lightfoot et al. 2005). First, the trail would provide an alternative view of Fort Ross State Historic Park that would focus upon the overlooked and under-interpreted lives of the working-

class Russian, Creole, Yakut, Native Alaskan (Alutiiq, Unangan, Chugach, Tlingit, and Dena'ina), and Native Californian (Kashaya Pomo, Southern Pomo, and Coast Miwok) residents. Second, on-site interpretation of archaeological remains and sites is exceedingly rare in California. While many other states, especially those in the American Southwest and Midwest interpret archaeological sites directly to the public, there are few places where the public can directly experience archaeology in California. As one of the only parks in the California State Parks system that features on-site reconstructions, Fort Ross provides ample opportunity to further develop on-site interpretations of cultural heritage, which are valuable for their ability to show visitors, directly, what archaeology "looks" like (Clottes and Chippendale 1999; Hurry 2007; Iseminger 1997; James 1999; Jameson 1999, 2004a, 2004b; Kwas 2000; Luby 2004; Lucas 2004; Mackintosh 2004; Mytum 1999, 2004; Potter 1997; Sommer 1999). By featuring sites for interpretation along the interpretive trail it was hoped that the project could also increase the public's archaeological literacy. Third, the existence of a rich collection of archaeological information, historical records including first-hand accounts from the colonial period, environmental data, and most importantly Kashaya oral histories and oral traditions, offer a unique opportunity to tell multiple, and layered narratives about Fort Ross and the colonial experiences of the Kashaya Pomo and other Indigenous communities who lived and worked there. Bringing together these diverse sources of information and experiences, the trail could, in turn, demonstrate for visitors how so many disparate communities came to be connected through this one place.

Project Goals, 2006-present

Following the 2004 field school and as a result of continued collaboration with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians, the above goals have been further expanded upon and refined. Below I have identified the three main goals of the current project.

1. Creating an Interpretive Voice

Our primary goal for the trail is to create an interpretive program, the express purpose of which is to give the Kashaya Pomo a direct voice in the representation of their ancestral homeland and heritage. This goal is a direct outcome of collaboration with the tribe, whose elders and scholars wanted to better integrate the tribal communities' experiences and perspectives on their heritage into the interpretive programs at Fort Ross State Historic Park (Reno Franklin, *personal communication*, 2010; Violet Parrish Chappell, Vivian Wilder Parrish and Otis Parrish, *personal communication*, 2004; Eric Wilder, *personal communication*, 2004). As previously discussed, neither the visitor's center, nor the early iterations of the Environmental Living Program made Kashaya history a focal point. This lack of interpretation, as well as the tribe's inability to control how its heritage was represented through these interpretive programs, was the main impetus behind the creation of KPITP in 2004. Designed as a community-based and collaborative project, KPITP thus presented an opportunity for the tribe to have direct control over and input into how its heritage is represented to the public.

2. Creation of a Sustainable Cultural Education Program

Not only does the trail provide an opportunity for the tribal community to reach out to the public directly, but it also provides the context for building a sustainable tribal cultural education program. Current plans for the trail include employing Kashaya tribal members and youth as guides for the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. As has been implemented by other Native American and Indigenous communities, such cultural heritage programs serve to reconnect tribal youth and other members with their ancestral homeland, allowing participants to learn about their heritage within the context of teaching others about it (Ashini and Loring 2000; Handsman and McBride 2008; Kerber 2008; Desiree Martinez and Wendy Teeter, *personal communication*, 2010; Ouzman 2006, 2008; Rossen 2008; Two Bears 2008). This issue of reconnection to traditions and homeland is an important one, especially for tribal youth, who in many cases have been raised away from the tribal community or face incredible social and cultural challenges. In the short-term, I am working on the development of companion curricula for the interpretive trail that can be integrated into the K-12 Kashaya School. It is also hoped that these curricula will be integrated into the Environmental Learning Program at FRSHP.

The trail itself also has the potential to augment existing tribal cultural education programs related to the preservation of tribal ethnobotany. It is the long-term goal of KPITP to use the trail as a space within which to reintroduce native plant species that are important to the tribal community's health and spiritual well-being.³ Such programs have become an increasingly important part of tribal education and health programs, and it is hoped in this case that the regeneration of these native species on the coastal terrace will in turn be used by the community (see for a related example Cuthrell et al. 2009 and Lightfoot et al. 2008 for a related example). Until KPITP can replant native plant species, we have chosen to highlight tribal ethnobotany in the interpretative content of the trail. The public is thus made aware of issues associated with the ecological colonization of the coastal terrace and the resulting impact this has had on maintaining spiritual and physical health.

3. Raise Archaeological Literacy

As already discussed, the use of on-site interpretation of archaeological remains is rarely undertaken in California. The desire to preserve archaeological remains in-situ and protect them from looting and other forms of vandalism or destruction is certainly a major reason for the protection and secrecy of archaeological sites in the state. However, it is also important to note that tribal communities have their own unique concerns with the disclosure of site location information through archaeological tourism.

In the case of working with the Kashia Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO), maintaining the secrecy of ancestral and sacred sites is of utmost importance. This is due to the fact that all ancestral sites (villages, habitation areas, rock art sites, and processing

³ Programs associated with improving the health of tribal communities have increasingly turned towards traditional nutrition as ways to solve the current health crises faced by these communities. Numerous projects designed to reconstruct ancient diets and reintroduce traditional plant-based and animal foods have gained traction in both archaeology and Native American studies (Anderson 1992, 2001, 2005; Anderson and Barbour 2003; Mihesuah 2005a; Nelson 2008 *forthcoming*; Alston Thoms, *personal communication*, 2010).

sites), in addition to traditional cultural properties. As such, the THPO works to protect these sites from any kind of disturbance; archaeological, developmental, tourism, or otherwise. The Kashia THPO thus maintains strict control over the dissemination of site location information so as to ensure the protection of these spaces from vandalism. That the interpretive trail will interpret Kashaya ancestral sites is of concern to the tribe, but their desire to educate the public about the sacredness and importance of these sites outweighs these concerns.

We (KPITP) envision on-site interpretation as an educational opportunity through which we can impart upon Fort Ross's visitor's the sacredness and importance of Kashaya ancestral places and spaces. It is also thought that by highlighting tribal perspectives on archaeological resources we can provide visitors with an additional, compelling reason as to why such spaces deserve their respect and continued protection. Due to the desire of the tribe to protect its sacred sites, we have worked with them to identify sites that are acceptable for direct interpretation. Sites chosen are thus almost invisible on the surface, limiting the chances that visitors will be able to carry away artifacts. In each case the direct location of the archaeological deposits are also not readily identified in the interpretive content. Featuring archeology thusly we still have the ability to give visitors a direct experience with archaeological resources, ensuring their safety, as well as the safety and well-being of the tribal community.

4. Decolonizing Heritage at Fort Ross State Historic Park

Decolonization is a new, critical component and goal of KPITP. As such the project contributes to the goals of decolonization as outlined by scholars such as Mihesuah (1998b, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005b), Mihesuah and Wilson (2004a, 2004b), Smith (1999), and Wilson (2004, 2005). Smith (1999) outlines 25 Indigenous Projects, which are designed to aide in the decolonization of communities. These projects include: *Claiming; Testimonies; Story Telling; Celebrating Survival; Remembering; Indigenizing; Intervening; Revitalizing; Connecting; Reading; Writing; Representing; Gendering; Envisioning; Reframing; Restoring; Returning; Democratization; Networking; Naming; Protecting; Creating; Negotiating; Discovering; and Sharing* (Table 5.1).

As previously discussed in Chapter 4, archaeology has a potentially important role to play in many of these Indigenous and decolonizing projects. This is due to archaeologists' ability to recover knowledge about the past that communities can use in the present to restore and heal themselves. I have already mentioned how the archaeological studies of diet, nutrition, and ethnobotany have been particularly valuable for communities in identifying ways to create healthy and healthful communities, providing models for community-run health and nutrition centers (Mihesuah 2005; Nelson 2008; Alston Thoms *personal communication*, 2010). Likewise archaeological studies of the colonial period are poised to shed new light on the diverse processes and variety of indigenous experiences of colonization, knowledge that communities can use in order to better understand their histories of oppression. This knowledge is critical within the context of decolonization as it provides the basis for a community to evaluate how colonization has specifically impacted traditional cultural values and intra-tribal social relationships. This knowledge of the

specific processes of colonization that a community has undergone is vital for being about to recovering pre-colonized knowledge, which can then be used as contemporary resources for rebuilding and maintaining a stronger community in the present. In other words, projects of recovery (using Smith’s [1999] terminology: Revitalizing, Representing, Restoring, Returning, Naming, and Discovering) are valuable sources for resolving epistemic injustices, enabling oppressed communities to “make sense of” their oppression (Fricker 2003, 2006, 2007; McConkey 2004; Wylie 2006).

Table 5.1
Twenty-five Indigenous Projects. Adapted from Smith (1999:142-161).

Projects	Description
<i>Claiming</i>	Process of claiming or reclaiming rights; creation of collective histories
<i>Testimonies</i>	Presentation of formal evidence; giving testimony to events, often painful events or histories; intersects with <i>Claiming</i>
<i>Story Telling</i>	Telling stories, oral histories and individual perspectives; creation of dialogue and conversations with and between self and community
<i>Celebrating Survival</i>	Celebration of survival and resistance despite colonization; takes form in stories, music, art, community events
<i>Remembering</i>	Remembrance of suffering and painful pasts; reliving experience of the trauma of colonization
<i>Indigenizing</i>	Privileging of indigenous worlds by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous; activism directed at reclaiming the indigenous and working for the rights of Indigenous peoples
<i>Intervening</i>	Research designed to intervene and contribute to changes within a community; often community-directed research to improve social and cultural conditions
<i>Revitalizing</i>	Revitalization of cultural traditions; language, arts, cultural practices
<i>Connecting</i>	Creating and strengthening connections among people and communities; Reconnecting or reaffirming ties to territory and homeland
<i>Reading</i>	Rereading histories to identify and map forms of colonization; Challenge accepted readings of history to provide new critiques
<i>Writing</i>	Writing back to history; Writing for creativity, Remembering, Indigenizing, Story-Telling and Revitalization
<i>Representing</i>	Representing oneself; Reclaiming voice in politics; Expression of self-determination; Production of cultural representations by and for community

Table 5.1 Cont'd.

<i>Gendering</i>	Gendering community debates; understanding impact of colonialism on gender relations; Restoration of Indigenous women's rights
<i>Envisioning</i>	Imagination of the future; Creative resource for survival and resistance in contemporary colonial contexts
<i>Reframing</i>	Determining how to frame a problem so as to determine the underlying causes and connections; Creating definitions that reflect indigenous realities and perspectives
<i>Restoring</i>	Restoration of health and well-being; Holistic healing that occurs at individual and community levels; spiritual, emotional and physical
<i>Returning</i>	Returning to original, indigenous owners; Repatriation of cultural patrimony; Land Claims; Rights of access and return; Connected to Claiming
<i>Democratizing</i>	Restoring collectivity and public debate; Resistance to colonial established models of governance
<i>Networking</i>	Connections at a national and international level; Designed to spread information quickly; to create knowledge databases of individuals and events
<i>Naming</i>	Reclaiming the right to name; Connected to Representation and Revitalization
<i>Protecting</i>	Protecting languages people, communities, lands, natural resources, customs, traditional knowledge, etc. from further harm or destruction
<i>Creating</i>	Fostering creativity, imagination, and spirit; Source for solving individual and community problems
<i>Negotiating</i>	Strategic action and thinking; Negotiation as central to survivance and achieving long-term goals
<i>Discovering</i>	Discovering and using Western Science as tools for the community and its future development; Connected to Indigenizing, Intervening, Reading, Reframing, and Protecting
<i>Sharing</i>	Sharing of knowledge among and across a community or network; Sharing results of research in accessible formats; Connected to Testimonies, Story Telling, Connections, Writing, Networking, Democratization

Table 5.2

Contributions made to decolonizing projects through the framework for archaeology developed and implemented through KPITP. Adapted from Smith (1999:142-161).

Projects	Contributions made through KPITP	Description
<i>Indigenizing</i>	KPITP is part of an activist and practical archaeology designed to build capacity of tribe; The framework uses Kashaya worldviews to structure theory and practice of an archaeology of colonialism	Privileging of indigenous worlds by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous; activism directed at reclaiming the indigenous and working for the rights of Indigenous peoples
<i>Intervening</i>	Works towards creating a Kashaya-centered indigenous heritage management strategy at FRSHP	Research designed to intervene and contribute to changes within a community; often community-directed research to improve social and cultural conditions
<i>Reading</i>	Examines how archaeology has been used as a tool to disenfranchise tribal control over history and heritage; Goal is to integrate Kashaya readings into interpretation of FRSHP	Rereading histories to identify and map forms of colonization; Challenge accepted readings of history to provide new critiques
<i>Gendering</i>	Related goal of KPITP is to understand the nature and role of interethnic unions at Fort Ross; Contribute to understanding of Indigenous women's colonial relations and experiences	Gendering community debates; understanding impact of colonialism on gender relations; Restoration of Indigenous women's rights
<i>Reframing</i>	Reframes archaeology in terms of its sacred and ceremonial contexts; Kashaya worldviews used to ameliorate the negative spiritual impact of archaeology	Determining how to frame a problem so as to determine the underlying causes and connections; Creating definitions that reflect indigenous realities and perspectives
<i>Restoring</i>	By reframing archaeology according to Kashaya cultural laws and values, protects tribal community from potential dangers of archaeology and its disturbance to sacred sites	Restoration of health and well-being; Holistic healing that occurs at individual and community levels; spiritual, emotional and physical
<i>Returning</i>	Framework institutes practice of repatriation and reburial of artifacts back to ancestral sites	Returning to original, indigenous owners; Repatriation of cultural patrimony; Land Claims; Rights of access and return; Connected to Claiming
<i>Discovering</i>	Use of archaeology as a tool to assist the tribe in its efforts of Returning, Claiming, Remembering, Representing, Naming, and Sharing; Re-appropriation of archaeology as a way to protect Kashaya heritage resources	Discovering and using Western Science as tools for the community and its future development; Connected to Indigenizing, Intervening, Reading, Reframing, and Protecting
<i>Protecting</i>	Related to Discovering; Archaeology used to protect Kashaya heritage sites from development within FRSHP; Development of practices consistent with cultural values regarding the protection and preservation of ancestral sites	Protecting languages people, communities, lands, natural resources, customs, traditional knowledge, etc. from further harm or destruction

Table 5.2
Con'd.

<p><i>Democratizing</i></p>	<p>Reciprocal Collaboration between researchers and tribe changes archaeological practice; Puts decision making into hands of community; All project project members established as equal participants, including field school students</p>	<p>Restoring collectivity and public debate; Resistance to colonial established models of governance</p>
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The sub-discipline of public archaeology presents another opportunity for decolonization, one that has the ability to impact communities at multiple levels. If we envision public archaeology as a field interested in the power and process of representation, public outreach and education becomes a powerful tool that can be used to transform the ways in which we approach, recover, represent, and engage audiences with the past. Because it specifically involves the public—whether it be a community involved in the retelling of its history, or new visitors to an interpretive space like Fort Ross—public archaeology can work towards actively changing the ways in which people consume, view, and understand both archaeology and issues of heritage. In this sense public archaeology becomes a kind of practical or applied archaeology that uses the process and practice of archaeology in service to and for our communities (for an alternate, Marxist and Indigenous approach to practical archaeology see McGuire 2008).

As a practical archaeology concerned with integrating Kashaya experiences into the representation and study of their heritage, KPITP incorporates elements from all of the Indigenous Projects identified by Smith (1999). The project relies upon a community-based participatory research (CBPR) framework in order to define its goals and research practices. The Kashaya tribal community is thus placed in direct control over the process of knowledge construction and has the shared ability to define the extent and scope of research about itself. In Chapter 7, I discuss in detail how this framework alters the very practice of an archaeology of colonialism, from how we think about Kashaya identity in the past, to how we write about it in the present. This framework is the primary way that KPITP contributes to projects associated with: *Indigenizing; Intervening; Reading; Gendering; Reframing; Restoring; Returning; Democratizing; and Discovering* (Table 5.2).⁴

The project has also created the context for the tribal community to remember its heritage and experiences of colonialism. According to Eric Wilder (*personal communication*), as the project went on, he was able to hear stories from his aunts, uncles, and elders about Fort Ross; stories that he had never heard before.

⁴ More complete descriptions of the Framework for Archaeology’s contributions to decolonizing projects are presented in Chapters 3 and 7.

Table 5.3

Contributions made to decolonizing projects through the public outreach component of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. Adapted from Smith (1999:142-161).

Projects	Contributions made through KPITP	Description
<i>Claiming</i>	Provides avenue for claiming experience and histories of colonization at Fort Ross	Process of claiming or reclaiming rights; creation of collective histories
<i>Testimonies</i>	Provides formal space for tribal elders and scholar to present their testimony; give voice to traumatic, colonial experiences	Presentation of formal evidence; giving testimony to events, often painful events or histories; intersects with <i>Claiming</i>
<i>Story Telling</i>	Integration of oral histories and oral traditions allows for the telling of community stories; New stories emerge as a result of Sharing between individuals and families	Telling stories, oral histories and individual perspectives; creation of dialogue and conversations with and between self and community
<i>Celebrating Survival</i>	Trail focuses on the survivance of the tribal community; Demonstrates the tribe's continuing and long-standing connections to their homeland	Celebration of survival and resistance despite colonization; takes form in stories, music, art, community events
<i>Remembering</i>	Similar to Testimonies; Trail provides venue for remembering colonial experiences and publicly giving voice to them	Remembrance of suffering and painful pasts; reliving experience of the trauma of colonization
<i>Revitalizing</i>	Plans for the reintroduction of native plants and development of educational curricula contribute to ongoing tribal Revitalization efforts	Revitalization of cultural traditions; language, arts, cultural practices
<i>Connecting</i>	Publicly affirms tribal connections to FRSHP; Potential for tribal youth to reconnect to homeland through the trail	Creating and strengthening connections among people and communities; Reconnecting or reaffirming ties to territory and homeland
<i>Writing</i>	Tribal stories shared through the trail provide opportunity to write back, to present own history and heritage	Writing back to history; Writing for creativity, Remembering, Indigenizing, Story-Telling and Revitalization
<i>Representing</i>	Ownership over trail critical for enabling the tribe to directly represent and interpret its heritage to the public	Representing oneself; Reclaiming voice in politics; Expression of self-determination; Production of cultural representations by and for community
<i>Naming</i>	The trail actively renames spaces according to Kashaya terminology; Story Telling through the trail is used to give names to traditional places and have these names publicized through interpretive content	Reclaiming the right to name; Connected to Representation and Revitalization
<i>Creating</i>	The trail is a creative project designed to give voice to the contemporary tribal community; Interpretation of the past also stresses creative and imaginative ways that Kashaya interacted with their homeland and developed relationships with Ross' colonial residents	Fostering creativity, imagination, and spirit; Source for solving individual and community problems

Table 5.3
Cont'd.

<i>Sharing</i>	The trail makes public over 20 years of archaeological and collaborative research in an accessible format; Public lectures have also helped inform local residents as well as tribal community about the progress of the project and its goals; All primary data generated through KPITP is owned and controlled by the tribe	Sharing of knowledge among and across a community or network; Sharing results of research in accessible formats; Connected to Testimonies, Story Telling, Connections, Writing, Networking, Democratization
<i>Networking</i>	The website creates an online portal through which information about the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians can be shared with local, national, and global communities	Connections at a national and international level; Designed to spread information quickly; to create knowledge databases of individuals and events

By bringing together these stories and remembrances for the express purpose of incorporating them into the public interpretation of FRSHP, KPITP plays a critical role in projects associated with: *Claiming; Testimonies; Story Telling; Celebrating Survival; Remembering; Revitalizing; Connecting; Writing; Representing; Naming; Creating; and Sharing* (Table 5.3).⁵

The fact that the project takes an integrated approach to the archaeology of colonialism—that is it uses archaeological investigations not as the end-goal of the project, but as a means with which to change the public representation of Kashaya heritage—enables it to contribute to so many different types of Indigenous Projects. KPITP is not unique in this regard, as it is increasingly common for decolonizing archaeologies to use the venue of public outreach and education to structure community-based research projects (see the following for examples of field schools: Atalay 2008; Bendremer and Thomas 2008; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Hunter 2004, 2008; Kerber 2008; Mills et al. 2008; Rossen 2008; Silliman and Dring 2008; Two Bears 2006, 2008; and the following for examples of collaborative outreach programs: Atalay 2006b, 2007; Breglia 2007; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008; Handsman and McBride 2008; Hantman 2004, 2008; Hoobler 2006; Jameson and Baugher 2007a; Julien et al. 2008; Nicholas 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005). What is unique in this case is the degree to which the project has used collaboration with the tribe to indigenize the process of an archaeology of colonialism, altering the very

⁵ More complete descriptions of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail’s contribution to decolonization can be found in later sections of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 3.

methods we use in the field and contributing to the creation of a Kashaya-centered heritage management plan for sites within FRSHP.⁶

Telling Stories Through Places: Designing the Trail

In the following section I present the methods KPITP has used in order to create indigenized representation of Kashaya heritage. In many cases, our methods and techniques intersect with one another. Nonetheless, the trends of Community Consultation, Narrativization, Education, and Interactivity provide a useful framework for examining how the project has integrated the goals of decolonization with debates in public archaeology concerning the production of democratic and multi-vocal heritage representations. I also describe the interpretive content and development plan for the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail as it relates to each of the above trends.

Community Consultation: Creating Community Archaeology

As stated above, KPITP uses a community-based participatory research (CBPR) framework (e.g., Atalay 2007, 2008; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004b; Smith 1999). Typically, research occurs outside the control of a community, however, CBPR provides collaborative frameworks that are all similar in terms of reorienting the process of research so that it integrates community perspectives and goals into all stages of the research design, from formulation and implementation to sharing of results. CBPR is thus a powerful tool for decolonizing archaeology as it provides the means of bringing together researchers and communities within a context where the needs and perspectives of archaeologists are not privileged over community needs and perspectives. This is essential for creating reciprocal collaboration amongst participants that empowers Native American communities in the creation of research that contributes to their own well-being in the present and future (Atalay 2006a, 2006b; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Dongoske et al. 2000; Norder 2007; Silliman 2008b). In this sense CBPR contributes to the Indigenous Projects of *Intervening*, *Indigenizing*, and *Discovering* (Table 5.1 and Table 5.2).

Following a CBPR framework, all KPITP goals have been defined through reciprocal collaboration with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. Likewise, the plan of work for the project (described in more detail in Chapter 7) and the plan for sharing the results of research have been decided in collaboration with the tribal community. Collaboration with the tribe has occurred at several levels. First, permission for all fieldwork as well approval for the project was formally obtained through the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians Tribal Council. In addition, the project was jointly operated through UC Berkeley and the Kashia Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO), which oversees the development of all tribal cultural resources. Second, the THPO provided the main point of contact between KPITP and the tribal council and their input was sought at all stages of the project, from the design of the research protocol, to the resolution of issues related to the study of ancestral sites and artifact analysis related to the trail's development. Third, the participation of tribal elders and scholars and other community members in the project was sought throughout

⁶ This issue is examined in Chapter 7.

the operation of the project. Tribal members were formally informed of the project through the tribal council with the office of the THPO further identifying individuals interested in the project.

Otis Parrish's role as a tribal elder and scholar was integral to the early stages of this project, as he worked as a liaison between individual tribal members, the Kashia tribal council, and KPITP. Through him, the project worked with elders and Tribal scholars Violet Parrish Chappell and Vivian Wilder Parrish. Since Reno Franklin and I have taken over the stewardship of the project, Mr. Franklin has assumed the primary role of liaison between the project and the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. He has contributed vital guidance in terms of the final format of the trail and plan of work for archaeological investigations at the North Wall Community. Since this time Walter Antone, tribal elder and scholar, and council to the THPO, has provided necessary guidance concerning the interpretation of archaeological remains recovered from the North Wall Community, as well as monitored the process of archeology alongside Reno Franklin.

Narrativization: Re-humanizing Metini:Fort Ross

Collaboration on the project created the context for sharing tribal histories. Using a holistic approach to the archaeology of colonialism, this project critically integrates archaeological, historical, ethnohistoric, and indigenous oral histories and oral traditions in order to interpret Kashaya history and heritage at Fort Ross:Metini. In this manner tribal histories are directly used to testify to Kashaya experiences of Metini, their ancestral homeland, and Fort Ross, a colonial space that brought them into relationships and negotiations with multiple European and Indigenous communities. The fact that KPITP is concerned with using these testimonies and histories as the basis for a public, cultural heritage trail makes a unique decolonizing project that contributes to the following Indigenous Projects: *Claiming, Testimonies, Story Telling, Celebrating Survival, Remembering, Revitalizing, Representing, Naming, and Sharing* (Table 5.3).

Weaving together archaeological sites, oral traditions, oral histories and historical documents, the interpretive content of the trail foregrounds the modern tribe, describing past lifeways and uses of the landscape in terms of the struggles of the modern tribe to gain access to ancestral sites, maintain their traditions and language, and live as modern Indians in a modern world. The emphasis we place upon the modern tribe and its connection to its heritage is purposeful here. Traditionally, representations of Native Americans that rely upon archaeology tend to describe sites in terms of subsistence practices. This contributes to lifeless and uni-dimensional representations of Native communities that 1) imply that the only things worth knowing about these communities is economic survival; 2) make it difficult to imagine the interconnectedness of past and present tribal lifeways; and 3) do not provide visitors with parallels to their own lives so that they can personally understand the contemporary relevance of these representations. With the trail, our goal is to humanize the landscape so that interpretations of archaeological sites are not solely about the coastal terrace's environmental resources, but about the Kashaya and their connections to this place. On the trail, the terrace is represented not simply as an open, picturesque vista, but as schoolhouse where children learned; a place where families came to collect

food and tell stories; a landscape that was inscribed with the histories of the tribal community.

In order to convey these themes to the public we want and need to make the trail come alive for visitors so that they can see Metini's coastal terrace and areas around the fort as part of a living heritage and landscape. Together, we have chosen as the theme for this trail, Living Land, Living Heritage, and for this very reason: it points to the living communities whose heritages are connected by Fort Ross (Figure 5.2). This theme also emphasizes how the meanings and landscapes of the park are continually being made, physically, environmentally, and culturally.



Figure 5.2 The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, Living Land. Living Heritage.

We also want to give visitors to the trail the opportunity to understand the process of archaeology and in so doing encourage their archaeological literacy so that they may have the tools to evaluate the veracity of an Indiana Jones film or Discovery Channel documentary on the Maya. This archaeology-as-process narrative is, however, not solely about archaeological field methods and artifactual analysis. Rather, in talking about the process of archaeology we highlight how integral Kashaya oral histories and traditions, as well as collaboration has been for making interpretations about the past. Presenting archaeology as a collaborative project that relies upon multiple lines of evidence—each with their own strengths—is imperative for shifting public impressions of archaeology as all about artifacts as opposed to process, negotiation, and human relationships.

The physical trail will use a sign-post and pamphlet format, as this appears to be the most cost-effective way to create a durable and lasting public trail. With this basic structure in place we plan to augment the trail through the installation of more costly interpretive plaques and video- and audio- podcast tours. It is also our top priority to secure funding for Kashaya to serve as trail guides, giving them the opportunity to teach others about their heritage, while reconnecting with that heritage themselves (e.g., Ashini and Loring 2000; Two Bears 2006, 2008).

Education: Creating Indigenized Heritage Education

So that future school children will be able to understand as much about the Kashaya Pomo as they do about the Russian residents of Fort Ross, I am working on companion curricula for the trail, which teachers can use on their own in the classroom, or in preparation for participation in the Environmental Living Program. These curricula will also be designed for use at the Kashia School at Stewart's Point Rancheria. It is hoped that these curricula will form the basis for a sustainable cultural education program that connects tribal youth with their ancestral homeland. The tribe is very excited about this component of the project, as one of its primary goals in collaborating with archaeologists is to use this information to teach future generations of Kashaya about their heritage (Parrish 2000; Otis Parrish, *personal communication*; Reno Franklin, *personal communication*). These goals are parallel to the goals of *Celebrating Survival, Connecting, Revitalizing, Creating, and Representing* (Table 5.3)

We expanded upon the use of archaeology as a means with which to educate both the public and the tribal community through our 2004 and 2007 joint ethnographic and archaeological field schools. Involving students directly in the process of creating the trail and designing interpretive content, we were able to create a unique learning atmosphere in which everyone—students, staff, Kashaya elders, scholars and tribal members—shared their knowledge of the past, of heritage, of archaeology, and of themselves. The archaeological sites people worked on became a part of a living tradition, not a distant past (Figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3 Field school students walking the interpretive trail.

The representations that have resulted from this collaboration were presented at the end of our 2004 field season at a public roundtable event at FRSHP. Each group of students worked closely with Kashaya elders and scholars in order to produce and present an interpretive plan for the trail stops that they had worked at over the course of the summer. We were fortunate to have a large turnout for the event that consisted of all park staff, local archaeologists, local residents from Jenner and Gualala, as well as numerous tribal members including Reno Franklin and then tribal Chair Eric Wilder. As Eric Wilder stated (*personal communication*) to the community gathering, each of the histories presented that evening helped to show the public that the Kashaya were here, are still here, and will be here in the future. He reiterated his hope that the trail would stand as a symbol of the Kashaya's survivance and serve as a reminder to the tribe of both the painful memories recalled at Fort Ross, but also their future direction as a tribe. From an informal survey of students who participated in that forum, many noted how their experience personalized the lessons they learned in the classroom about ethics and collaboration. They also responded how fortunate they were to participate so directly in a project that was attempting to make a difference not only by augmenting the State Park, but by assisting the

tribal community in documenting, preserving, and representing Kashaya heritage for future generations.

Interactivity: Websites as Decolonizing Tools

The methods we can use to communicate the themes of the trail are limited on a walkable trail, therefore, I have also developed a companion website (Figure 5.4). The website will serve as an alternate point of access for the trail, which is critical as the physical trail has yet to be built. At this time the structure of the website, as well as West Loop of the interpretive trail have been completed and submitted to the tribal council of Kashia Band of Pomo Indians for formal review and permission to publish openly. The benefits of creating a digital companion to the interpretive trail are numerous. Most significantly, digital interpretive environments create a unique opportunity to foster the goals of the Indigenizing Projects outlined by Smith (1999). In the following sections I examine 1) how the structural tools of a website connect intersect with the goals of decolonizing heritage representations and 2) how these tools have been used in the construction of the digital Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail.

First, The dynamism of a website is advantageous for outreach projects. Traditional formats such a sign-post and pamphlet tour are limited in their ability to present a wide array of textual, graphic and other information. With a website we have the ability to offer extended interpretations for trail stops, as well as provide access to a wide variety of primary data such as historical records, photographs, illustrations, audio clips of oral histories and oral traditions, etc. More importantly, traditional trail formats tend to be static; it quite simply expensive to change interpretive panels creating a situation where interpretations may quickly become outdated. The website platform, however, is dynamic; it offers a low-cost medium for representing Kashaya heritage at Metini:Fort Ross and those representations can be easily updated and revised as needed. We are thus using the website as a medium to debut and refine interpretive content until the CA DPR and the California Coastal Commission complete the trail's infrastructure.

Second, the location of FRSHP—it is situated on a relatively isolated section of the Sonoma coast, more than 45 minutes away from any city—is potentially limiting in terms of visitorship to the park and trail. As it is, with current budgets cuts the park's open hours have been drastically reduced so that it is currently only open to visitors on the weekends. The website offers an alternate point of access for the trail, effectively increasing our potential audiences and thus extending the reach of the trail to a local, national, and even global level. We hope to use the accessibility and greater visibility of the digital trail to inform the public about the Kashaya Pomo's long-standing and continuing connection to this place and their heritage. This ability to create new connections between potential visitors and Metini: Fort Ross and the Kashia tribe directly relates to Smith's (1999) *Networking, Connecting, and Sharing* Indigenous Projects.



Figure 5.4 The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail website.

Third, we face a significant hurdle in the physical trail, that is, how do we realistically construct democratic and multi-vocal representations of Metini:Fort Ross through the linear format of a sign-post and pamphlet tour? As previously discussed, we have tried to solve this issue in the choice of our theme (Living Land, Living Heritage) and in the use of multiple lines of evidence and an archaeology as process approach in interpreting Kashaya heritage. We have also focused upon the website as an avenue for conveying these messages as the interactivity and reflexivity of the platform makes it an ideal tool for constructing similarity reflexive and multi-vocal heritage representations. Simply put, the design structure of a website can be directly used to as both a metaphor for and method of constructing interactive, reflexive, and multi-vocal interpretations (e.g., Joyce 1994; Joyce and Tringham 2007; Wolle and Tringham 2000). Furthermore, the encoding of these narratives within the actual super-structure of the website presents an alternative way of communicating these themes so that audiences don't have to be force-fed a programmatic

view of heritage (Stone 1994) in order to recognize the interconnectedness between different lines of evidence and interpretations.

An explanation about the nature of websites and hypermedia is required in order to understand what is meant by interactivity in design (Figure 5.5). Hypermedia refers to any kind of linked electronic document. A website is thus a collection of electronic pages that are digitally linked to one another. Interactivity refers to the degree to which any one page in the digital document (or website) can be accessed from all other pages in it. The more links constructed between individual pages, the greater the number of possible paths that exist within the entire document. By providing more interconnections between pages, a designer can thus control the degree to which the user must interact with the information on any given page in order to choose his or her pathway through it. Sites with a high level of interactivity force a use to choose from a multitude of pathways in order to view the presented information, allowing for the construction of non-linear narratives from these unique data-pathways. In choosing your pathway through a document with a high level of interactivity, you create an individualized context for viewing and processing or interpreting the document as a whole. It is this feature of hypermedia and platforms such as websites that allows for multi-vocality: users uniquely interact with information, process that information in terms of the unique contexts that they created when choosing their pathways, and construct their own interpretations of the whole from that unique reading.

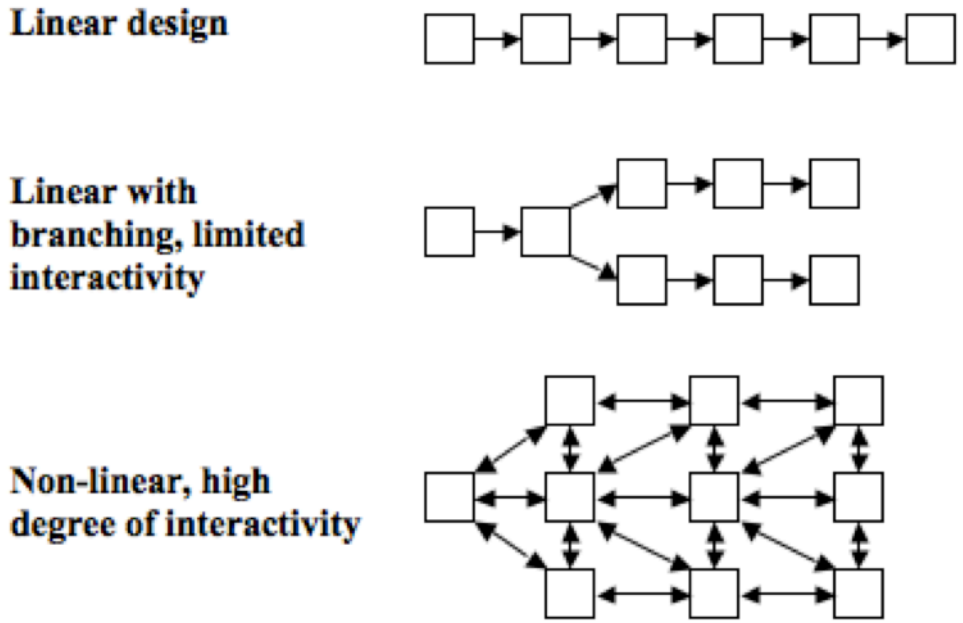


Figure 5.5 Degrees of website interactivity. The number and direction of linkages created between individual web pages either enables or restricts the interactivity of a website.

In choosing all available pathways through the linked document, the designer creates narrative strands through the ways in which pages and topics are linked to one another. A designer can either choose to present the website in a linear fashion, forcing people to follow a linear pathways and limiting the number of possible readings of the information presentation, or she or he can use a non-linear design structure, which opens up the number of pathways and thus possibilities for individualized and unique interpretations of evidence. A fitting metaphor for a non-linear style of interactivity would be the chose-your-adventure novels, where depending upon your choices, the narrative of your novel twists and turns, creating a one unique story out of countless possibilities. The creativity offered with such designs is particularly appealing in this case as it presents another opportunity for both archaeologists and communities to devise unique narratives and retellings of heritage and history. Choosing how you want your visitor to navigate different testimonies and stories, lines of evidence, and perspectives provides closely mirrors the Indigenous Projects of *Reading, Reframing, Connecting, and Creating* (Table 5.3), only in this case audiences and not necessarily communities are the ones doing the reading, reframing, connecting and creating.

Fourth, the layered and multimedia format of websites presents unique opportunities in terms of interpretive environments. The ability to layer information translates into the ability to expand upon and extend the type and depth of information you offer your audience. With the physical trail we are physically limited by the format of a brochure and interpretive plaque, meaning we can only offer succinct—usually only 50-75 words—of textual interpretation and limited visual cues for each trail stop. On a website, however, we can layer information so that visitors can choose to dig deeper into a trail stop's interpretive content. Likewise, we can offer visitors access to primary source materials we would otherwise be unable to present, such as scans of historical documents relating to *Selenie Ross*, a bounty of images of Metini:Fort Ross from the late 19th century all the way up to field shots of archaeology conducted in 2009, not to mention provide an opportunity to hear Kashaya oral histories and oral traditions or watch tribal scholars and elders discuss their perspectives on archaeology. In order to bring some of the tools of layering to the trail we plan to offer downloadable iPod (or iPhone) tours of the trail that people can use during their visit at Fort Ross. This is a cost-effective way for the project to offer some of the qualities of a multi-media tour of the trail, without bearing the cost-burden of supplying audio tour devices.

Given our focus on a holistic archaeology of colonialism that uses multiple lines of evidence, at multiple scales of analysis in order to construct interpretations about past lifeways and colonial experiences, the website presents us with unique interpretive possibilities. Through the layering of information and the construction of pathways between different lines of evidence on the website we can mirror for audiences how we construct these holistic interpretations. For example, at stops like Cold Mussels and Hot Rocks—a 1,000-2,000 year old shell midden that contains the remains of countless seafood meals--website visitors can dig deeper into the historical documents, archaeological data, oral histories and traditions or environmental information that relate to the interpretation of the shell midden (Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.6 Trail Station 11: Cold Mussels and Hot Rocks.

They can also view videos of elders and scholars discussing the collection of mussels and clams from the nearby beach; or access all project photographs related to the stop. The level of depth that this stop offers is more than we could ever accomplish on a traditional sign-post and pamphlet or even personally led tour.

Multi-layering also relates well to another issue—that of presenting Native oral histories and oral traditions as equal, and valid ways of knowing the past. The presentation and use of oral histories and oral traditions in archaeological interpretation often serves as simple confirmation of archaeological facts. In this manner, these alternate epistemologies—ways of knowing about the world—only become valuable for their ability to prove material facts. Using these narratives in tension with other lines of evidence is one way that practitioners have avoided this co-optation, instead showing how the divergences between material, historical, and oral evidence can lead to alternate readings of the past (e.g., Lightfoot 2008a).

Similarly, if we layer individual pages on the interpretive trail website not just according to depth of information, but in terms of distinct traditions of knowing about the past, we can demonstrate for our audiences the individual value of each approach and the unique contributions they make to our understanding of the world. Presenting each approach as unique and distinct also creates a kind of interpretive equality between indigenous and scientific epistemologies; each is legitimate and equally valid. Combining them as alternate ways of knowing about the world (or each trail stop) also serves our goal of showing how the combination of these lines of evidence is an integral part of understanding Kashaya

heritage at Metini:Fort Ross so that visitors will walk away from the trail knowing how Kashaya know about their own heritage.

For example, at stops like Fishing for Answers, visitors learn about Kashaya oral traditions and how features on the landscape such as the offshore rocks recall stories like Fisherwoman rock, which have been handed down generation to generation to generation (Figure 5.7). At a stop like Keeping the Shelves Stocked, interpretive focus is placed upon elders' own recollections of gathering shellfish at the nearby cove; in this case these histories are contrasted with the current restrictions placed upon Kashaya which limit their access to traditional and sacred spaces. This tacking back and forth between past and present serves the added goal of connecting the tribe to their homeland in the present and increasing audience awareness of contemporary colonialism and its impact upon tribal communities such as the Kashaya Pomo.

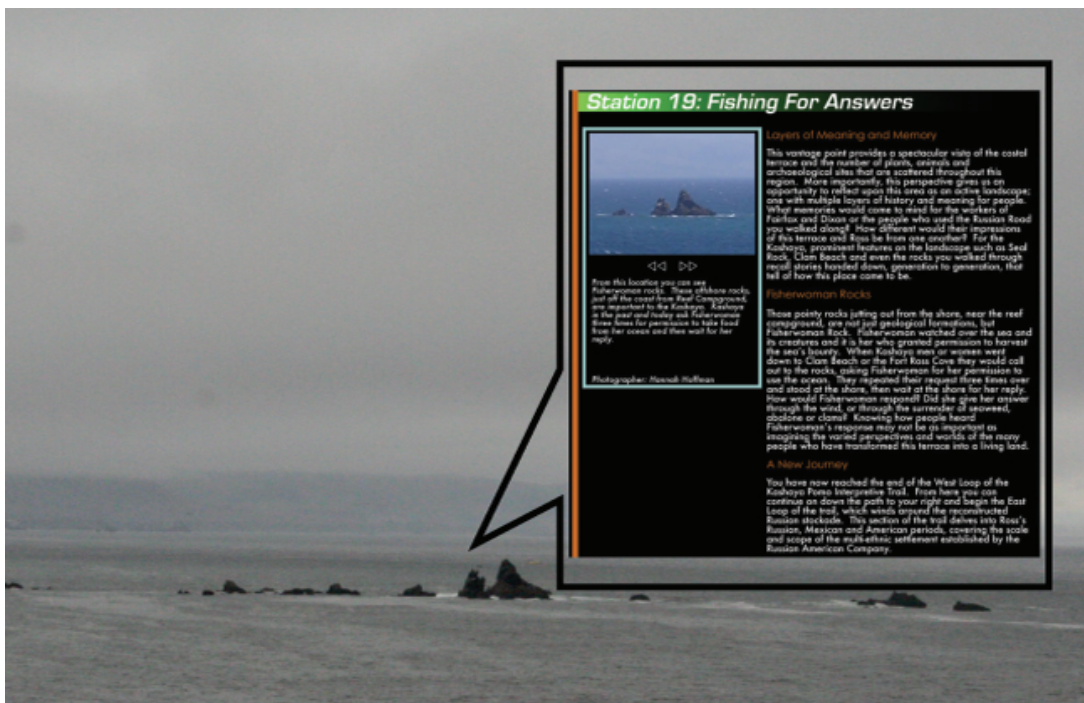


Figure 5.7 Trail Station 19: Fishing for Answers.

Conclusion

In the case of collaboration with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians on the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project, our central concern was with integrating Kashaya views on science, spirituality and heritage into all aspects of the project. In re-centering our research around the community's goals and using their methods for documenting heritage, we were able to work together to create a public interpretive program that will hopefully help change contemporary narratives about the Kashaya, and Fort Ross. This collaboration also enabled us to broaden our own, as well as our undergraduate students' understandings of how Kashaya relate to their past, what it means to be Kashaya today, and how their ancestors may have negotiated their world just as their descendants do today. Making this work public in the form of cultural heritage trade serves to widen the public's perception of who real Indians are, perhaps creating a new, and critical, place for the Kashaya within their ancestral homeland.

Proceeding in the manner that we have has been an integral part of establishing an archaeology of colonialism that not only re-integrates Indigenous views on science, spirituality, and heritage into the study of the colonial past, but which uses the primary products of archaeological investigations—in this case information concerning Kashaya heritage and their experiences of colonialism—in order to create community-produced public heritage representations. The power of these representations is manifold. The community is able to control the presentation of archaeological and heritage information, crafting their own interpretations of self and community. Construction of these representations is vital for changing how future visitors view Metini:Fort Ross, as it reintegrates the Kashaya's heritage and their voices into the contemporary landscape.

PART III:

AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF RESPECT: A SITE SPECIFIC STORY

Imprints: Past, Present, and Future

Work was cut short today. A good thing considering the wind was brutal; even the birds remained on the tree branches. Hurling down the gravel road we laughed and joked, finally jumping out of the van and hitting the bathrooms to clean up before we joined the work in the kitchen. Tonight there was talk of Violet making apple pies and word was many in the community had also heard this news. Having made the list for Costco, I knew I would be making Spanish rice, my grandfather's recipe. Chopping white onions with Kelly, my eyes began to water.

Vivian looked over my shoulder and nodded at our work. "Did you learn this from your mother?"

"No," I explained, "this is my dad's recipe, from his father. He was mestizo, from Mexico, but his mother was Spanish. She passed it on to him." I finished with the white onions and moved on to the green onions, the cebolitas. Kelly began to cut strips of fatty bacon down into bite-sized pieces.

"Oh," she went on, "many of us know these recipes. Now we cook lots of things like that." Vivian turned to her bowl of apples and began to carefully peel the skin off.

Kelly was now frying the bacon and rice together, stirring, as I added the spices. Garlic, cumin, paprika and cayenne filled the air of the tightly packed kitchen. Violet's granddaughter, Maryann, began to make the enchiladas. "The secret for this is adding lots of cumin, and also the bacon. If you don't add those then it's just rice with tomatoes, that's what my grandpa always said."

"You have to use gravenstein's for apple pie. I've used the granny's and pink lady's, but the gravenstein's are the best. They are crisp, see," Violet offered, "but only ripe for a couple weeks. Do you know if the Russians had gravenstein's. I think they may have them in the orchard."

"I think they planted some now. When I went as a kid they had them then. It's the first time I ate one."

Vivian nodded. I put the lid on the giant pot of rice, hoping it would not burn. Kelly was now helping Maryanne make another tray of enchiladas; this was a hungry crew. I walked back over to the counter and began to peel gravensteins with Vivian, watching her hands as she carefully cored and sliced the turned apples, tossing them into the corningware glass bowl.

"Yes, this is the season for them, the apples," she said. We looked out onto the camp as the rest of the crew arrived in camp.

Chapter VI

Colonial Spaces and Interspaces: Documenting the Colonial Landscape

In the previous chapters of this dissertation I introduced the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project, outlining how we have attempted to integrate public outreach and community collaboration at Fort Ross State Historic Park. In the following three chapters I use our work at the North Wall Community in order to demonstrate the process, methodologies, and results of our decolonized approach to the archaeology of colonialism. This site-specific case study encapsulates how we have used the context of public outreach in order to develop a decolonized approach to archaeology that integrates Kashaya and archaeological perspectives into both our interpretations and representations of colonial and Kashaya heritage.

Having conducted visitor impact assessments for sites within the pathway of the West Loop of the interpretive trail, in 2006 the focus of KPITP shifted towards the development of the East Loop of the interpretive trail. As previously discussed, this segment of the trail features the colonial settlement of the Russian American Company (RAC) and as such it will specifically highlight the experiences of the colony's indigenous, Native Alaskan and Native Californian residents. Previous archaeological reconnaissance at Fort Ross revealed the remains of the Native Alaskan Village (Lightfoot et al. 1998), home to the settlement's Native Alaskan hunters and their wives, as well as Metini Village, a 19th century Kashaya Pomo Village established approximately 170m north of the stockade wall (Lightfoot and Gonzalez *forthcoming*). In addition to these residential spaces, the Russian and Creole employees of *Selenie Ross* lived in communities alongside the West and North walls of the stockade, named, respectively, the Russian *sloboda* (Kalani et al. 2001) and the North Wall Community. While we have archaeological and historical data from each of these communities, the North Wall is the only residential space to be fully visually documented in the illustrations of Fort Ross by Duhaut-Cilly (1828) (Figure 6.1) and Voznesenskii (1841) (Figure 6.2).

Given that it's hard enough for archaeologists to imagine the things under our feet as they were in the past, the availability of visual resources for the North Wall Community translates into three interpretive opportunities. First, we have the ability to provide visitors with a tangible link between the households depicted in those illustrations and the people who resided in them. Second, the rich visual and archaeological record of this community presented a situation in which we could potentially pinpoint and rediscover these households archaeologically. Finally, archaeological investigations of this community could expand our understanding of the spatial and residential diversity of the ethnic neighborhoods at Fort Ross, providing new information concerning the interethnic households associated with Russian and Creole men and their Native Californian spouses.

Drawing upon these interpretive opportunities, this chapter explores both the historical and archaeological background of Fort Ross and specifically, the North Wall Community. I begin with an overview of the colony and its residents. This background is relevant for highlighting research issues related to the interpretation of indigenous experiences at Fort Ross. These issues include the demographics of the colony, hierarchy, residence, colonial marriage, and religious life. I then transition to a discussion of the North Wall Community and its research and interpretive potential. The chapter concludes with a detailed outline of the goals of our archaeological investigations at the site, the results of which are more fully explored in Chapter 8.

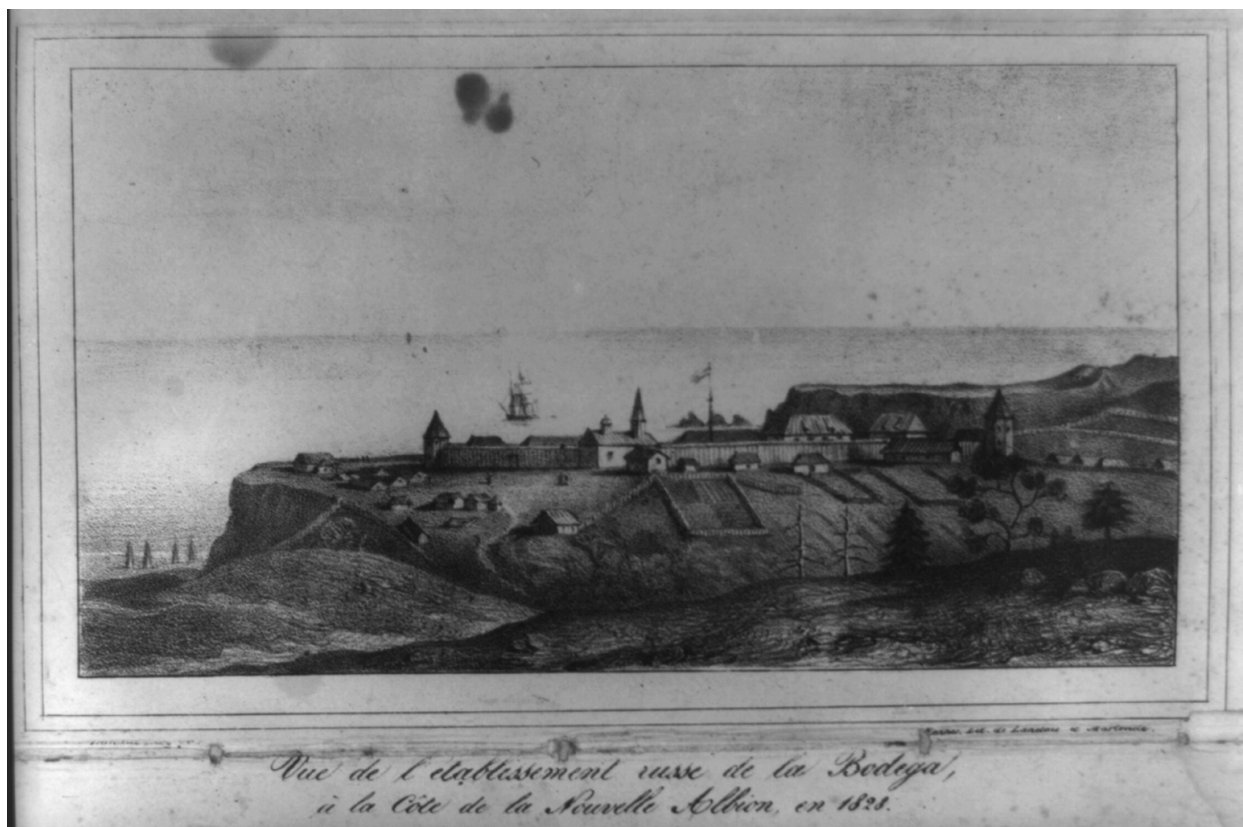


Figure 6.1 Fort Ross watercolor by Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, 1828



Figure 6.2 *Ross Settlement* by Ilya Gvrolovich Voznesenskii, 1841

Selenie Ross: An Abbreviated History

The Russian American Company (RAC) established Colony Ross, or *Selenie Ross*, in 1812 in the heart of the Kashaya Pomo's ancestral homeland, Metini. Referred to as a global village (Parkman 1996/7) or California's first multi-ethnic settlement (Lightfoot et al. 1993:161), the Russian mercantile outpost was a colonial center with a diverse workforce comprised of ethnic Russians (including Yakut), Creoles (individuals of mixed European and Indigenous ancestry), Native Alaskans (Alutiiq, Unangan, Tlingit, and Tanaina), and Native Californians (Kashaya Pomo, Coast Miwok, Southern Pomo). The Russian settlement itself consisted of the redwood stockade complex, associated ethnic neighborhoods where the majority of the workforce resided, industrial and shipbuilding sectors, as well as three local ranches, a hunting *artel* (camp) on the Farrallon Islands, and a port 20 miles south of Fort Ross in Bodega Bay called *Rumiantsov*.

The RAC was one of several European mercantile outfits involved in the Pacific Fur Trade (see Dmytryshyn et al. 1989; Tikhmenev 1978). This trade connected workers from its company outposts with traders, merchants, and consumers all the way from Siberia, China and Japan to Europe. The primary object of the China Trade as it is also called were furs from the North Pacific—in the case of the RAC, primarily the furs of fur seal and sea otter. These pelts were sold and bartered on Asian markets in exchange for luxury goods such as fine silks, spices, teas, and porcelains, which were then sold on European and American markets for a profit. This interconnected, global trade was especially lucrative in relation to the harvesting of sea otters whose pelts were like “soft gold” (Clifford 1997:321), considered to be the finest quality of North American furs and the most desired in Asian markets (Farris 1989:481-482).

The settlement at Ross was established as an outpost from which to hunt the breeding colonies of sea otters of the San Francisco Bay and Northern California Coast. The location of the colony was also advantageous in that it provided a bulwark against Spain's northward expansion of *Alta California*. Although tensions existed between the settlements—documents record the repeated arrest of RAC employees caught hunting otters in the San Francisco Bay—and the Spanish crown forbade trade with any foreign government or entity, the two colonies routinely engaged in trade with the local missions and presidios. This consisted of the buying and selling of foodstuffs, as well as the development of craft manufacturing at Colony Ross which was developed specifically for trade with the Spanish.

By the 1820s, the over-harvesting of fur seals and especially sea otters resulted in their near extinction along the north coast. The Russian colony thus shifted its focus towards a number of industries, including brick-making, iron-works, and even shipbuilding, producing these goods for both local and foreign trade (Allan 1997). The colony also expanded its agricultural operations, founding three farms in the vicinity of Ross. The goal of these operations was to make the colony self-sufficient and use it as a source for re-supplying the RAC's other colonies in the North Pacific. These ventures ultimately failed

and the settlement's buildings were sold in 1841 to John Sutter, the founder of the *New Helvetia* settlement in Sacramento.

Although described by historians and ethnographers as the gentler form of colonialism (e.g., Barrett 1908; see Farris 1989 and Lightfoot 2005 for a critique of this stereotype), the RAC—not unlike its many other competitors—relied upon indigenous labor for its profits. The degree to which the company depended upon the forced servitude of Native Alaskan sea mammal hunters is notable both for its prevalence throughout its colonies in Siberia, Alaska, Hawaii, and California, and its brutality. The adeptness and skill of Native Alaskan hunters was the primary reason that the RAC relied upon their labor; the unparalleled ability of Alutiiq hunters to capture sea otters was one of the only reasons why the overextended RAC was able to turn a profit and compete with similar American and European fur trade firms (Farris 1989:482; Lightfoot 1997:3-4).

The company's profitability was generated not just from the capability of its hunters, but the fact that this labor was forcibly extracted. Men from the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak Island, the Kenai Peninsula, and Prince William Sound were initially drawn into forced servitude and slavery through often violent means such as the kidnapping of their wives, children, and extended families, who were held in ransom in exchange for furs (Crowell 1994, 1997; Farris 1989; Lightfoot et al. 1991:20). Although by 1788 this system of labor or fur taxes (*iasak*) was outlawed, by this point in time the company used other tactics such as compulsory labor requirements and debt- or commodity-peonage to ensure that their workforce remained economically beholden and thus tied to the company through their labor (Fedorova 1973; Gibson 1976:48-50; Crowell 1997).

Research Issues

In the following sections I outline the main research and interpretive issues related to understanding indigenous experiences at colony Ross. These include: 1) Colonial Hierarchy and Ethnic Status; 2) Demographics; 3) Residence; 4) Colonial Intermarriage; 5) Interethnic Households; and 5) Religious Practice and its relation to the status of women. These issues are not mutually exclusive; however, each category relates to a specific facet of experience that references distinctive characteristics about the social life and community fabrics of Colony Ross, and for each person in residence at the colony, these factors differentially framed their identities and experiences.

Hierarchy

The RAC employed a rigid social and ethnic hierarchy that segregated employees into four different estates: Russians, Creoles, Aleuts, and Indians (Fedorova 1975:15; Lightfoot et al. 1991:21-22). This hierarchy not only prescribed what kinds of positions were suitable for each ethnic class, but also manifested itself through the spatial layout of individual settlements. At the multi-ethnic colony of Fort Ross, only the highest class of Russians, those labeled “honorable”, resided inside the walls of the stockade. The remainder of the workers including Russians labeled as “semi-honorable” or colonial citizens, Native Alaskans, and Native Californians resided in discrete ethnic neighborhoods surrounding

	Census 1820		Census 1821	
	Number (persons)	%	Number (persons)	%
TOTAL	260	100.0	175	100.0
Russians	38	14.6	24	13.7
Creoles	17	6.5	12	6.9
Alutiiq	126	48.5	85	48.6
Chugach	7	2.7	3	1.7
Aleut	3	1.2	3	1.7
Yakut	5	1.9	5	2.9
Hawaiian	4	1.5	3	1.7
Tlingit	2	0.8	2	1.1
Tenaina	1	0.4	---	---
California Indians	56	21.5	38	21.7
No ethnic identification	1	0.4	---	---

Table 6.1 Ethnic Composition of Fort Ross (from Istomin 1992:9)

the fort. As described at the beginning of this chapter, these neighborhoods included the Native Alaskan Neighborhood, the Russian and Creole Neighborhood, and finally the Native Californian Neighborhood (Figure 6.3).

Demographics

The ethnic composition of the settlement was recorded through four censuses: a total of two by the first Governor of Fort Ross, Ivan Kuskov, in the years 1820 and 1821, and another two recorded by Ioann Veniaminov, a Russian Orthodox Priest stationed at the colony (see Istomin 1992 for a description of the Kuskov Censuses; see Lightfoot 2008 and

Osborn 1997 for a description of the Veniaminov censuses). From the first two sets of records, we see that *Selenie* Ross was predominantly indigenous in composition: those of Native Alaskan, Siberian, Hawaiian, or Californian origin account for 78.5% of the population in 1820 and 79.4% in 1821 (Table 6.1). If we include those identified as Creole (mixed Russian and indigenous ancestry), the numbers of indigenous residents jump to 85% and 86.3% in 1820 and 1821, respectively. As also noted in the censuses, the majority of the colonial residents were of Native Alaskan (57.4% in 1820, 54.9% in 1821) and Native Californian (21.5% in 1820, 21.7% in 1821) origin, further evidence that this Russian colony was primarily a multi-ethnic, indigenous community comprised of company employees, and laborers and local residents from local Native Californian communities.

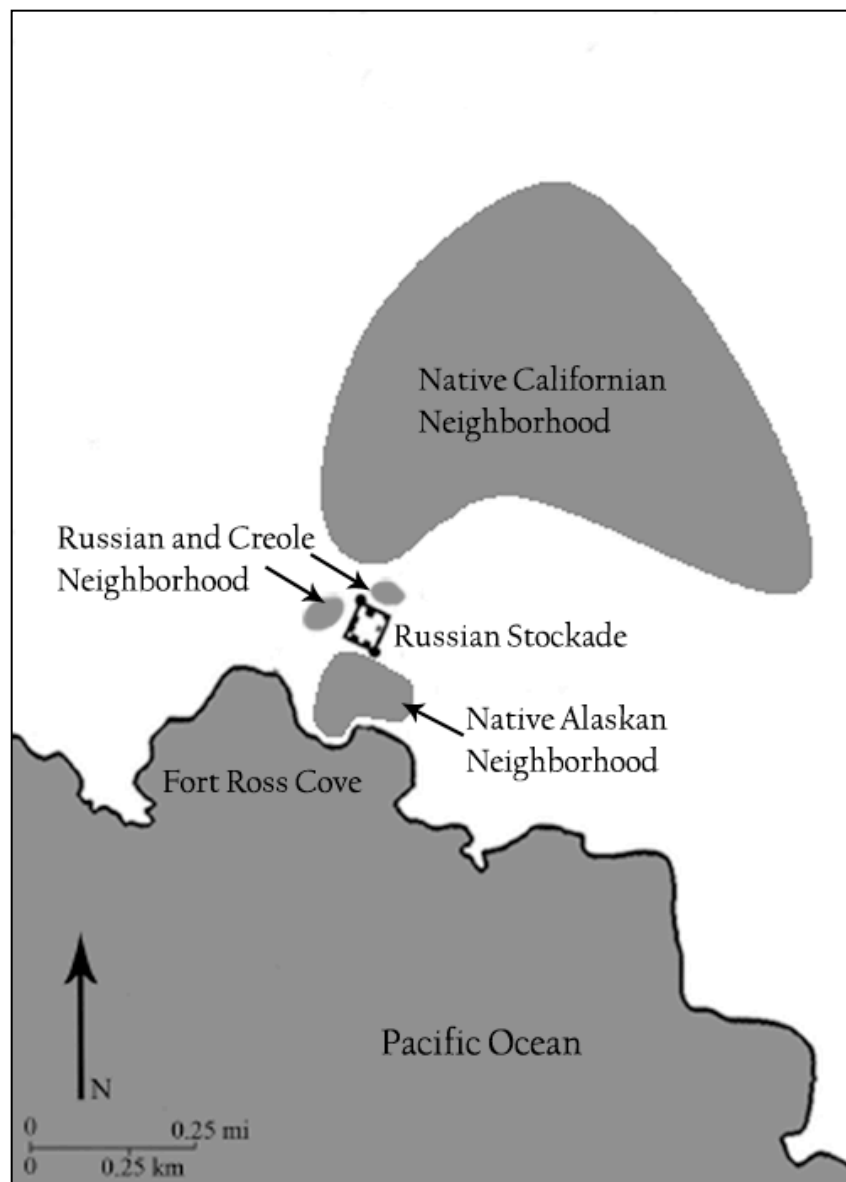


Figure 6.3 The ethnic neighborhoods of the Ross Settlement

	Census 1820		Census 1821	
	Number (persons)	%	Number (persons)	%
Total Number of Women	81	31.2	54	30.9
Total Number of Men	179	68.8	121	69.1

Table 6.2 Gender demographics at Fort Ross, 1820 and 1821 (from Istomin 1992:10-11)

Residence

Although male workers at the settlement tended to live in neighborhoods associated with their ethnic estate, of the ethnic neighborhoods were predominantly interethnic due to the high rate of intermarriage between people of differing ethnic identification. Following practices of intermarriage between company employees and local indigenous women, the male residents of Fort Ross also formed relationships with indigenous women, both from local Native Californian communities as well as those belonging to the Creole and Native Alaskan estates. The popularity of these unions can, in part, be explained by the demographic factors of the colony (Table 6.2). While men comprised 68.8%-69.1% of the total population in the 1820s census, women thus only accounted for 31.2-30.9%.

Very few Russian women ever made their way to Fort Ross (none were recorded in the 1820s censuses) and even then the Creole and Native Alaskan women who did reside at Fort Ross constituted a minority fraction of the total population of women at the colony (11.1% and 23.5% of the total female population, respectively). Indeed, the majority of female residents at the colony was Native Californian (see Table 6.3), originating from Coast Miwok, Kashaya Pomo and Southern Pomo communities (Istomin 1992; Von Wrangell 1974). This pattern of intermarriage between estates is further witnessed when census data are viewed at the level of the household. Of those households with 2 or more people residing in them, Native Californian women lived in 59% of them for the years 1820 and 1821.

	Census 1820		Census 1821	
	Number (persons)	%	Number (persons)	%
Total	81	100	54	100
Russians	0	0	0	0
Creoles	9	11.1	6	11.1
Alutiiq	18	23.5	10	18.5
Chugach	1	1.2	0	---
Aleuts (Fox Islands)	3	3.7	3	5.5
Kolyuzh (probably Tlingit)	1	1.2	1	1.9
Kenai (Tanaina)	1	0.6	0	---
California Indians	48	59.3	34	63
No Ethnic origin	1	1.2	0	---

Table 6.3 Ethnic composition of female residents (from Istomin 1992)

Although the residential patterns of Native Californian women shifted by the 1830s when only 20% were living in interethnic households, they still lived in a majority of households at the settlement (Table 6.4). This shift in residence also corresponds to a shift in patterns of domestic partnerships: by the 1830s the predominant form of interethnic unions were those established between Native Californian women and Russian or Creole men (Table 6.5). The diminished number of Native Californian women involved interethnic marriages is perhaps the results of larger demographics shifts within the colony. As the hunting of sea mammals declined in the 1820s and the colony turned to agriculture as its primary economic focus, the RAC sent a large contingent of its Native Alaskan workforce back to the Alaskan colonies (Lightfoot 2008a). Given this situation, it is perhaps unsurprising that fewer Native Californian women lived with Native Alaskan men during the 1830s, however thee demographics shifts alone cannot account for the rise in single Native Californian female households also evident during these later years.

	1820 and 1821		1836 and 1838	
	Number (households)	%	Number (households)	%
Total No. of households with 2 or more members	95	100	73	100
Households with Californian women	56	59%	20	27%
Single Californian Households	1	1%	20	27%

Table 6.4 Composition of households at Fort Ross, 1820s and 1830s

	1820 and 1821		1836 and 1838	
	No. of women	%	No. of women	%
Total No. of CA Women	56	100	40	100
Living with Native Alaskans	50	89%	4	10%
Living with Russians	5	9%	11	28%
Living with Creoles	1	2%	3	15%
Living with Yokut men	0	0%	1	3%
No Ethnicity	0	0%	1	3%
Living in Single Household	1	1%	15 to 20	38 to 50% depending on year

Table 6.5 Residence patterns of Native Californian women according to the Kuskov and Veniaminov censuses, 1820s and 1830s

Colonial Inter-marriage: Negotiating Estate and Status

As with other RAC settlements, envisioning the nature of colonial entanglements between colonial men and local indigenous women is vital for understanding the social, political and economic fabric of Fort Ross. Like other colonial powers (see Plane 2000; Sleeper-Smith 2001; Spear 2003; Voss 2000, 2005), the RAC regulated marriage and sex through both company policy and the placement of priests within its settlements. The company itself attempted to exert administrative control over Native Californian women involved in relationships with company employees. For example, in the Kuskov censuses of 1820 and 1821, Californian women who no longer resided with their original partners were labeled as either “allowed” or “released” to return home to their originating community (Istomin 1992). Furthermore, the indigenous partners of Native Alaskan men were labeled as “collateral” or “secondary” wives, indicating a distinct status within the colonial apparatus (Istomin 1992). This designation stands in contrast to the label of “woman”, which was used to describe indigenous women in relationships with Russian and/or Creole employees. This latter designation suggests a more informal partnership or relationship between native Californian women and men from the Russian and Creole estates; however, all interethnic unions at the colony appear to have been temporary and fairly fluid (Lightfoot 2008a; Lightfoot et al. 1997). The differences observed in the labeling of women involved with colonial men may thus be more of a reflection of the man’s status within the company’s ethnic and social hierarchy, than a perceived difference in the quality or permanence of certain interethnic relationships (Fedorova 1975:11-12).

Only the highest class of company workers, the “honorable” Russians were entitled to receive their yearly wages as a single cash payout. The remainder of the Russian and Creole company employees, generally referred to as *Promyshlennik*, typically received their wages in the form of company script, which was redeemed for store credit. Married *Promyshlennik* with families, however, were eligible to receive their yearly wages in a single cash pay out, but these unions had to be sanctified by the Orthodox Church and in cases where the marriage was to occur after employment with the company, the RAC had to give permission for the employee to marry (Fedorova 1975:11). The procedure for obtaining to marry was exceedingly difficult and very often rare, especially at outposts like Ross where there was no permanently stationed Priest that could perform marriage rites. Recorded, but unofficial “marriages” thus presented the company with an alternate option; lower class employees were entitled to have female companions without an increased financial burden being placed upon the RAC.

The colonial sexual relations within Russian America, and in this case at Fort Ross, are directly parallel to those in other colonial enterprises in North America. As Spear (2003) has noted, the level of social control that colonial apparatuses exerted over colonial sexual and familial relations often directly corresponded to the unique economic and social contexts of the colony itself. For example, unions between French men and indigenous women in Louisiana were relatively unregulated, while those between French men and African or Creole women (mixed French and African ancestry) in the colony of Saint Domingue in the Caribbean were highly regulated by both Church and state. The difference, Spear (2003) notes, was differences in the economies and patterns of labor

between Louisiana and Saint Domingue. In Louisiana, the forced labor of indigenous people was outlawed in 1799, while in Saint Domingue the forced servitude of enslaved Africans and Creoles necessitated continued separation between estates, which was essential for maintaining economic and social control over enslaved populations. This is not to say that interethnic unions in Louisiana were free from social control, for while authorities initially encouraged relations with indigenous women, they also attempted to keep them informal so as to regulate rank amongst French colonists.

The informal unions between Native Californian women and RAC employees may have operated similarly to those in New France, helping to preserve rank for male employees. Official marriage with local women had great potential to disrupt class distinctions within the settlement through a number of means. First, distinctions within the Russian estate were already tenuous and depended upon the continued enacting of difference among “honorable”, “semi-honorable”, and “colonial citizen” classes. This difference was largely achieved through differential pay systems, job assignments, as well as tenure within the company. Marriage also served to further distinguish among these classes, as generally only “honorable” employees were officially married, and even then usually to Russian or Creole women (Istomin 1992; Lightfoot 2008). Second, lower-class Russians and Creoles were entitled to receive cash payouts instead of company credit if they were officially married. This had the effect of reducing the economic dependence of a worker and his family upon the RAC and its company stores. Third, intermarriage with local women could alter one’s social rank within the colony. While the estates were generally fixed, there was room for movement according to the level of distinction workers achieved, so that a lower-class Russian or Creole could be promoted to higher status job than someone from a higher estate. Marriage, as a means of cementing familial, communal, and economic bonds between individuals, not to mention associated families and relatives, carried with it the potential to forge new economic and social relations both within and outside the colony, thus improving your standing within the colonial hierarchy. Indeed, it is for exactly those reasons that companies such as the RAC who relied upon indigenous labor in order to secure resources for trade encouraged their employees to form such unions (see Sleeper-Smith 2001).

In the case of relationships between indigenous women and *Promyshlennik*, the practice of allowing interethnic unions between company employees and local women ensured that the status of “honorable” Russians remained unaffected by the new sexual, familial and economic ties that were established between individual workers and their Native partners. Informal partnerships as something less than official marriage may also have signaled a worker’s lower status and rank, if not socially within the settlement, then at least administratively as documented and viewed today in official company census records.

Even after 1818 when the company began to scrutinize illicit (i.e., non-Church sanctioned) unions between its employees and local indigenous women in all of the RAC settlements, the lack of a permanent Orthodox Priest at *Selenie Ross* meant that the majority of interethnic marriages among Ross’s residents remained unofficial and outside the control of the Church. Nonetheless, participation in the Russian Orthodox Church was an important means of establishing status for women in the colony; thus, it is important to

understand how indigenous women's participation in the Church may have intersected with other aspects of their lives including residence, intermarriage, spiritual practice and even their "occupational" role within the colony.

Interethnic Households at Colony Ross

Previous archaeological work at the Native Alaskan Neighborhood, located directly south of the stockade complex, has indicated the importance of a microscale understanding of colonial entanglements (Lightfoot et al. 1997; Lightfoot et al. 1998). It was within the interethnic households of the Native Alaskan Village that Native Alaskan men and their wives, who were predominantly Native Californian, negotiated daily practices and in the process their social identities. These relationships bridged cultural, ethnic, and economic divides, creating a potential for constructing and transforming understandings of self and community. Archaeological investigations at this community uncovered the daily patterns of refuse disposal, foodways, and community spatial organization, revealing how members of these households maintained material traditions within their shared domestic space while also confronting in innovative ways their changing social and material worlds.

The spatial organization of households at the Native Alaskan Village site (NAVS) highlights the divergent outcomes and experiences of indigenous peoples living in close proximity to a colonial center. While the organization and layout of neophyte villages at the Spanish missions may have been closely regulated (Voss 2000), the Russian American Company imposed few regulations upon the forms of buildings, or organization of colonial households. At NAVS, houses appear to be arranged in a linear fashion along a bluff overlooking Fort Ross Cove, the landing location for the hunters' *baidarkas* (skin boats or kayaks). This residential pattern is consistent with the layout of communities on Kodiak Island—where the majority of the Alaskan residents had been living prior to their settlement at Ross. Traditionally, villages on Kodiak were typically set out in a linear pattern along a beach or coastal strip, with houses facing the ocean (Lightfoot et al. 1997:414). Although the location of the Native Alaskan Village represents a slight departure from Kodiak communities in that it is located on top of a coastal bluff, the archaeological remains of these households, historic illustrations of the bluff, and descriptions provided by Tikhmenev (1978:134) indicates a high degree of continuity in using Native Alaskan worldviews to structure residential space.

Religious Life and Women's State at Colony Ross

The participation of women in religious life at the colony is indelibly recorded in the Fort Ross cemetery, a consecrated Russian Orthodox burial ground that was excavated in the late 1990s (see Goldstein 1995, 2008; Osborn 1997). Not only were the majority of burials that were uncovered associated with women and children, but the orientation of the graves, style of burial (redwood coffins), and inclusion of Orthodox religious medallions in 56% of the graves (this despite extremely poor preservation of organic remains and metals) indicate that even if those interred didn't identify as Russian Orthodox, they were buried according to established religious practices (Goldstein 2008). Given the high percentages of Native Californian women present at the colony, ranging from 50-~60% of

the female population, it is possible and highly likely that some of the Native Californian women who were baptized are among those represented at the cemetery.

When we examine the demographic shifts at the colony between the 1820s and 1830s, particularly in reference to the residence of Native Californian women, we see some intriguing patterns. First, though the overall number of Native Californian women living at the settlement declined, they remain the largest female ethnic group. Second, we see a striking increase in the number of single Native Californian women living in their own households. In the 1820s census data, only one such woman is recorded. However between 1836 and 1838 15-20 women were counted as heads of household. Veniaminov also notes the presence of a large contingent of baptized Native Californian women living unattached at the Ross settlement (Lightfoot 2008). Given that the censuses did not record the households of Native Californians living at Metini Village (CA-SON-175), these documented women likely had a distinct status from those who resided in the Native Californian Neighborhood. This distinction could be the result of a combination of factors including their residences being in closer proximity to the central part of the colonial settlement; the inclusion of children of mixed-heritage within the households; the women being former partners of RAC workers; or a result of their status as baptized women and participants in the Church.

Let us consider for a moment the reasons why Native women would have established households at Ross, as either a member of an interethnic union or as a single head of household that may have led to the formation of a distinct sub-group of Native Californian women at the colony. In the early years of the settlement, tribal chiefs reportedly offered their daughters to colonial men as a part of a broader process of alliance formation. Women's relationships with employees—just as it may have raised the status of men in the colony—may have also created important points of access between the settlement and local communities. As previously discussed, the creation of kin ties, however impermanent they may have been, opened up new opportunities for social, familial, economic, and even religious relationships and interactions. That an overwhelming number of the initial interethnic relationships were with Native Alaskan men may be related to the role that these men played as cultural “buffers” in early intercultural interactions at Colony Ross, not to mention their reputation as good hunters (Martinez 1998:63-64, 176). There are strong feelings, however, amongst the tribal community today that many of these women had been forced against their wills to live with colonial men (see Lightfoot 2008a:277; Violet Parrish Chappell and Violet Parrish Wilder, 2004, *personal communication*).

Why some Native Californian women converted to the Russian Orthodox Faith in the 1830s, and established their own households in close proximity to the Fort is not entirely clear. Yet, Sleeper-Smith's (2001, 2006) case study of the French fur trade in the Great Lakes region provides an example of an intriguing linkage between religious life, colonial marriage and the social and economic status of indigenous women. For the women whom Sleeper-Smith (2001, 2006) profiles, their conversion to Christianity (specifically Catholicism) was a way for them to garner an alternate status within their home communities. This status was further augmented once these women intermarried with French fur trappers. While the male partner of such a union benefitted by gaining access to

their wife's kin, community, and economic networks, women, acting as Godmothers, were able to further expand and consolidate these community connections through their religious practice. In the case of Fort Ross, it is possible that a woman's conversion and baptismal within the Orthodox Church provided her with a new kind of colonial status, one that was not dependent upon a fickle and oftentimes abusive relationship with a foreign or even local man (see Lightfoot 2008a for a discussion of the abuse of women at Fort Ross). It would be interesting in this case to further examine the nature of spiritual practice at Ross in order to determine both which estates tended to be associated with the Church at Ross and whether such participation was connected to other forms of achieving greater rank within the colonial apparatus.

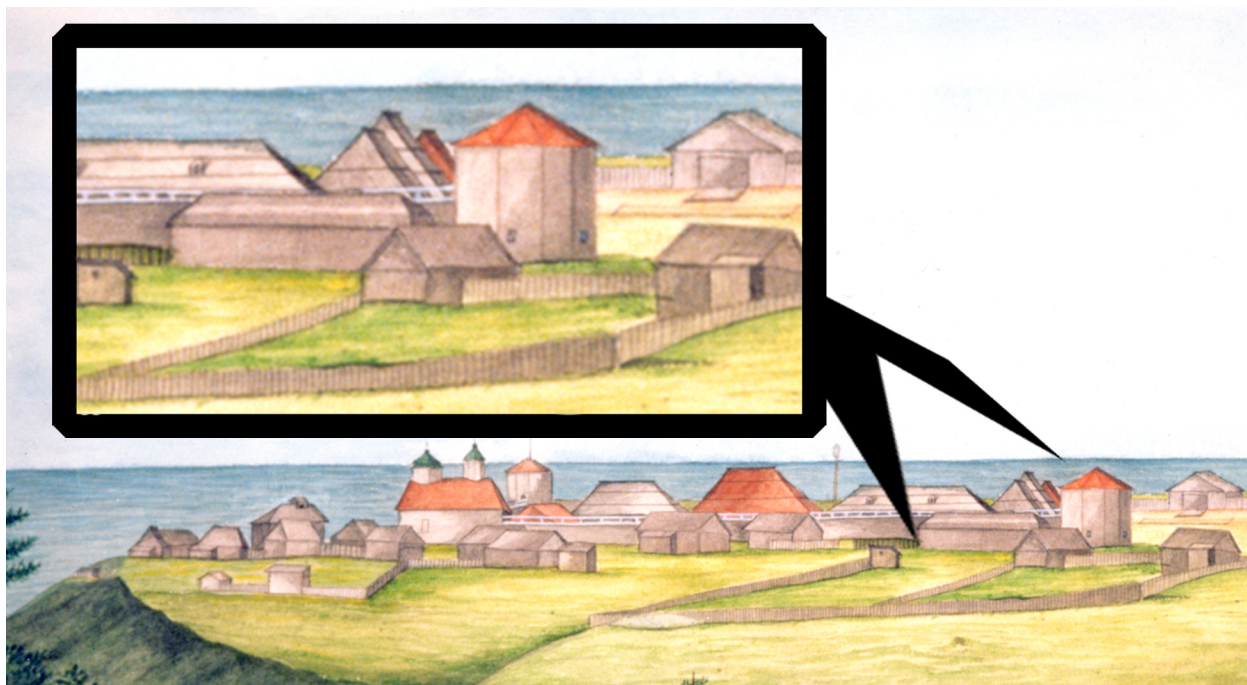
Defining Residential Spaces

The interethnic households at the Native Alaskan Village represent only one of many relationships established between colonial men and indigenous women. In addition to living in interethnic households at NAVS, Native Californian women also resided at Metini Village (CA-SON-175), an historic Kashaya Pomo Village located 175m north of the stockade complex; in households headed by Russian and Creole men; and in households they established themselves at the settlement. In order to better understand the range and nature of these other interethnic and single Native Californian households, KPITP began a multi-year archaeological investigation of the North Wall Community (CA-SON-190) in 2006.

Introduction to the North Wall Community

The site nomenclature of CA-SON-190 refers to both the Russian stockade complex, as well as to the deposits located directly North of the reconstructed Russian stockade that are related to an historic multiethnic village with a Native Californian component. Although the deposits along the North Wall of the stockade represent a distinct residential area of the colony, it does not have a separate California State trinomial site designation. For this reason I will refer to this residential community as the North Wall Community. The North Wall Community was occupied during the Russian Period (1812-1841) and possibly at different points during the Mexican (1841-1946) and American (1846-1903) Periods. It is most recently remembered as the location of the old Ranger's house at Fort Ross, which was intentionally destroyed through a controlled burned (Heidi Horvitz, 2007, *personal communication*).

Existing archaeological and documentary information suggest that the site was the location of either a Native Californian village, inhabited by laborers of the RAC and single Native Californian women, or the residence of the colony's Russian or Creole workers and their Native Californian spouses (Ballard 1997; Gonzalez 2007). Glenn Farris, a retired CA State Park Archaeologist, also believes that the site may have housed a Native Californian men's laborers barracks (Figure 6.4). Historic illustrations and paintings of the colony by Duhaut-Cilly (1828) and Voznesenskii (1841) (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) depict standing architecture in the style of Russian plank houses, as well as enclosed fields and gardens. This information is confirmed in company records and the 1841 final bill of sale, which list 24 houses that have enclosed gardens, 8 sheds, 8 bathhouses, and 10 kitchens (Dmytryshyn et al. 1989).



Laborer's Barracks?



Figure 6.4 Possible barracks for male Native Californian laborers?

As for who was living in these households, we get glimpses of them from the company's census and marriage records. The 1820 and 1821 censuses conducted by Ross's first governor, Ivan Kuskov, document respectively 59.3% and 63% of women living at the settlement were Native Californian. These censuses also record the women as married to Native Alaskan men. We also know that while the number of Native Californian women declined from a total of 57 in the 1820s to between 35 and 40 in the 1836 and 1838 censuses, there is a shift in their residence patterns. The majority of Native Californian women living in interethnic households at the colony in 1836 and 1838 were unofficially attached to Russian or Creole men, and residing in their households. The rest of the Native Californian women were living as single heads of household, likely in close proximity to the fort and in a different residential space from Metini Village.¹

Previous Research at the North Wall

From 1952 to 1964, John McKenzie and Charles Knight (McKenzie 1958, 1961, 1975; see also Ballard 1995; Lightfoot 1999 for a description of these projects) and Adan Treganza (1954) excavated along the fort's walls in preparation for a reconstruction of the stockade. The goal of each of these projects was to relocate the original Russian posts, sills, and puncheons of the stockade, as well as to restore the walls of the fort to their original orientation. In the course of excavations, both McKenzie (1975) and Treganza's (1954) reports document Native American cultural deposits. Treganza (1954:18) identifies a discrete site, Indian Site No.1, which he notes is "immediate to the entire north wall of the Fort, extending to the back of the chapel and including two white cottages owned by Mr. Call" the last owner of Fort Ross. In addition to placing a series of trenches along the North Wall, Treganza further tested Indian Site No. 1, revealing deposits up to 18" (~45 centimeters) thick with native cultural remains including ground porcelain pendants, historic ceramics, faunal and shellfish remains, and historic glass and ceramics. His report unfortunately does not illustrate (nor specify) the exact locations of his test units at Indian Site No. 1.

In the 1970s, another series of excavations were undertaken in the North Wall area. Donald Wood's 1970 field class from Sonoma State University excavated two trenches along old Highway 1, revealing midden deposits and a wide range of materials including worked shell, worked bone, worked glass, worked ceramics, faunal remains, and chert drills similar to those recovered by T. Layton (1990) at Nightbird's retreat in Mendocino County (Ballard 1995). In 1972 Eric Ritter supervised excavations related to the relocation of Highway 1, which at that point ran directly through the original stockade's North and South Walls. These excavations took place between the North Wall and the southern extent of Ca-SON-175, or Metini Village. Given that Ritter's excavations were located equidistant from Metini Village and the north wall it is unknown whether the features and materials uncovered by Ritter are related to the occupation of Metini Village or to the North Wall Community.

¹ As discussed in the *Religious Life at Colony Ross* section, Native Californians living at Metini Village were not included in either the Kuskov or Veniaminov censuses. This leads to the distinct possibility that women in these independent households resided in a distinct community, somewhere outside the walls of the stockade.

Karl Gurke's 1975 excavations of the Kuskov House and Officials quarters also extended to the North wall area. Unfortunately, the exact location of the trench he placed north of the stockade is unknown, though Ballard (1995, 1997) has determined its approximate location. Glenn Farris and Waltrand Traugher also excavated a single unit in the North Wall area in 1983 in order to mitigate the impact of the undergrounding of telephone lines at the fort (Ballard 1995: 19-20; Farris, 2007, *personal communication*). Their excavations revealed a high density of lithic debris in the lower levels of their excavations.

The most current work along the North Wall took place in 1995 under the direction of Kent G. Lightfoot. This project, like those overseen by Treganza and McKenzie and Knight, was initiated in conjunction with the reconstruction of the north wall in the 1990s. Twenty-one trenches were excavated along the wall, exposing fill from those previous wall reconstruction excavations, as well as archaeological deposits related to Indian Site No. 1, or Metini South as Lightfoot (1999) refers to it. Trenches 1 to 12, in particular, contained intact deposits, with trenches 10-12 yielding the highest densities of artifacts. The artifacts found within these units are consistent with those uncovered by previous researchers and include ground ceramics, worked bone, worked shell, worked glass, glass and shell beads, lithic debitage, wrought and cut nails, bricks, and a variety of 19th century ceramics. Similar to what was found at the Native Alaskan Village Site, lithic debitage predominates in the artifact assemblages from the lowest excavation levels. Lightfoot (1999) argues that this pattern suggests that the marine terrace that Fort Ross is situated on was inhabited prior to the Russian settlement. However, he also indicates that this habitation is visible archaeologically as part of a low-density lithic scatter, indicating that Kashaya did not establish a permanent residences in this area.

Goals of Research

As with the development of the West Loop of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, all archaeological investigations at the North Wall Community have been done with the express goals of mitigating the impact of the trail upon the archaeological and historical resources of the area (Gonzalez 2007; Gonzalez et al. 2006). KPITP and the Kashaya Pomo Tribe thus initiated archaeological investigations of the North Wall Community in order to: 1) identify any subsurface remains related to the Russian period occupation of the site; 2) define the occupation history of the site; 3) determine if the North Wall Community contained the interethnic households of Russian and Creole men and their Native Californian partners, or the single Native Californian households described in census records; and 4) resolve outstanding questions concerning the relationship of the archaeological deposits at the North Wall Community to those at Metini Village, the 19th century Kashaya Pomo Village.

1) Identify Russian Period Remains for interpretation on the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail

We initiated research at the North Wall Community with the express purpose of integrating the results of our research into the East Loop of the interpretive trail. Along with the results from previous archaeological investigations at the Native Alaskan Village Site, Metini Village, the Fort Ross Cemetery, the Industrial and Shipbuilding sites, and the Fort

Ross Beach site, the current investigations will be used to build interpretations of the colony that focus on the daily life and multi-ethnic character of the colony. At the outset of research, we knew very little about the households described in the census data and depicted in the illustrations of the colony. Given these valuable interpretive resources we felt that archaeological investigations could greatly benefit the interpretation of this colonial space. Likewise, the Kashia tribal community knew little about their history and connection to this community, thus we hoped that our research could help augment existing community histories about life at the Russian colony

2) Defining Occupation History

The question of who used the site and when is still contested. Treganza (1954:19) argued that Indian site No.1 was part of Kashaya village that was displaced during the Russian period, and later re-occupied by the community after the Russians sold Fort Ross. Others have asserted that the co-occurrence of historic materials such as a large number of creamwares and pearlwares and worked 'black' glass that are in association with traditionally Native artifacts, such as worked shell and lithics, points to a Native Californian occupation of the site both during and after the Russian period. Historic descriptions of the colony, including that of Duhaut-Cilly (1828), describe Native Californians as living at the Fort, however, these documents also indicate that the majority resided in a separate village (probably Metini Village) north of the stockade. The visual record of the stockade only depicts Russian-style plank architecture, suggesting that the Native Californian village was purposefully omitted from the painted landscapes. These illustrations do not preclude against a Native Californian occupation along the north wall, as it is entirely possible that Native Californians—in addition to living at Metini village—also resided in the plank buildings visually documented therein.

Farris, for example, has suggested that one of the larger buildings in the paintings could have been a barracks for Native Californian male laborers (Figure 6.4). There is also the possibility that the North Wall Community was the residence of the colony's lower class Russian and Creole workers and their wives, some of whom were Kashaya, Coast Miwok and/or Southern Pomo (Lightfoot et al. 2006). Investigations of the North Wall Area thus provided an opportunity to test whether or not the related archaeological deposits of this area were associated with a Russian period, or with more recent, post-Russian period occupation of the site.

3) Determine who was living at the North Wall Community

Although there is strong evidence to suggest that Native Californians inhabited this space throughout all of these time periods, there are still unresolved questions about whether or not the buildings visually documented in this space represent the interethnic households of Native Californian women and Russian and/or Creole men or the single Native Californian households listed in the Kuskov and Veniaminov censuses. Previous archaeological testing of this area was primarily oriented towards resolving the architectural history of the stockade or mitigating the effects of development at the site. As such, our knowledge of the archaeological deposits along the north wall and their relationship to those depicted

households is severely limited. It was thus our express goal to use these new investigations to better delineate who the residents of the North Wall Community were and determine whether or not we could connect these residents to existing documentary, visual, and census data.

4) Resolve Inter-site relationships

Our overarching goal for this field project was also to resolve outstanding questions concerning the relationship of the archaeological deposits located along the north wall to those at Metini Village (CA-SON-175). This relationship is currently poorly understood and is complicated in the literature by the naming of the north wall deposits as Indian Site No.1; *Metini* (translated from Kashaya to mean “this place”); Mad-Shui-Ny, an incorrect spelling of the Russian word for Metini (*Med-Zhi-Ny*); and CA-SON-190, the trinomial for the entire stockade. The use of Metini to describe the deposits along the north wall is problematic as Metini is also explicitly used to refer to CA-SON-175. For this reason, Lightfoot (1999) has used Metini North and Metini South to refer to CA-SON-175 and to the north wall deposits, respectively. So as to avoid further confusion, I describe the deposits along the north wall as part of the North Wall Community. Although this designation is new, it appropriately refers to this area as a discrete residential space, an interpretation that will be described in greater detail in Chapter 8. I also suggest that this residential space be given its own California site trinomial number in order to limit further confusion over the relationship between the archaeological deposits of CA-SON-190 and CA-SON-175.

Further investigation of the North Wall Community also has the potential to broaden our understandings of daily lifeways within each of the ethnic neighborhoods at the Ross settlement. Previous archaeological reconnaissance at NAVS and Metini Village provide a rich database from which to compare daily lifeways across these residential spaces. Especially exciting here is the opportunity to examine the diversity of interethnic unions, potentially determining how the ethnic identification of individual household residents may have altered the ways in which new material traditions were negotiated by the residents of the colony. If the households depicted in the Duhaut-Cilly and Voznesenkii illustrations were indeed founded by Native Californian women and Russian and/or Creole men, exploring these residences would allow us to ask questions concerning the varied domestic and economic relationships created among the colony’s residents, workers and local Native Californian communities. As the colony continued to depend upon and demand Native labor, relationships between Native Californian women and RAC workers may have affected patterns of labor such as which communities were forcibly drawn into the workforce of the colony.

Conclusion

In designing research at the North Wall Community we sought to integrate the concerns of the tribal community into the formulation of our research. This consisted of using the context of our investigations to recover knowledge about a residential space that was poorly known, both for the community and for archaeologists. We also undertook our work at the North Wall Community in conjunction with the development of the interpretive

trail, the goal being that our research would provide the foundation for the development of the East Loop of the interpretive trail. We have a fantastic opportunity in this case to contribute to the knowledge of the tribal community about their heritage at Fort Ross, to share that knowledge with the visiting public of the park, while also increasing our archaeological understandings of the diversity of colonial entanglements and indigenous experiences of colonialism at Fort Ross. In the following two chapters, I outline the process and results of our research at the North Wall Community. These discussions further examine how collaboration with the tribe led to an innovative approach to the archaeology of colonialism, which has much to offer in terms of how we connect the process and practice of archaeology to collaboration and public outreach.

Chapter VII

Framing Community: A Low-Impact Methodology for Research

In Part II of this dissertation I documented how the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project (KPITP) uses the medium of an interpretive trail in order to indigenize representations of Kashaya heritage at Fort Ross State Historic Park. While this discussion highlighted the importance of integrating Kashaya perspectives into the interpretation of their homeland, this dissertation would not be complete without considering the impact that integrating community perspectives has upon the very practice of archaeology. Rarely do discussions of community archaeology address how collaboration alters the very methods and methodologies used to recover information concerning the past (for exceptions see Atalay 2007; Dowdall and Parrish 2003; Silliman 2009). Yet, in my experience, integrating indigenous perspectives into archaeology necessarily entails a reconfiguration of archaeological goals and methodologies. As KPITP has conceptualized and implemented it, decolonizing archaeology is about creating an archaeology that is inspired and structured by both indigenous and archaeological principles for the management of heritage. My goal in the following chapter is to illustrate how the process of collaboration on KPITP, and specifically at the site of the North Wall Community, has resulted in a research protocol that incorporates Kashaya heritage values into all aspects of research; from defining project goals to the development of a low-impact methodology for the study of Kashaya ancestral sites.

In this chapter I outline the community-based framework for collaboration that KPITP has developed with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. The central component of this framework is the use of a ritual blueprint for archaeology (see Dowdall and Parrish 2003 and Gonzalez et al. 2006 for an in-depth discussion of this ritual blueprint) that provides an established protocol for research and which redefines the practice of archaeology as both a scientific and sacred activity. First, I discuss how Kashaya cultural laws, values, and ritual ceremonies are essential elements of this protocol, as they establish the appropriate ceremonial and ritual contexts for practicing archaeology at ancestral, sacred sites. I document how incorporating these values and traditions into both our field practices and daily camp routines has been essential for building mutual respect and trust between project collaborators. Next, I address how these guidelines for archaeology have resulted in the creation of a low-impact archaeological methodology. Our low-impact field methodology develops innovative strategies for preserving ancestral sites and is an integral component of a holistic approach to the archaeology of colonialism. Finally, I consider the impact and benefit of using indigenous-centered heritage management strategies within field school settings.

Archaeology in Social Context

The process for creating the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail revolves around the reciprocal, personal relationships established between researchers and the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. As described in Chapter 5, this relationship is the product of over 20 years of collaboration between the tribe, the California Department of Parks and Recreation (CA DPR), and UC Berkeley researchers. As described above, one of the main products of this extended collaboration was the creation of the ritual blueprint for archaeology (for a description of the origination of the ritual blueprint, see Parrish et al. 2000). This ritual blueprint was originally designed in order to ensure the safe and culturally sensitive participation of tribal members in archaeology.

Disturbance of sacred sites with profane acts—which is how the Kashaya would define archaeological practice—is an activity that is potentially dangerous, both spiritually and physically. As such tribal members had refrained from participating in or conducting archaeology until relatively recently (Parrish et al. 2000), this despite a long history of collaboration with ethnographers and linguists in the early 20th century (e.g., Barrett 1908; Oswalt 1964). Reframing (Smith 1999:153) archaeology as a spiritual and ritual activity presented a way for tribal members to reconcile archaeology with their own cultural laws and heritage values. Emerging out of the Metini Village Project (Lightfoot and Gonzalez *forthcoming*; Parrish et al. 2000) and applied in the tribe's work with the California Department of Transportation (e.g., Dowdall and Parrish 2003), the tribe developed the ritual blueprint as a way to balance the sacredness of ancestral sites with the need to preserve Kashaya heritage for future generations. The tribe identified appropriate ritual practices such as ceremonies and the adoption of traditional cultural laws in everyday life as a way create a ritual for the practice of archaeology that honored the sacredness of sites, as well as that of the sharing and production of knowledge. Within this context, the tribe is able to claim ownership over the archaeology as something that adheres to their own philosophies on heritage and spirituality and that contributes to their ongoing efforts to document and preserve Kashaya heritage.

Participation of elders and tribal members in the archaeological projects at Fort Ross was thus precipitated by the adoption of Kashaya cultural laws and social values into the daily practices of archaeologists and tribal participants. This ensured that we created a ritual and ceremonial context for our practice of archaeology. The project also formally recognized that the decision of tribal members to participate in archaeology was a direct result of their need and desire to preserve Kashaya cultural history and heritage for future generations. The fact that both the Metini Village Project (MVP) and the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project would be operated as undergraduate field schools added to the desire of the tribe to participate in these projects. The field schools provided a unique educational opportunity in which archaeologists, tribal members, and students could equally share in the learning of Kashaya culture, laws, and sacred knowledge. They also created an environment in which tribal members could directly train the next generation of anthropologists and archaeologists.

The ritual blueprint as it was implemented through KPITP consists of two elements: 1) what I call an archaeology of respect and 2) a blueprint for archaeological action. In the following section I outline each of these elements, focusing on how they enabled and contributed to our unique understandings of Kashaya history and heritage at FRSHP.

An Archaeology of Respect

Establishing an archaeology of respect consisted of building mutual respect and trust between tribal members and researchers. This was achieved by integrating Kashaya worldviews, values, and cultural laws into our daily lives and camp routines. Adherence to these laws was a critical element in creating a ritual and ceremonial context for archaeology. It was from these shared practices that elders and tribal members were able to comfortably participate in an activity that is considered spiritually dangerous and begin to share stories about their lives and histories.

Sharing Practices

For tribal members, things “of the earth” should not come into contact with things “of the spirit”—things that are sacred. Archaeology, itself considered “of the earth”, creates a dilemma for contemporary tribal members as it specifically disturbs ancestral sites, themselves “of the spirit”. Because it transgresses the boundary between the earth and the spirit, archaeology can lead to spiritual and physical harm for those who partake in it. In order to mitigate the potential dangers of archaeology, tribal elders provided for the safety of participants by conducting ceremonies. They also asked all participants to honor the cultural laws and taboos that are associated with ritual and ceremonial contexts. This consisted of refraining from the consumption of alcohol (considered of the earth) and the honoring of *k^hela* laws (also considered of the earth), which relate to the set of practices and taboos surrounding and involving women who are menstruating, for the project.

In terms of alcohol abstention, Kashaya elders explained to project staff that consumption of alcohol would pollute our bodies and negatively affect the sharing of knowledge, itself considered a sacred act. Thus all project staff refrained from drinking alcohol on the evening before and day of formal consultations with tribal elders and scholars. As a sign of respect, we also asked individuals to refrain from alcohol whenever elders and tribal members were in camp. This effectively resulted in a “dry” field camp, a novel notion for archaeological field schools and field work. This ensured that elders and tribal members felt comfortable in Archy Camp, which where project participants lived during the course of fieldwork. Incidentally, Archy Camp is located in close proximity to a former Kashaya settlement site and as work continued on the project abstention from alcohol became doubly important as to drink at an archaeological site is expressly forbidden.

All participants—students, faculty and graduate students--accepted the ban of alcohol obligingly (see Porter for a discussion of the issues his team faced when attempting to institute a “dry-dig” in Jordan). The fact that the 2004 field school only contained one student of legal age may have played a role in defining students’ attitudes towards this rule; however, open discussions with participating students in 2004 and afterwards indicated

that they were very cognizant of the negative role that alcohol has played in Indigenous communities such as that of the Kashaya.

While we initially felt that banning alcohol in camp would create the greatest resistance amongst students, following *k^hela* laws created the biggest ethical and logistical challenge for our project. During *k^hela*, women are viewed as being “of the earth” and as such should avoid contact with anything “of the spirit”. Traditionally, a *k^hela* woman was sequestered from her family and refrained from the cooking, preparing, serving, or disposing of food. In cases where the *k^hela* woman was married, her husband helped to prepare, serve and dispose of their food. Both husband and wife also could not gather food or hunt (both are considered sacred activities) during this period and they had to avoid visiting any sacred places such as water features or former villages as these elements are also “of the spirit” (Dowdall and Parrish 2003; Violet Parrish Chappell and Vivian Parrish Wilder, 2004, *personal communication*).

For the purposes of collaboration with the tribe, all *k^hela* women were barred from participating in the preparation, handling, serving, or disposing of food. Likewise, *k^hela* women and their husbands could not visit sacred places such as archaeological sites or water features like lakes and rivers; conduct excavation; or participate in the formal of formal knowledge (i.e., formal consultations). Additionally, project staff met with all female participants at the beginning of each field season in order to discuss *k^hela* rules and set-up field crew, formal consultation, and kitchen schedules. No one was excluded on the grounds of gender from participating in these experiences, as both male and female students had the occasion to visit and work at non-Kashaya archaeological sites, participate in formal consultations, and serve in the kitchens with elders and other project staff. In terms of fieldwork, we created a rotation schedule for all field school students that was mindful of menstruation schedules, which enabled everyone to gain experience in colonial archaeology at related field projects.² Likewise, dates for formal consultations and kitchen duty were arranged such that everyone had an equal opportunity to participate in these activities.

Adopting *k^hela* laws has posed obvious problems for scheduling fieldwork, especially as I took over field director status for KPITP in 2006. More than this though, the public nature of *k^hela* observances necessitated ongoing dialogue between students, staff, and tribal

² In 2004, we arranged for students to participate in nearby field projects operated by Sonoma State’s CRM program, however, the menstruation schedules of female project staff did not overlap with scheduled days for on-site field work. Thus we decided not to rotate any of crews to these projects. In camp, we did need to create individualized kitchen-duty schedules for female participants as they could not touch the group’s food or help clean-up after meals while experiencing *k^hela*. In 2007, Tsim Schneider (UC Berkeley) and I operated a joint field school in California colonial archaeology and rotated all field school students through both the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project and the China Camp Archaeology Project, which was operated in collaboration with the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria in Marin County. Rotating students in this manner allowed us to maintain a modicum of privacy for female participants experiencing *k^hela* as their rotations were created at the beginning of the field season. In all cases, students’ schedules were determined individually. Senior female project staff (usually myself or Roberta Jewett) generally consulted female students, as they tended to be more comfortable discussing their menstruation schedules in this setting.

scholars so that we could alleviate potential embarrassment for students who are used to a high degree of privacy about their bodies.³ In the beginning of our adopting k^hela rules in camp, we quickly learned that we needed to balance the desire for privacy with the openness that k^hela requires of women and men. As the only female graduate student and crew chief on the project in 2004, I served as a liaison between female field school students and staff, and arranged field and kitchen duties according to k^hela schedules. This latter task emerged as the most sensitive for female students since they could not touch food or handle serving-ware, which meant that their meals and dishes had to be served and cleared for them, and washed separately. This made for very public observances of k^hela within the field camp, which made several females feel as though they were “singled-out”. After learning of the discomfort of students, I met with each student individually to discuss k^hela and quickly learned that they felt most comfortable having me organize, make, and dispose of the meals for k^hela women. This allowed for concerned students to give me their meal requests in private and I endeavored to make and dispose of their meals as unobtrusively as possible.

In consultation with senior project staff and tribal elders, we also decided to have a “fire-side chat” with all of the students to clear the air and to more clearly explain how k^hela observances directly impact the health and well-being of the community. From an informal survey of the female students after this field season, they credited the talk with elders as making them feel more comfortable with k^hela. While many came to disagree with the philosophy of menstruation taboos, they understood on a personal level how important it was for the Kashaya that we follow these rules.

For the 2006-08 field seasons either my mother or myself ran the camp kitchen. In consultation with tribal elders and scholars it was decided that since tribal elders would not be operating the kitchen, it was unnecessary to adopt k^hela laws as they related to the serving and preparation of food in camp. Consequently, students were able to serve, prepare, and clean-up meals without regard to k^hela food-related restrictions.

K^hela laws as they relate to the practice of archaeology; however, were still followed for these field seasons. During the 2007 archaeological field school we rotated all students between KPITP and the China Camp Archaeology Project in Marin County, CA. This created an opportunity for all students to gain experience in collaborative archaeology through two different projects. As in 2004, rotating crews between Fort Ross and China Camp allowed us to accommodate the requirements of honoring k^hela. Due to the timing of archaeological fieldwork and the menstruation schedules of project staff, we did not need to create crew rotations for the 2005, 2006, and 2008 field seasons.

³ I indicate only students here as none of the female staff members have expressed concerns over privacy or objected to k^hela laws on the basis of personal or religious beliefs (see Dowdall and Parrish 2003 for an alternative perspective where several project staff expressed personal, religious, and privacy concerns).

Despite the issues we encountered in adopting Kashaya cultural values and laws in our daily practices, following *k^hela* and abstaining from alcohol are integral to the project—they are the primary ways that we, as researchers, show our respect to the community and their traditions. In following these rituals and rules we, as project staff and students, made a personal and public contribution to our relationships with the tribal community, as well as to the individual tribal elders and scholars with whom we worked on a daily basis. The lessons that students learned by following Kashaya traditions in their own daily lives helped to personalize the information they learned in the classroom about archaeology, collaboration and Kashaya culture. By following these laws they also learned about the sacrifices that Kashaya were making in their own participation in the project and could more clearly understand the human impact that archaeology can have upon a community. In summary, observing Kashaya laws in our own personal lives was the primary way that both students and project staff such as myself moved away from creating *knowledge about* the Kashaya to creating *knowledge with* tribal members—knowledge that was non-hierarchical, embedded in sociality, and personalized (Tamisari 2006:24).

Sharing Stories

Humanizing people is an important part of our research framework, as it is from these personal relationships and knowing one another that enabled the sharing of knowledge and stories amongst and between tribal elders, tribal members, archaeologists, and students. Building dialogues and rapport between collaborators was an especially important part of making tribal members feel comfortable participating in the project and was an essential component for developing the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail.

In 2004, KPITP hired as our camp cooks two of our main collaborators in the project, Violet Parrish Chappell and Vivian Parrish Wilder, Kashia tribal elders and scholars. Although the role of camp cook is an often under-appreciated job on an archaeological project (but also one of the most important jobs!), cooking for large groups of people—especially in ceremonial and ritual contexts—is a position of high status, honor, and respect within the Kashaya community. We thus felt that having Violet and Vivian as our cooks would honor their status as culinary experts and allow for them to feel fully included in the day-to-day operations of the project.

Violet and Vivian's presence and central position within our field camp were also desirable in another respect. The project operated as a joint ethnographic and archaeological field school. Involving undergraduates in the process of collaboration presented potential roadblocks in that the students had no personal connection to tribal members. It was thus integral to the success of the project that we build mutual rapport between the students and Violet and Vivian. Rotating students through Violet and Vivian's kitchen was an effective way of breaking down potential barriers of communication. The sharing of recipes and their associated family stories personalized people so that when consultations occurred, they proceeded as constructive, unforced dialogues between collaborators.

Due to the unavailability of Violet and Vivian during the 2007 and 2008 field season, we employed my mother, Darlene Gonzalez, as our camp cook. Whereas in 2004 students had

an opportunity to work with elders in the kitchen, the 2007 archaeological field school and subsequent 2008 field season created a different atmosphere, one in which students, tribal elders, scholars, and community members had the opportunity to see who I was and where I came from as a person. In this setting, I wasn't just a field director, archaeologist, or instructor, but someone's daughter, their child, and a family member.

The opportunity to work so closely with Violet and Vivian out in the field, and back in the kitchen, ensured that the elders and our students would get to know one another as individuals. Having such renowned cooks also assured us of a large dining contingent of students, staff, locals, and Kashaya tribal members, as word spread quickly across the coast about what specialties Violet, Vivian, and the students would be making for supper. Likewise, the opportunity to taste my mother's cooking and hear her stories of my growing up was an immediate draw for tribal members and elders who until that point saw a decidedly more professional side of me.

The ability to share meals with such a diverse array of community members and archaeologists provided a necessary element of fun and ease between collaborators of the project. This issue of ease is important. We must remember that in asking tribal members and elders to remember and share their experiences of Metini:Fort Ross, we were asking them to recall and relive memories, some of which were associated with great pain and trauma. It was thus essential that we created a supportive, honored, and respectful environment for these stories to be told. The lively discussions, camp pranks and high jinks, and memories of tasting Vivian's legendary huckleberry pie made from her own garden berries didn't just provide students and tribal members with great stories to tell, they made people feel comfortable with one another, which in turn allowed for the important work on the interpretive trail to progress.

A Blueprint for Action

Notably, the ritual blueprint for archaeology developed with the Kashaya Pomo Tribe has changed the practices of archaeology: our methods and methodology. Because archaeology is viewed as a potentially dangerous and destructive act, methodological emphasis has been placed upon low-impact methods for the survey and recovery of information from Kashaya ancestral sites. Following work at Metini Village in 1998-99, KPITP adopted a low-impact research methodology for the study of Kashaya ancestral sites at FRSHP. In this research protocol, a suite of non-destructive archaeological methods, including consultations, mapping, geophysical survey, and site survey, are used to maximize information regarding site structure before trowels or shovels hit the ground. Within this framework, excavation is envisioned as a precise "surgical operation" and is only undertaken when there is enough information to warrant its use (Lightfoot 2008b).

The low-impact methodology KPITP has developed with the Kashaya Pomo Tribe has resulted in the use of what the project has deemed the "catch and release" surface collection strategy (Gonzalez et al. 2006). This strategy was created in order to deal with the extremely poor site visibility on the coastal terraces and North Coast ranges at FRSHP. In previous pedestrian surface surveys of the park, researchers were able to locate new

sites generally only when the presence of rodent burrows and associated back-dirt brought up and thus revealed underlying deposits and artifacts (Lightfoot et al. 1991). Issues of visibility also created a problem during the surface collection of sites as the dense root mat obscured the extent and structure of sites.

In preparation for the 2004 Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Field School, which surveyed the coastal terrace and pathway of the interpretive trail, the project decided upon a surface collection strategy for archaeological sites within the park that would 1) mitigate this low site and artifact visibility and 2) test the viability of placing surface collected artifacts back into their original unit provenience. As with other surface collection strategies, the “catch and release” method stratifies the site into a series of survey units or blocks. In the case of sites investigated by KPITP, survey blocks were either 4-by-4 meters or 5-by-5 meters in size with the individual size of the blocks determined according to the total area of the site and desired level of intensity of the surface survey. Within each survey block, one 1-by-1 meter surface test unit (STU) was selected for survey; this consisted of peeling back the sod and collecting artifacts within the 5 to 10 centimeter root mat.

The depth of the root mat roughly corresponds to the depth of the A horizon soils on the coastal terrace, which rarely extend below 10 centimeters. Surface collected artifacts were then taken back to the lab, analyzed, and will be placed back into their original 1-by-1 meter STU provenience during the 2011 field season. The information produced from this form of intensive site survey was then paired with data from topographic maps, geophysical survey, and consultations with elders in order to identify and pinpoint areas of a site for further investigation.

As part of this strategy, the project is working closely with both the California Department of Parks and Recreation and the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians to examine the viability of this method for use at all Kashaya sites within the State Park system. From an archaeological point of view, the “catch and release” strategy maximizes the information we are able to gather through surface collection. This intensive surface collection strategy is part of an integrated multi-stage field practice (e.g., Redman 1987) that uses intensive site survey as a means for constructing well-developed models of site structure prior to (and sometimes in lieu of) the initiation of subsurface survey. Combined with the results of geophysical survey and topographic mapping, data from our intensive surface collection program are used to produce artifact isopleths maps, which chart the densities of different artifact classes across a site. This combination of data sets is a useful tool in identifying correlations between observed geophysical anomalies, topographic features, and artifact concentrations or associations. We are thus able to build refined understandings of the extent, density and structure of an archaeological site, pinpointing with greater accuracy underground features or activity areas. Because artifacts are collected within the zone of bioturbation—the 5 to 10 centimeter root mat—damage to the integrity of a site is also minimal in comparison to other, more intrusive methods for site survey such as shovel test pits, soil augers and cores, or excavation test units.

As demonstrated in Chapter 8, this kind of intensive site survey is an effective strategy for dealing with the low visibility of archaeological sites within FRSHP. The results from our

site survey at the North Wall Community also indicate that, despite the high rate of bioturbation and turnover of soils on the coastal terrace, surface collection remains a viable and fruitful avenue of archaeological investigation, especially when used in combination with data from topographic mapping and geophysical survey.

Although surface collection provides valuable data, in California these data-sets are rarely re-examined by researchers. This may be due to their perceived lack of value, perhaps a result of the idea that surface collected materials have limited contextual information in comparison to artifacts collected through excavation. By “catching-and-releasing” surface artifacts we are creating a curation-minded methodology that allows for the gathering of valuable data while also limiting the curation impact created through our site investigations. Also, due to the high rate of bioturbation of soils on the coastal terrace, our “release” of artifacts back into their original unite provenience locations will have little to no structural impact upon archaeological sites, creating a viable archaeological and curation strategy for such surface collected materials.

From the point of view of the Kashia tribe, the low-impact nature of our surface collection methodology is compatible with their perspectives on the management of heritage, as it minimizes the ground disturbance at ancestral sites. The fact that all surface collected artifacts are returned to their original unit provenience after they are analyzed and documented is also viewed as beneficial to the tribe, as they see this process as an integral part of preserving the health and well-being of the tribal community. Reno Franklin, the Kashaya Pomo Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, is interested in testing this strategy at other Kashaya ancestral sites as it provides a way for the tribe to gather archaeological evidence, while also ensuring that surface remains are returned back to ancestral sites. We are hopeful that this methodology will be found useful by other THPOs and archaeologists working with tribal communities who may have similar concerns over the disposition of cultural remains.⁴

To date, the surface collection strategy has been used at a total of 12 sites within FRSHP. The project is also working on a long-term study of the impact of intensive site survey on archaeological sites. As part of this study, we will be reburying all surface collection artifacts from sites collected since the 2004 field season. This work will take place during the summer of 2011. At this point, a selection of sites will be tested again using the “catch and release” method in order to determine if artifact densities across a site have been significantly changed as a result of the STUs. Presently, we expect that the impact of the STUs is minimal on the integrity of a site, as the soils on the coastal terraces are extremely active and have a high rate of turnover, a combined result of extensive animal bioturbation and root disturbances.

⁴ Several archaeologists have indicated their interest in using the “catch and release” surface collection strategy. Of note, David Hurst Thomas of the American Museum of Natural History will be using this methodology for his field project with the Duck Water Shoshone (David Hurst Thomas, 2010, *personal communication*; Elliot Blair, 2010, *personal communication*).

Conclusion

In combination with observance of Kashaya cultural values and laws for the practice of archaeology, this low-impact field methodology minimizes the negative effect of archaeology upon the tribal community and its ancestral sites. It also provides the basis for us to work collaboratively with the tribe to produce images of its past that are based in both scientific and indigenous epistemologies. Involving undergraduate students in this process through the joint ethnographic and archaeological field schools in 2004 and 2007, we were able to create with the tribe a unique learning atmosphere in which everyone—students, staff, Kashaya elders, scholars and tribal members—shared their knowledge of the past, of heritage, of archaeology, and of themselves. This allowed students and staff to approach the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail as something more than a gravelly path through an open marine terrace. In short, the archaeological sites people worked on became part of a living tradition, not a distant past.

For the tribe, the educational nature of the KPITP field schools contributed to their goal of using archaeology as a medium for teaching youth about Kashaya heritage (Parrish et al. 2000). Usually lessons about Native American history are taught in university classrooms by non-Native professors. In this case, Kashaya taught students directly about Kashaya history and heritage, lessons which students were able to personalize through their own adoption of Kashaya laws and values in their daily routines and field practices. The potential risks of involving students as equal partners in collaboration—from the archaeological fieldwork to ethnographic interviews to cooking our nightly meals with Violet and Vivian or my mother—were offset by our ability to involve students and ourselves in on-the-ground training in community-based participatory research, a rare opportunity for all involved.

Through these field schools we had the collective ability to train some in the next generation of anthropologists and archaeologists. As an aside, out of over 40 former undergraduate KPITP field participants who participated in the project from 2004 to 2008, 13 are now pursuing academic and professional careers in either anthropology or archaeology. It is my sincere hope that the experiences of these students working with the tribe serve as a lasting reminder of what archaeology and collaboration can and should be.

Chapter VIII

Digging into Households: Archaeology on the Ground at the North Wall Community

This chapter provides an overview of the archaeological investigations of the North Wall Community (CA-SON-190). This research serves as the basis for developing public interpretation of this community on the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. As with other sites investigated by the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project, all archaeological research was done in accordance with the ritual blueprint for archaeology and adhered to a low-impact archaeological methodology, both of which were developed through collaboration with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians and the California Department of Parks and Recreation. I begin the chapter with a brief overview of the low-impact methodology, describing how it was applied within this site-specific context. Next, I present the results of the 2006-2008 field seasons. Finally, I examine how the analyses of lithic, ceramic and glass artifacts help to resolve some of the interpretive potentials in regard to this community.

Field Methodology at the North Wall Community

In accordance with our low-impact field methodology, archaeological reconnaissance at the North Wall Community uses an integrative, multi-phased research design (Redman 1973, 1987) that places emphasis upon low-impact field strategies (Lightfoot 2006a, 2006b, 2006c). These approaches to archaeological field methodology are complimentary in that both envision each stage of the research design as building upon and contributing to the next phase of research. Combining these approaches results in a methodology that attempts to maximize information gathered through each stage of the research design, the overall goal being to limit the impact of archaeological field methods upon the structure of an archaeological site. The fact that low-impact field strategies are emphasized also results in a methodology that places strategic importance upon the earliest stages of data collection—mapping and site survey—as these stages are not only valuable for increasing our knowledge of site structure prior to subsurface testing of a site, but the individual methods used within these stages also tend to be minimally invasive (e.g., traditional site mapping, aerial survey, geophysical survey, surface pedestrian survey, surface collection).

The low-impact methodology used at the North Wall consisted of three phases: mapping (physical and topographic); surface survey (pedestrian survey, geophysical survey, and intensive surface collection); and sub-surface testing (test excavation units and block excavations). This methodology, as outlined above and in the previous chapter (Chapter 7), places strategic emphasis upon the initial phases of research. Non-invasive mapping and surface survey techniques were thus used to create a comprehensive and detailed understanding of the extent and nature of subsurface deposits prior to the initiation of any sub-surface testing. This information was then used in order develop a more sophisticated sub-surface testing program that would limit the amount of subsurface disturbance at the

site. I have organized the following discussion of field methodology according to field season and phase of research.

All archaeological investigations at the North Wall Community were undertaken with the express permission and approval of the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. Formal permission was granted at the beginning of the 2006 field season and renewed each year. Due to the evolving nature of collaboration with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians and the California Department of Parks and Recreation, flexibility in methodology was of utmost importance. Ongoing collaboration and consultation with the Tribal Historic Preservation Office provided critical assistance and necessary feedback for how we handled and interpreted archaeological remains. In some cases the discovery of new archaeological remains or the availability of newer, non-invasive technologies led to refinements and other changes in our individual field methods. As with previous field seasons of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project, all project participants adhered to Kashaya cultural laws and values for the practice of archaeology throughout the 2006, 2007, and 2008 field seasons. This involved following *k^hela* restrictions and abstaining from alcohol on the day of and prior to formal consultations, as well as when any tribal member was in residence at Archy Camp (see Chapter 7 for a thorough discussion of these practices).

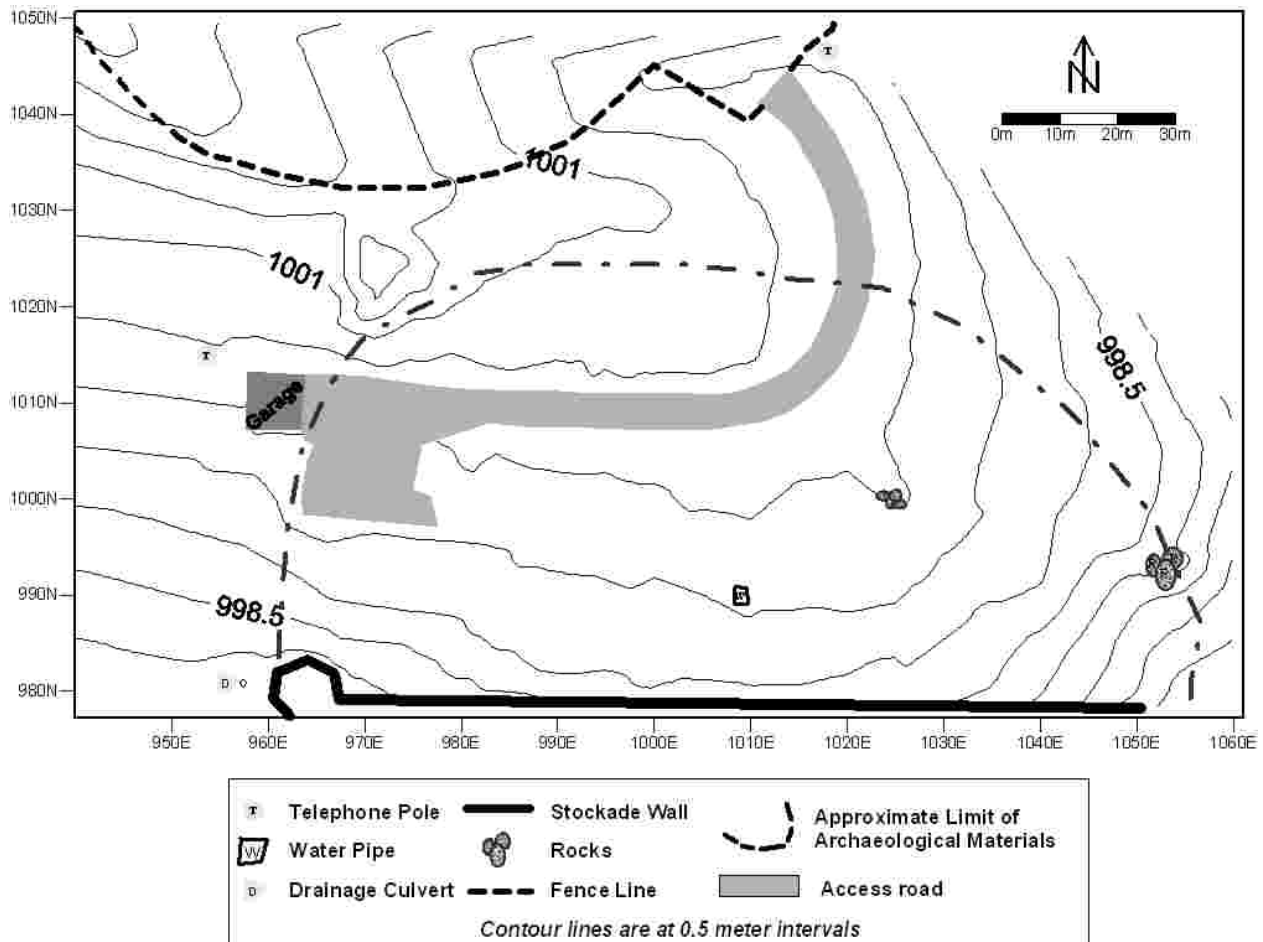


Figure 8. 1 The North Wall Community at Fort Ross State Historic Park

2006 Field Season

Field research at the North Wall Community began in the summer of 2006. The goal of this first field season was to complete an archaeological condition assessment of the archaeological deposits located along the north wall of the stockade. Graduate student volunteers and Undergraduate Research Apprentice Scholars from UC Berkeley assisted in this work. Reno Franklin, the Kashia Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, tribal scholar and elder Walter Antone, and other THPO staff assisted the project in this work and oversaw the operation of fieldwork throughout the summer. This initial phase of research consisted of mapping the entire area adjacent to the north wall of the stockade and commencing a site survey of this area. This latter work consisted of the following: 1) a broad-scale magnetometer survey; 2) surface pedestrian survey; and 3) implementation of an intensive surface collection strategy. Mapping and the first two elements of site survey were deemed necessary in order to determine the impact of previous archaeological reconnaissance and subsequent development in this area. As discussed in Chapter 6, we had also hoped to re-locate the exact coordinates and locations of excavations previously conducted by Treganza (1954), McKenzie and Knight (1975) and Wood (1970).

Site Mapping

The first step in the 2006 field season consisted of mapping the entire North Wall Area of the Russian stockade. A permanent aluminum datum point, stamped with the site trinomial (CA-SON-190), was placed in the approximate center of the North Wall Study Area, which was defined as immediately adjacent to the entire north wall of the Russian stockade and extending up to the embankment of CA-Highway 1 (Figure 8.1). This datum served as a permanent reference point for the site that was used for mapping as well as for laying out our surface collection and excavation unit grids. We used an artificial mapping grid to establish the grid system across the entirety of CA-SON-190. As such, we assigned the datum the arbitrary mapping coordinates of 1000 meters north, 1000 meters east, and an arbitrary elevation of 1000 meters (Hester et al. 1997:208-209; Schneider and Panich 2008). For mapping designations within the more localized North Wall Community Area (Figure 8.2) we designated coordinates in real meters N/S and E/W of the site datum. UTM coordinates for the site datum we obtained by a hand-held GPS unit using North American Datum 27 have been filed with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians Tribal Historic Preservation Office. The exact UTM coordinates are not reported here in order to protect the exact locations of archaeological deposits. The site grid used for the North Wall Area is oriented in alignment with the Russian stockade and on a bearing of 26.5° east of true north.

The topographic map for the North Wall Area was produced using a Sokkia Set510 total station. The site area itself is relatively flat and lacking in any significant topographic features aside from the pile of burned brush that the park keeps at the site, therefore, we collected data for the topographic maps at measured intervals of 5-meters. Using fiberglass-measuring tapes we established a 5-by-5 meter interval grid across the site. Wooden stakes were used to demarcate the location of each data collection point and each stake was accordingly labeled with its unit coordinate. Pin flags were used to demarcate points at which there were extreme changes in elevation, such as over the brush pile and

surrounding the only other visible architectural features at the site, the Ranger's House foundation. We also collected data from judgmentally defined points such as the access road, former parking area and a water pipe feature in order to represent these areas on the final base map for the site, which was created using Surfer software. At these locations data were collected at closer intervals (50 cm to 1 m depending upon the nature of the feature) (see the following for a discussion of sampling in relation to topographic mapping Fletcher and Spicer 1988; Kvamme et al. 2006; Schneider and Panich 2008). A total of 723 points were taken over an area of approximately 6,000 meters²

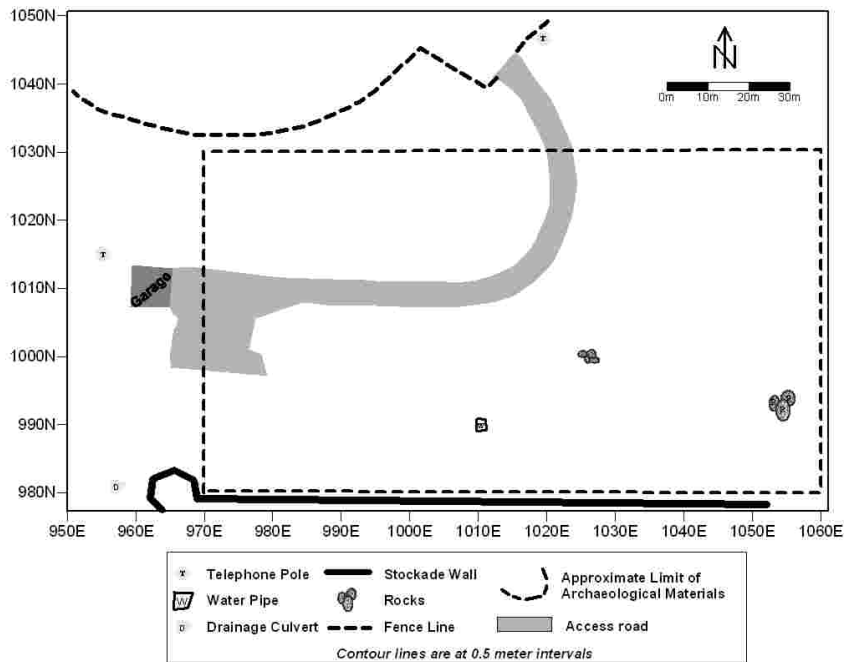


Figure 8. 2 The North Wall Study Area

Surface Pedestrian Survey

In conjunction with the mapping of the North Wall Area, the project carried out a surface pedestrian survey of the entire area immediately north of the stockade wall. Though the study area along the north wall of the Russian stockade is covered with grasses and vegetation, a simple survey of the area was done in order to determine if any above surface or noticeable subsurface features could be readily identified. Using an interval of 2m between survey lines, which were oriented along Grid North-South, crews walked the entirety of the survey area and noted all observable artifacts and features.

Aside from features associated with the Ranger's House, no other archaeological features were discovered in this survey. The presence/absence of artifacts on the surface of the site

was used in order to determine the boundaries of the topographic mapping and future phases of site survey. Artifacts observed on the surface of the site were clustered in the central portion of the study area (40W to 50E and 20S to 40N), with few artifacts distributed beyond the west and east walls of the stockade. On the basis of this survey, the study area was established in an area approximately 100 meters by 60 meters along the north wall (roughly 6000 meters²) (Figure 8.2). The southern, northern and eastern boundaries of the site were determined by local landscape features: the north wall of the stockade, the fence line along CA-Highway 1 and the steep embankment located on the eastern edge of the site, respectively. In the case of the latter, the steep terrain and dense vegetation beyond this boundary made further survey of this area impractical. The western border of the site was judgmentally set at 20 meters west of the Northwest Blockhouse, as no artifacts were observed between the blockhouse and this point. The utility of this boundary was supported by the subsequent geophysical survey, which did not indicate any significant magnetic anomalies in this area.

Geophysical Survey

Following the topographic mapping of the site and establishment of the 5x5 meter site grid, an intensive geophysical survey of the study area was conducted using a Geometrics 858 cesium vapor gradiometer. The Archaeological Research Facility at the University of California, Berkeley, owns this instrument. This particular type of geophysical survey identifies changes in the magnetic signature of soils and has been used successfully in archaeological contexts for identifying subsurface architectural features such as stone foundations, hearths, pits, as well as anomalies created from other archaeological features such as burned soils, fire-affected rocks, and midden deposits. At Fort Ross, gradiometer surveys of Metini Village and the Native Alaskan Village previously showed particular utility in defining cooking midden deposits as these features contain fire-affected and fire-cracked rocks, which produce readily identifiable magnetic anomalies (Lightfoot et al. 1997). Our use of this geophysical survey technique indicated our hope that we could identify similar features within the North Wall Area.

Using the 5-by-5 meter interval grid established with the topographic map, we divided the survey area into 20-by-20 meter survey blocks. Nylon ropes were used to mark out the survey baselines, which ran east to west. Individual survey lines were oriented north to south and spaced at an interval of 1-meter. This spacing creates a high resolution of subsurface magnetic anomalies. Along each survey line data were collected approximately every 0.05 meters. This measurement is based on setting the gradiometer to a continuous sensor cycling of 0.1 seconds and an average operator pace of 0.5-meters per second. Nylon ropes were used along each survey transect and each was marked at 1-meter intervals in order to ensure that the operator was keeping up with this pace. The cesium vapor sensors were set to vertical dipole mode and were aligned vertically with a spacing of 0.75 meters. During the operation the upper sensor center was approximately 1.2 meters above the ground surface and the lower sensor center was approximately 0.45 meters above the ground surface. These measurements are approximate and fluctuated according to the height of the operator and terrain. This process was repeated over 15 survey blocks.

Magnetic anomalies were concentrated in the area between the Northwest Blockhouse and eastern edge of the Kuskov house and up to 20 meters north of this segment of the stockade wall. The high number of dipole anomalies and data spikes observed in the survey data indicated the widespread presence of magnetic materials, likely metal artifacts (Kvamme 2006a, 2006b). This supposition later proved correct as data from surface collection and excavation revealed a considerable quantity of ferrous metals such as nails and other building hardware. Drop-outs of data were also indicated in several areas of the site, notably survey lines immediately adjacent to above-ground power lines, and known sub-surface power and water lines (Figure 8.3). Despite these issues, geophysical data revealed several localized magnetic anomalies, as well as a linear anomaly located directly north of the paved access road (Figure 8.4). Combined with analysis from later phases of site survey including the surface pedestrian survey and collection of surface artifacts, anomalies centered around the following coordinates were selected for further subsurface testing during the 2007 field season: 10S 26W; 10S 31W; 6S 2E; 0N 11E; and 14N 2W.¹ The results of subsurface tests of these areas are described in the 2007 *Subsurface Testing* portion of this chapter.

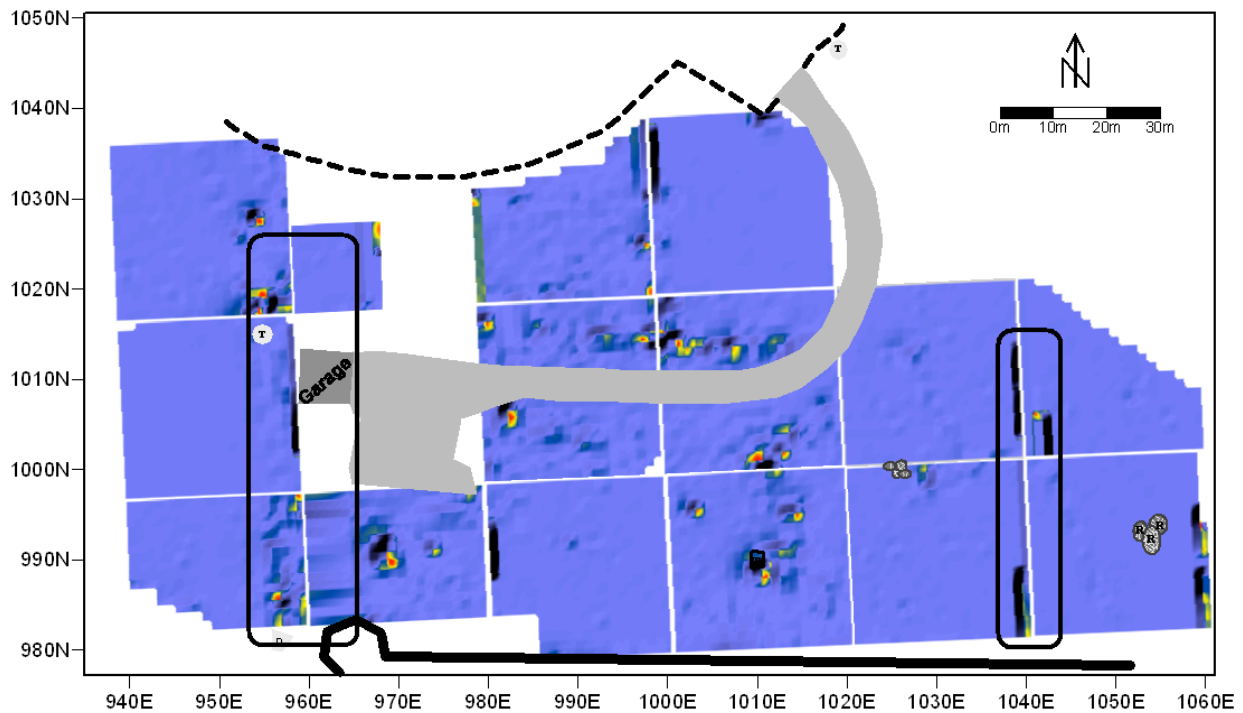


Figure 8. 3 Gradiometer survey results, 2006. Observed drop-outs in data are circled.

¹ Though the mapping grid established at the site lists the datum as 1000 North 1000 E, individual unit forms reference each unit according to their exact location N/S and E/W of the datum.

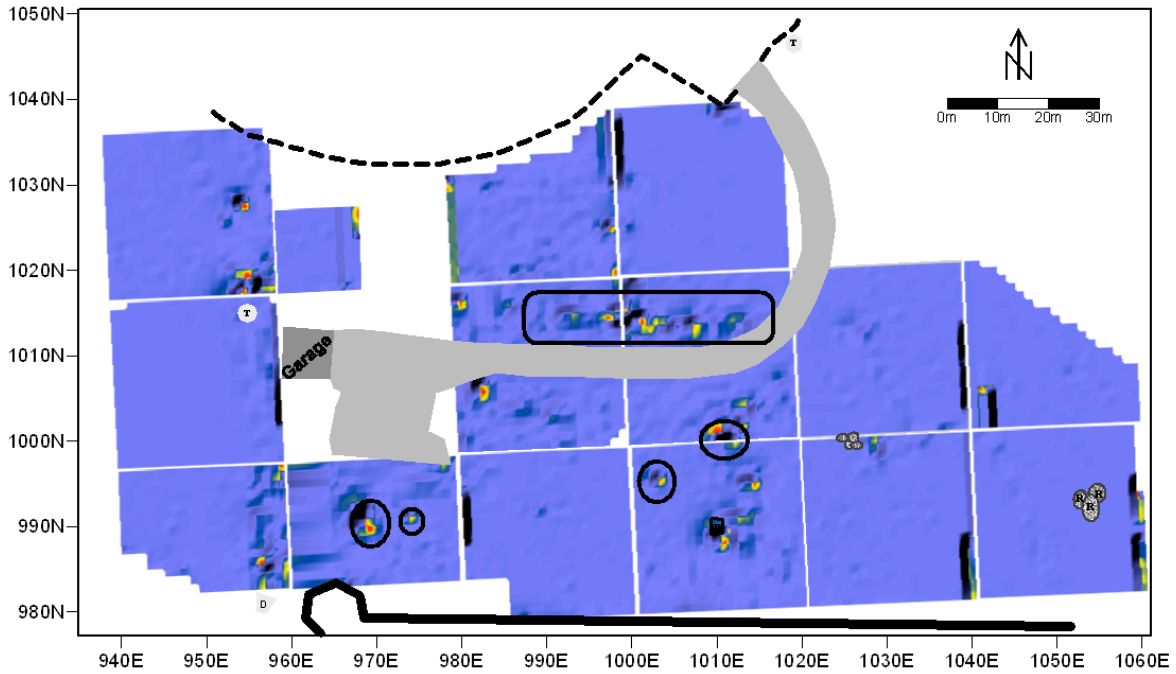


Figure 8. 4 Magnetic anomalies selected for further investigation, 2006

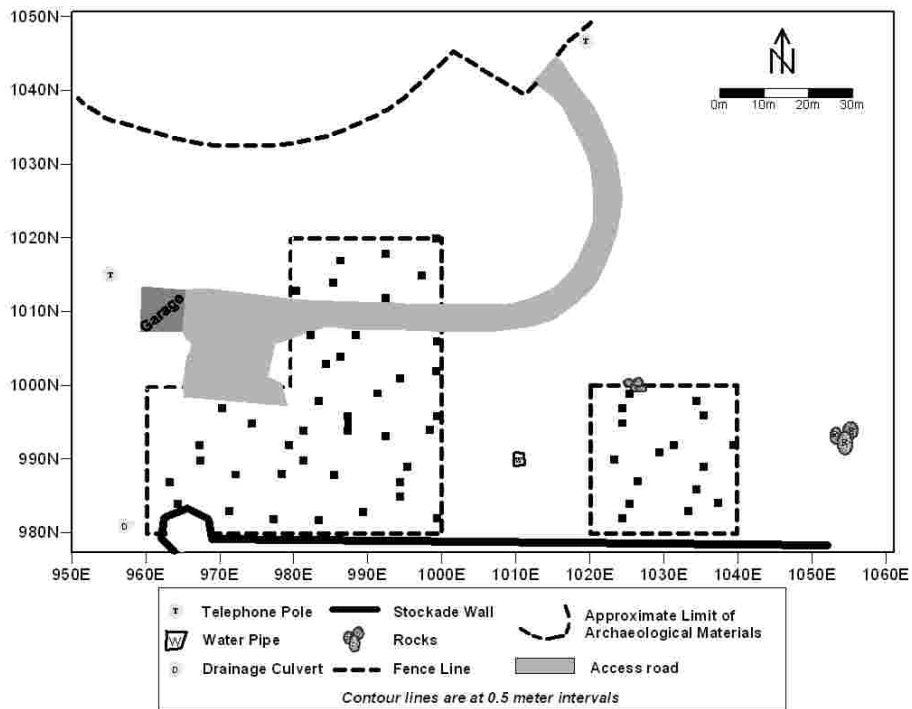


Figure 8. 5 Surface collection survey blocks with sampled surface test units, 2006

Artifact Classification

The methodology for classifying and cataloguing artifacts and faunal remains from the North Wall Study Area was similar to that employed in previous UC Berkeley excavations at FRSHP (Lightfoot et al. 1997; Lightfoot 1999). Following Lightfoot (1999:18), all archaeological remains were assigned a Field Catalogue Number that is comprised of three parts:

1. Project/Location Code (NW for North Wall Community)
2. Date of collection in the field (e.g., 6/21/07)
3. Field specimen number (number assigned in the field to the lot or specimen, from 1-n, per day)

For example, Catalogue Number “NW-6/21/07-03” refers to the third lot bag recorded at the North Wall Community on June 21, 2007.

Following analysis in the lab, all materials were then sorted into a total of six Basic Groups: Lithics (LI); Faunal (FA); Worked Bone, Antler and Shell (BAS); European-Asian Manufactured Artifacts (EA); Ethnobotanical (EB); and Other (OT). As explained below, artifacts and faunal remains were further sub-divided according to Material Category and Artifact Class, and if appropriate by Artifact Type, Raw Material Species, Element, and Edge Modification (see Appendix A for the lab cataloguing manual and a complete list of artifact codes).

Lithics

All artifacts within the Lithic Basic Group were sub-divided into three Material Categories: Flaked stone (LF), Ground stone (LG), and Other (LO). Following Andrefsky (1998:Figure 4.7), Flaked stone was classified according to morphological characteristics and sorted into the Tool and Debitage classes. Deviating from Andrefsky, I separate the subdivision of “flake” into three subcategories: complete, proximal, and flake shatter. Complete flakes exhibit both a striking platform and distal termination; Proximal flakes retain a striking platform and bulb of percussion and exhibit a step fracture on the distal end, and flake shatter exhibits characteristics of a flake (i.e., clear dorsal and ventral surface with indicators such as dorsal flake scars and visible lances and/or undulations on the ventral surface).

Tools are classified as biface or nonbiface (flake tools and cores), though I analyze flake tools as debitage for the purposes of understanding the technological aspects of lithic reduction. All flaked stone was examined under the microscope for evidence of edge modification (use-wear or retouch). Tool types include cores, bifaces, projectile points, and unifaces. Groundstone and Lithic Other artifact classes were determined according to the California Archaeology Lab catalogue system (Appendix A) and we recovered the following classes: milling handstones, pestles, battered cobbles, net weights, and fire-cracked groundstone. The latter class was originally classified as Lithic Other, however, the majority of fire-cracked rock consisted of groundstone material, thus we reclassified it according to its original method of manufacture. The following classes of lithics were

classified as lithic other: crystals, unmodified cobbles, fire-cracked rock (un-modified with no evidence of use-wear or manufacture), and other. Finally, for all classes of material, raw material species was noted. For the North Wall Community these included basalt, chert, obsidian, sandstone, and quartz.

Faunal

Faunal remains were classified according to the following five Material Categories: Mollusk, Fish, Mammal, Bird, and Other Faunal. The vast majority of faunal remains consisted of mollusk and other shellfish remains (i.e., sea urchin). I completed the analysis of all shellfish and indicated raw material species and element codes for all specimens. Classes identified from the North Wall area include abalone, barnacles, chiton, clam, gumboot chiton, limpets, mussel, *Olivella*, periwinkle, snails, and whelk, in addition to unidentified shellfish remains that were too heavily burnt and/or small to identify. The vast majority of these remains exhibited a high degree of fire alteration and were heavily degraded.

When feasible, Fish, Mammal and Bird remains were identified by species and element, though the fragmentary nature of the collection made it difficult to make these identifications. I have submitted these materials to David Cohen (UC Berkeley) for zooarchaeological analysis, though to date this analysis has not been completed.

Worked Bone, Antler, and Shell

All worked bone, antler and shell was classified according to raw material (bone, antler, or shell) and further sub-divided into artifact classes based upon the method of manufacture, morphology, and function. Only one category from this group was recovered from the North Wall Area: worked shell beads manufactured out of clam and *Olivella* shells.

European-Asian Manufactured Artifacts

European-Asian manufactured artifacts consist of six material categories: Historic Ceramics, Glass, Worked Glass, Brick, and Metal. Below I describe the classification scheme used for determining artifact class and, if applicable, artifact type.

a. Historic Ceramics. This category consists of vessels, beads, pipes, and worked ceramics. Following Majewski and O'Brien (1987) and the established system for classifying historic ceramics at Fort Ross (Silliman 1997), historic ceramics were subdivided into ceramic groups according to paste characteristics and degree of vitrification. Observed ceramic types include kaolin (pipes), yellowware, stoneware, non-vitrified white earthenware, semi-vitrified white earthenware, vitrified white earthenware, and porcelain. I use the designations of non-vitrified, semi-vitrified, and vitrified white earthenwares to distinguish technological differences between ware types that are often classified as "British whitewares" (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Voss 2002:681). Of these three groups, I split the non-vitrified white earthenwares into three ware types: creamwares (Miller 1980; Noel Hume 1970), pearlwares (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:118), and whitewares (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:). Of these ware types, creamwares were manufactured first in the mid-1700s and dominated the market by the 1790s; pearlwares

were first introduced in 1779 and dominated the market in the early 1800s; while whitewares were first introduced in the 1810s and remain popular today. Although whitewares continue to be manufactured today, changes in the method and kind of decoration provide an excellent basis from which to determine manufacturing date. In the case of whitewares, changes in method and kind of decoration provide an excellent basis for determining the date of manufacture (Miller 1980).

Semi-vitrified white earthenware ware types include what are referred to as ironstone or stone china and was popular in the mid to late 1800s (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:120-21; Miller 1980). Vitrified white earthenware include the ware type referred to as hotel ware or semi-porcelain, were first produced in the 1880s and continue to be produced today (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:124; Miller 1980).

b. Glass. Glass artifacts are subdivided into the following four classes: vessel glass, flat glass, lamp glass, beads, and other. Where possible manufacture method, vessel form and vessel element were noted for vessel glass, flat glass and lamp glass, however the highly fragmented nature of both surface and excavated materials often precluded the collection of this data. Using the Ross (1997) and Kidd and Kidd (1970) bead classification system, beads were further classified according to manufacture type, shape, color, decoration, finishing, and size (Appendix B). Other glass artifacts recovered consist solely of melted glass that cannot be assigned to any of the other glass classes.

c. Worked Glass. Glass artifacts that have been subsequently used or modified are categorized as worked glass. Following the guidelines established by Andrefsky (1998), Tringham et al. (1974) and Odell (2004:64-72) for the identification of edge-modification, use-wear and retouch on lithic flake tools, all worked glass was inspected under a low-powered microscope in order to determine the extent, type, and angle of the edge with use-wear or retouch. Given the sandy nature of the soils and degree of site use at the North Wall Study Area, which can lead to "retouching" of glass edges, we were hesitant to mark glass as "worked" unless the evidence for retouch was clear and unequivocal.

d. Brick. Bricks are classified according to origin of manufacture (Russian or American), however, in no case was the project able to ascertain origin due to the fragmentary nature of brick recovered from the North Wall Area.

e. Metal. Metals were analyzed according material type (ferrous vs. non-ferrous) and described in comments. When applicable, method of manufacture was noted, and in the case of nails, type of head and shank was described.

Ethnobotanical Materials

Ethnobotanical materials consist of two categories of materials: wood and charcoal. The wood category consists mostly of redwood post and fencing material. Charcoal has not been submitted for further testing to determine the species of wood.

Other

Other materials consisted of three material Categories: soil, clay/daub, plastic, and other unidentified materials.

Guide to Artifact Codes

For the purposes of this chapter, subsequent tables listing artifact counts list the 13 major groups and classes of artifacts that we recovered from the North Wall Study Area. These groups and classes include: Glass Beads (BE); Glass (GL); Historic Ceramics (HC); Metal (ME); Worked Glass (WG); Flaked Lithics (LF); Groundstone (LG); Lithic Other (LO); Worked Shell (beads) (WS); Faunal (FA); Charcoal (CH); Wood (WO); and Other (O) (Table 8.1).

<i>Code</i>	Description	<i>Code</i>	Description	<i>Code</i>	Description
BE	Beads, glass	LF	Flaked lithics	CH	Charcoal
GL	Glass	LG	Groundstone	WO	Wood
HC	Historic Ceramics	LO	Lithic Other	O	Other
ME	Metal	WS	Worked Shell	L	Level
WG	Worked Glass	FA	Faunal		

Table 8.1 Key to artifact tables, including relevant artifact codes. For full artifact code list see Appendix A.

Surface Collection

After the mapping, the surface pedestrian survey, and the geophysical survey were completed, we began an intensive surface collection of artifacts at the north wall. Using what the project has called the “catch and release” surface collection strategy, which was previously described in Chapter 7, we systematically surveyed for artifacts distributed across the site. Within each Surface Test Unit (STU), we peeled back the sod and collected artifacts from the root mat, which ranged from 0-10 cm in depth. This strategy was designed in order to combat the extremely poor site visibility of the archaeological deposits of the North Wall Area, which were obscured due to dense vegetation. Collecting artifacts from both the surface and the root mat of each STU allowed us to collect a more representative sample of artifacts and thus formulate a more detailed and accurate understanding of the spatial distribution of artifacts across the site.

Following surface collection of artifacts, artifact contour plot maps showing the distribution of individual artifact classes were then made using Surfer software. Traditional contour maps rely upon an x, y, and z coordinate; x and y referring to grid units north and south of the datum and z for units of elevation. For artifact contour maps the x

and y coordinates refer to the northing and southing coordinates of an STU, while weights and counts of individual artifact classes are supplied for the z coordinate. This allows for the plotting of artifact densities across an archaeological site, which can then be used to determine the boundaries of a site or identify potential activity areas on the basis of artifact concentrations. Used in combination with geophysical survey and topographic data, these maps provide a valuable tool in assessing the potential meaning and significance of individual subsurface geophysical anomalies.

2006: Implementation of the Catch and Release Strategy

Based upon the results of the surface pedestrian and gradiometer surveys, we restricted our surface collection to a study area of approximately 4,400 meters² (Figure 8.2). Using the 5-by-5 meter grid already established for the topographic map, we employed a systematic unaligned sampling strategy in which we sampled artifacts from the 5-by-5 meter sample units. Within each 5-by-5 meter sample unit we randomly selected one 1-by-1 meter surface test unit and collected artifacts from the surface and root mat. We chose 176 STUs for investigation, but due to the location of some units we were only able to collect from a total of 161 STUs. This effectively resulted in a 3.6% sample of the study area. We also collected an additional four diagnostic artifacts that did not fall into any of our STUs; these included three Chinese hand-painted export porcelains and a glass bottleneck and finish made from solarized “amethyst glass” (Jones and Sullivan 1989). Provenience data for these artifacts were recorded *in situ*.

In 2006 we completed a total of 58 STUs (Figure 8.5). We prioritized the sampling of these areas based upon previous archaeological reconnaissance by Lightfoot (1999) and Wood (1970), which identified high concentrations of artifacts in these approximate locations. The fact that these sample areas lie outside the former pathway of Old Highway 1 (which ran north-south between approximately 15 and 30 meters east of the site datum) was also a contributing factor in this decision as our hope was that these areas had been impacted the least in regards to the construction of the highway. All but one sampled STU contained artifacts, which included the following artifact types: flaked obsidian, chert and quartz; a variety of groundstone artifacts; fire-cracked rock; burned faunal and shellfish remains; forged, cut, and wire nails; worked glass; worked ceramics; worked shell; 19th century ceramics and glass; glass beads; and other historical materials. A particularly noteworthy find was discovered in STU 9S 31W: a Spanish silver coin minted in the year 1808.

Preliminary results from the 2006 surface collection survey indicated that artifact densities roughly corresponded to observed geophysical anomalies. Though the data from the gradiometer survey was difficult to analyze due to the high level of magnetic noise, when plotted together with the preliminary surface collection data there is a rough correspondence between observed anomalies and concentrations of artifacts. The distributions of artifacts by both mass (Figure 8.6) and count (Figure 8.7) roughly correspond to one another, that is units with high numbers of artifacts also tended to have a high total mass. There are two exceptions to this: the concentration of artifacts by count located at 18N 14W and the concentrations of artifacts, by mass, observed at 14S 26W and

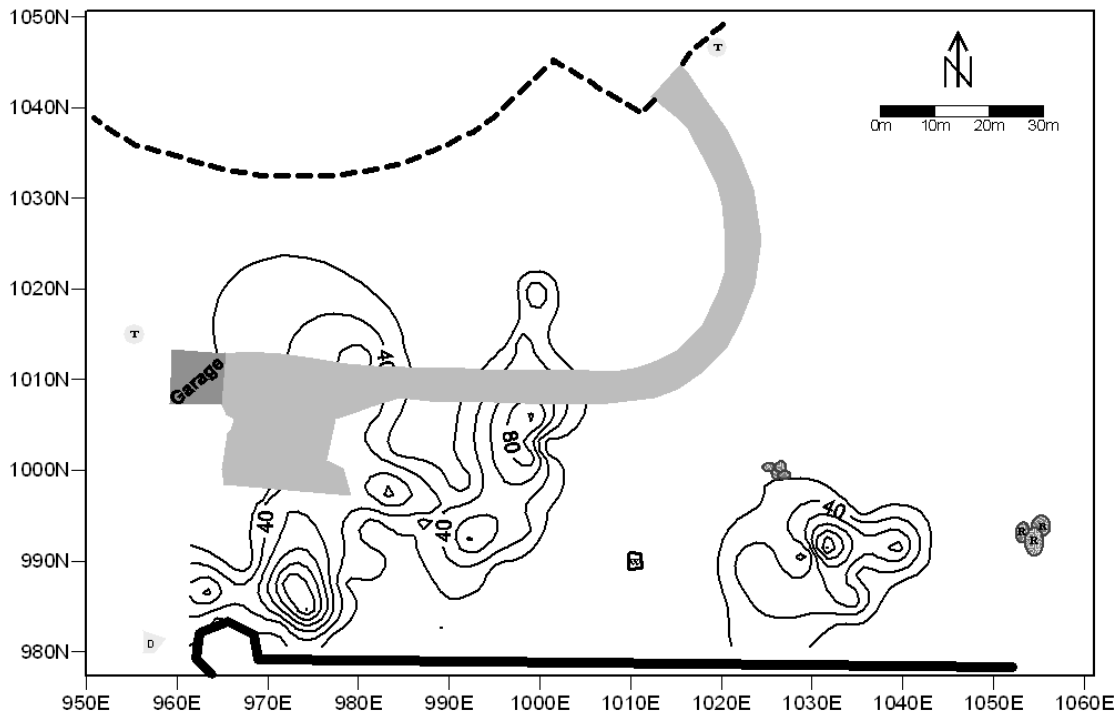


Figure 8. 6 2006 surface density of artifacts, by grams. Contours are in 20-gram intervals.

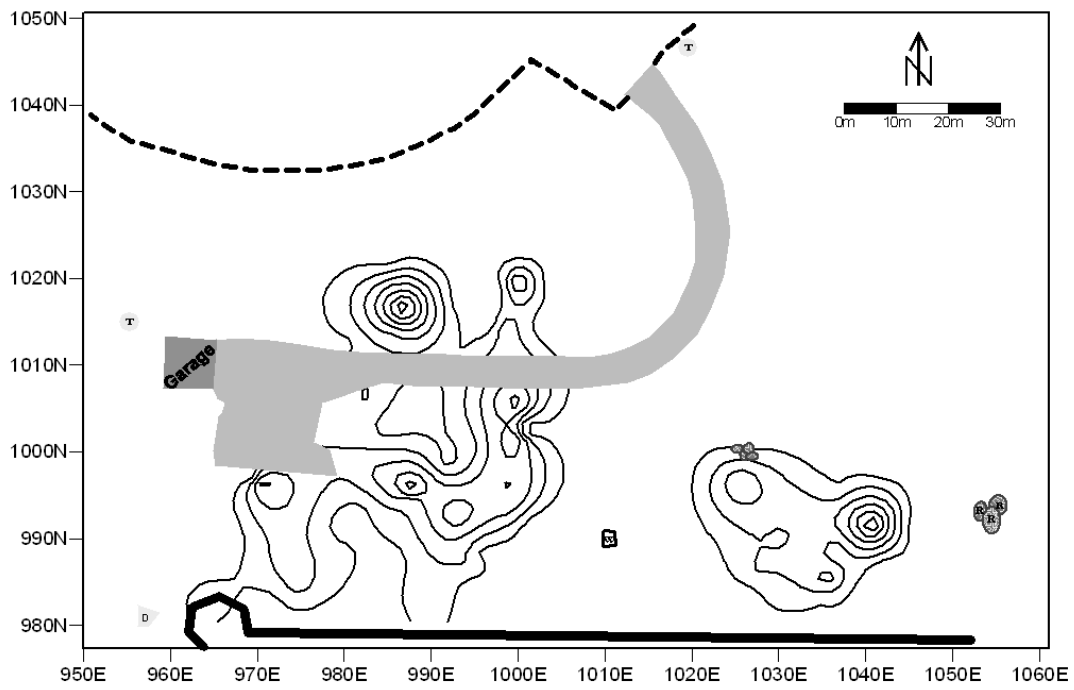


Figure 8. 7 2006 surface density of artifacts, by count

8S 32E. The first concentration corresponds to a high quantity of wood recovered in this area, which can be attributed to the proximity of the STU's in this area to the large pile of burned grass clippings and other degradable materials. The second and third concentrations by mass are the result of fire-affected and fire-cracked rock, which are denser than other materials. The surface density maps created in 2006 and following the completion of this survey in 2007 were used to guide subsequent phases of subsurface testing in 2007 and the geophysical survey in 2008.

2006 Conclusions

The initial mapping and site survey of the North Wall Area archaeological deposits provided the foundation for our future investigations of the site. In addition to identifying the presence of archaeological remains across the entirety of the site, this field season helped us to understand the impact of previous development projects upon the site. Our initial concern was that the construction of the Ranger's house, located in the northwestern quadrant of the site, and Old Highway 1 had seriously impacted or even destroyed traces of a Russian-period or pre-19th century occupation of the site. While these events certainly disturbed the local places within the broader study area, the widespread distribution of early 19th century artifacts across the site area indicated that portions of the site were still intact. Our initial survey and impact assessment of the area and geophysical survey also helped us to refine our understanding of the boundaries of the site in relation to Metini Village. The lack of any surface finds in the area beyond the Ranger's house, combined with the lack of any significant magnetic anomalies suggests that the archaeological deposits along the north wall are confined to the area immediately adjacent to the stockade and distinct from those associated with the settlement at Metini Village.

2007 Field Season

In 2007 field investigations were carried out as part of a field school organized by the University of California, Berkeley and operated jointly with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians. Undergraduates from the University of California, University of Illinois, Chicago, and University of Wisconsin, Madison participated in a six-week field course in archaeological and ethnographic field methods. Students divided their time between the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project and the China Camp Archaeological project, located in Marin County, CA. In addition to these students, I received additional support from UC Berkeley graduate students Rob Cuthrell, John Matsunaga, Darren Modzelewski, Liz Soluri, and Tsim Schneider. The Kashia Pomo Tribal Historic Preservation Office monitored the project and Reno Franklin and Walter Antone lent critical guidance in both the direction of field investigations and development of interpretation for the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail.

The primary goal of the 2007 field season was to identify intact deposits associated with the Russian-period occupation of the site. We were specifically interested in relocating the remains of the households and other buildings described in historical documents and depicted in the paintings by Voznesenskii and Duhaut-Cilly. To this end we finished our surface collection along the north wall and used historic illustrations to pinpoint areas of

the site that were potentially associated with those households. Based upon data gathered through these endeavors we identified five areas of interest and tested each through excavations.

Prince's Principle

Based upon previous success in using historic photographs at Fort Ross to locate buildings (see Allan 1997), we decided to explore the potential of using both historic illustrations and photographs to re-locate the buildings that once stood along the north wall of the Russian stockade. We chose three images for this task: Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly's 1828 illustration of Fort Ross, Ilya Gvrolovich Voznesenskii's 1841 watercolor of the colony, and a historic photograph of the deteriorated stockade taken by Roger Sturtevant of the Historic American Buildings Survey in 1934 (Figures 8.8, 8.9 and 8.10).

Duhaut-Cilly, a French former navy man and later merchant marine, spent two years in *Alta California*. During this time he visited the Russian Colony of Ross, thoroughly documenting his journey and observances of the local indigenous peoples and the other residents at Ross (Duhaut-Cilly 1929). On his second and last day of his visit, Duhaut-Cilly records how he completed an illustration of the Russian "citadel": "The next day I arose early, and went to a hill to the east to make a drawing of the citadel...After breakfast we mounted our horses to return to the port [of Bodega], whence we set sail the next morning (Duhaut-Cilly 1929:327)". The Ross that Duhaut-Cilly (1929:325) documented for the readers of his travel writings is close in resemblance to the written narrative he provides, though it is noticeably lacking the houses of the local Native Californians:

This citadel is constructed on the edge of the wall of rock, on a high flat piece of ground about two hundred feet above the level of the seas; to the right and left are gorges protecting it from Indian attacks from the north and south, while the rocky wall and the sea defend it on the outside to the west. The two gorges open out into two little creeks serving as a shelter and landing place to the boats belonging to the colony. All the buildings of Ross are of wood, but well built and well taken care of. In the apartments of the director are found all the conveniences which Europeans value, and which are still unknown in California. Outside the square are disposed or scattered the pretty little houses of sixty Russian colonists, the flattened cabins of eighty Kodiaks, and the cone-shaped huts of as many indigenous Indians.

Judging from Duhaut-Cilly's descriptions and the actual illustration, he likely drew his illustration from the hill immediately adjacent to the Russian cemetery, which is located directly southwest of the stockade, and which leads up to Archy Camp. The viewshed from this area most closely mirrors that depicted by the artist.

Voznesenskii's watercolor of the colony was completed in 1841. An artist and natural historian, Voznesenskii lived and visited at the colony for several years and during that time he extensively documented both the natural and cultural worlds surrounding Fort Ross (see Blomkvist 1972 for a full description of Voznesenskii's work in Russian America).

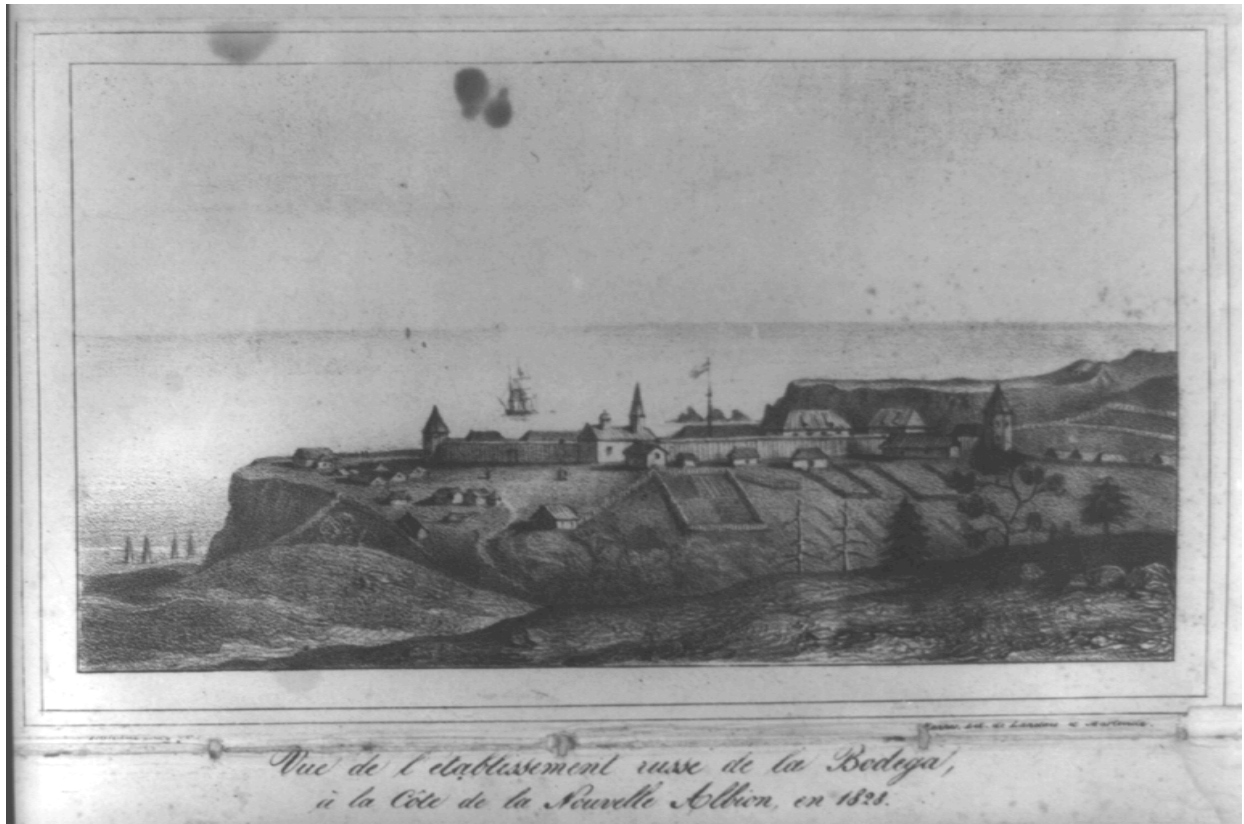


Figure 8. 8 Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, 1828



Figure 8. 9 *Ross Settlement*, Ilya Gvrolovich Voznesenskii, 1841



Figure 8. 10 Photograph by Roger Sturtevant for the Historic American Buildings Survey, 1934

His ethnographic collections from California and Alaska are currently housed at the St. Petersburg Ethnographic Institute. At the end of his stay, Voznesenskii painted *Settlement Ross, 1841* as a gift for the last manager of the colony, Alexander Rotchev, though apparently Rotchev never received the gift (Blomkvist 1972:107). Although Voznesenskii painted almost the exact same buildings as Duhaut-Cilly², the viewshed of his watercolor differs, as he foregrounds the western portion of the settlement and north wall. This suggests that he painted the watercolor somewhere to the northwest, likely on a hillside between the fort and Russian Orchard (Farris 1990).

The third image used in this study is the 1934 photograph taken by Roger Sturtevant for the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record. The photograph is archived by the Library of Congress and is part of a series of eight photographs that documented historic buildings at Fort Ross. The photograph is taken from the northeast—likely from the Russian cemetery—and it documents both the east and north area of the stockade, chapel and, in the foreground, a structure to the north of the chapel. Several historic documents and other sources indicated that there were 20th century buildings located outside the north wall of the stockade. Our goal in using this photograph was to determine the exact location of these buildings.



Figure 8. 11 Nikon F-series SLR camera

² Both depict the following structures: Chapel; Northwest and Southeast Blockhouses; Kuskov House; Fur Warehouse; Officer's Quarters and Barracks; Flag Pole; and various outbuildings and garden enclosures located along the north wall.

Using the methods outline by Prince for the application of photogrammetry to archaeology (Prince 1988; Margaret Purser *personal communication*), we used each of the above images to try to relocate depicted buildings upon the landscape. This method uses a camera with a detachable viewfinder and housing, which enables you to place a trimmed 35 millimeter photographic slide into the chamber (Figure 8.11). Upon reassembly, the camera acts much the same as a children's ViewMaster toy—the operator is thus able to view a slide of the image through the lens of the camera and thus superimpose the image of the slide over the existing landscape. The camera operator then views the subject from the original location, angle, and distance from which the original subject was photographed. Once these locations are determined, the operator now has a frame of reference for establishing the locations of the original subjects. The camera operator then continues to look through the camera while helpers stand within the frame of the image, trying to locate, for example, the corners of a building on the ground.

The photogrammetry program as applied by Prince has primarily been used with photographs (e.g., Allan 1997; Margaret Purser *personal communication*), however lithographs and illustrations can also be used. The caveat here is that the drawn images must be drafted in true perspective; that is the individual objects depicted must be drafted from a single perspective that preserves their true proportions. The issue with many wide-landscape paintings such as Duhaut-Cilly and Voznesenskii's is that several vantage points, and thus perspectives, were often used to draft the image. You can see this effect most clearly in the Duhaut-Cilly illustration, as buildings on the south side of the fort have been included even though the northeast vantage point that these buildings were drawn from would have obscured them from full view.

Despite these shortcomings, the Duhaut-Cilly and Voznesenskii images are valuable in that their representations of the stockade complex closely correspond to other known data concerning the architectural style and placement of buildings within the stockade complex (Farris 1990; Newland and Meyer 2003). Our goal in using Prince's Principle here was threefold. First, we sought to identify the exact location from which each artist drafted his illustration. Second, we hoped to test the accuracy of each painting by comparing both the placement and proportions of depicted buildings to the current *in situ* reconstructions. Third, by using these images in combination with each other we hoped to determine the location of buildings depicted along the north wall. This last goal consisted of first testing which buildings were depicted in both illustrations and then comparing their projected locations to see if they corresponded to one another.

With these goals in mind the project purchased a Nikon F series 35 millimeter SLR camera, which has a detachable viewfinder. High quality digitized images of each illustration and the 1934 photograph were then made into 35 millimeter slides. Per the recommendation of Margaret Purser (Sonoma State University), multiple slides were made of each image, with the goal being to digitally enhance the slide image in order to contrast architectural details such as roof-lines and building corners and to highlight other details. (Figure 8.12). Unfortunately, due to the growth of trees between CA-Highway 1 and the park, we were not able to pinpoint the exact spot from which Duhaut-Cilly, Voznesenskii, and Sturtevant captured their subjects. According to Glenn Farris, the growth of trees in this area is a



Figure 8.12 Three examples of image processing used to create photo slides for the application of Prince's Principle. Digital processing allows for the manipulation of images that highlight details such as roof and fence lines, horizon points, and greater definition of landscape features.

recent occurrence within the last 20 to 30 years as the park has scaled back its management of the forest. Despite the fact that trees obscure the present day view of the fort from the local hillsides, we were able to locate approximate vantage points from which each image was created. In the case of the Duhaut-Cilly illustration, the viewshed from the hill leading up to Archy Camp mirrors that created in the illustration. He likely drafted the image about a quarter to halfway up the hillside leading to Archy Camp. I also concur with Farris (1990) that Voznenskii painted his watercolor from the western hillside between the fort and the Russian Orchard. The image best matched the current landscape at the edge of the modern day fence that encircles the orchard. However, the presence of a large stand of trees obscured our vantage point and we could only align the rooftops of the tallest structures in the fort with those depicted. We had the greatest success with the 1934 photograph; we were able to sufficiently match the photograph to the existing landscape and determined that the photograph was taken from the southeastern edge of the Russian Cemetery. A large tree has since grown up between the cemetery and northern extent of the fort, which partially obscured our view of the building located in the foreground along the north wall. Although this tree prevented us from relocating the exact corners of the building, we projected that the building stood approximately 10 meters south and 40 meters east of our North Wall site datum.

The efficacy of using these illustrations and photographs to determine the accuracy of each depiction would be greatly enhanced if the park took a more active role in the management of the surrounding woodland. As stated previously, prior to 1970 the park allowed grazing on the hillsides surrounding the fort. Although this practice was problematic in terms of the animals' impact upon the surrounding landscape, their grazing helped to keep down the grasses, reduce the danger of grass fires, and also acted as a bulwark against the expansion of pines and redwoods into these areas. If at some point the trees are thinned in the areas between Highway 1 and Archy Camp and between Highway 1 and the Russian Orchard, I believe that there is a high likelihood that we could use Prince's Principle to be able to identify the specific location from which each illustration was drafted.

As it stands, there is a strong correspondence between these historic images and the present day location of reconstructed architectural features. Even though Prince's Principle could not be fully applied to these images, their rough correspondence to one another and to the actual landscape itself suggests that we can draw some preliminary conclusions regarding the exact placement of buildings along the north wall. For example, each illustration represents these buildings as being in close proximity to the north wall while the extra-mural spaces surrounding these houses were used as gardens. This information is consistent with other descriptions of the community and was additionally supported by data from the surface collection, which shows a drop off in artifact densities of all types of material approximately 20 m north of the north stockade wall, suggesting the presence of gardens.

2007 Surface Collection

We continued our surface collection into the 2007 field season. During this time we sampled 103 STUs from an area approximately 2,800 meters² (Figure 8.13). Twelve out of 103 STUs contained no artifacts. These units were located in one of three areas: the pathway of Old Highway 1, the area 25 meters north from the site datum (45 meters from the north wall), or are on the pathway of the modern access road. Contour plots of artifact types indicate that the archaeological deposits along the north wall are spatially extensive and materially diverse across the entirety of the survey area (Figure 8.14). When assessing the total sample of artifacts collected during the 2006 and 2007 surface collection survey, the majority of artifacts appear to be clustered in two locations: directly west of the site datum and 20 to 60 meters east of the site datum. A large swath of the site is entirely devoid of artifacts (from 10 to 20 meters east of the datum, and running the entire north-south span of the site); this area corresponds to the route of Old Highway 1. Artifact densities also drop off in close proximity to the fort (from ~10S to 20S). This is likely associated with the drainage trench that is located along the entirety of the north stockade wall, which was constructed during the reconstruction of the north wall in the late 1990s (Lightfoot 1999). Data from surface collection also indicates that the archaeological deposits of the North Wall Area only extend approximately 40 meters north of the stockade; beyond this point almost no artifacts were recovered. In relation to surface features, there is a large cluster of artifacts centered at (17N 8W), which happens to be located on the edge of where the park managers routinely burn grass cuttings and dump excess materials such as wooden fencing and felled trees.

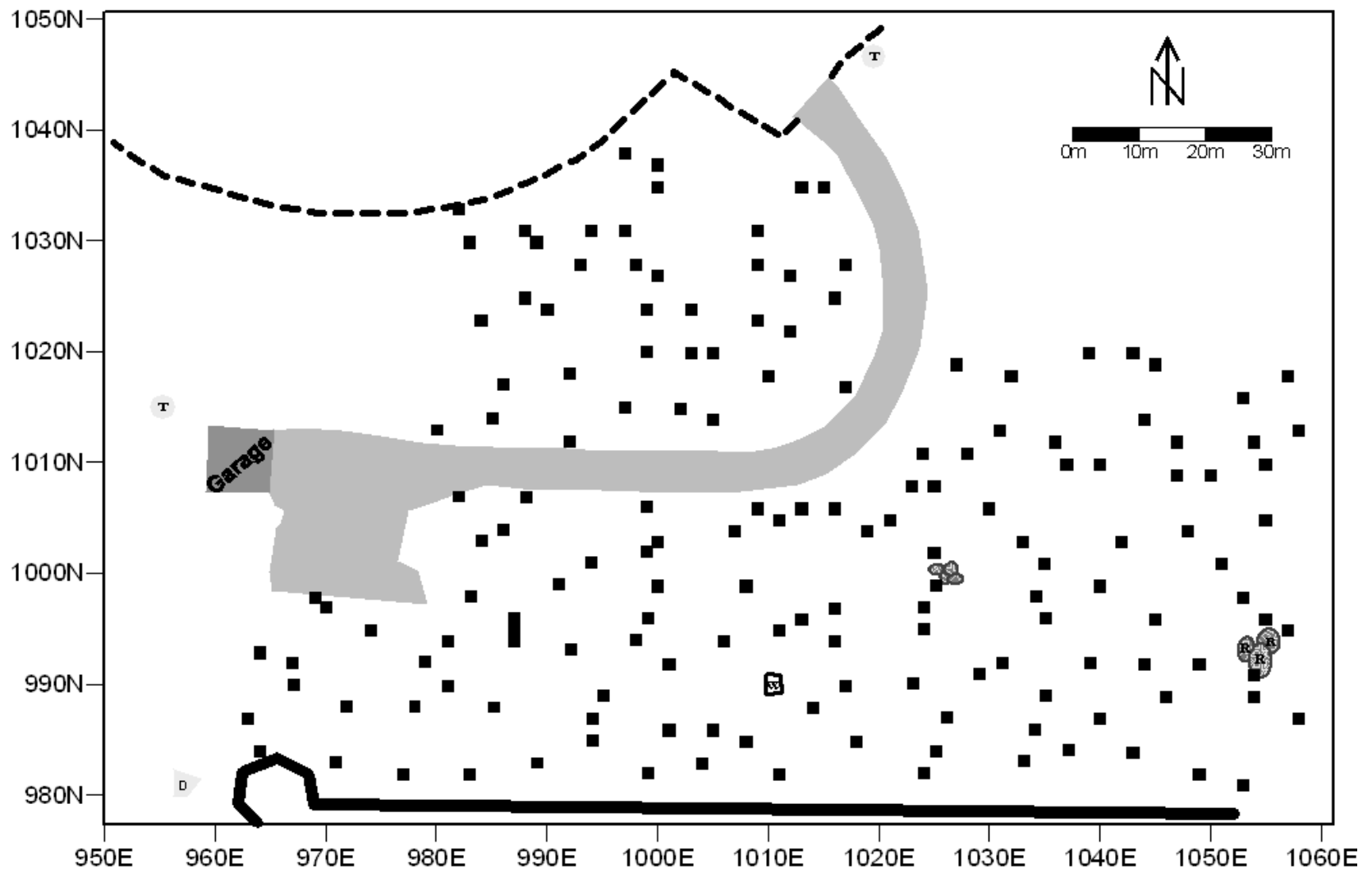
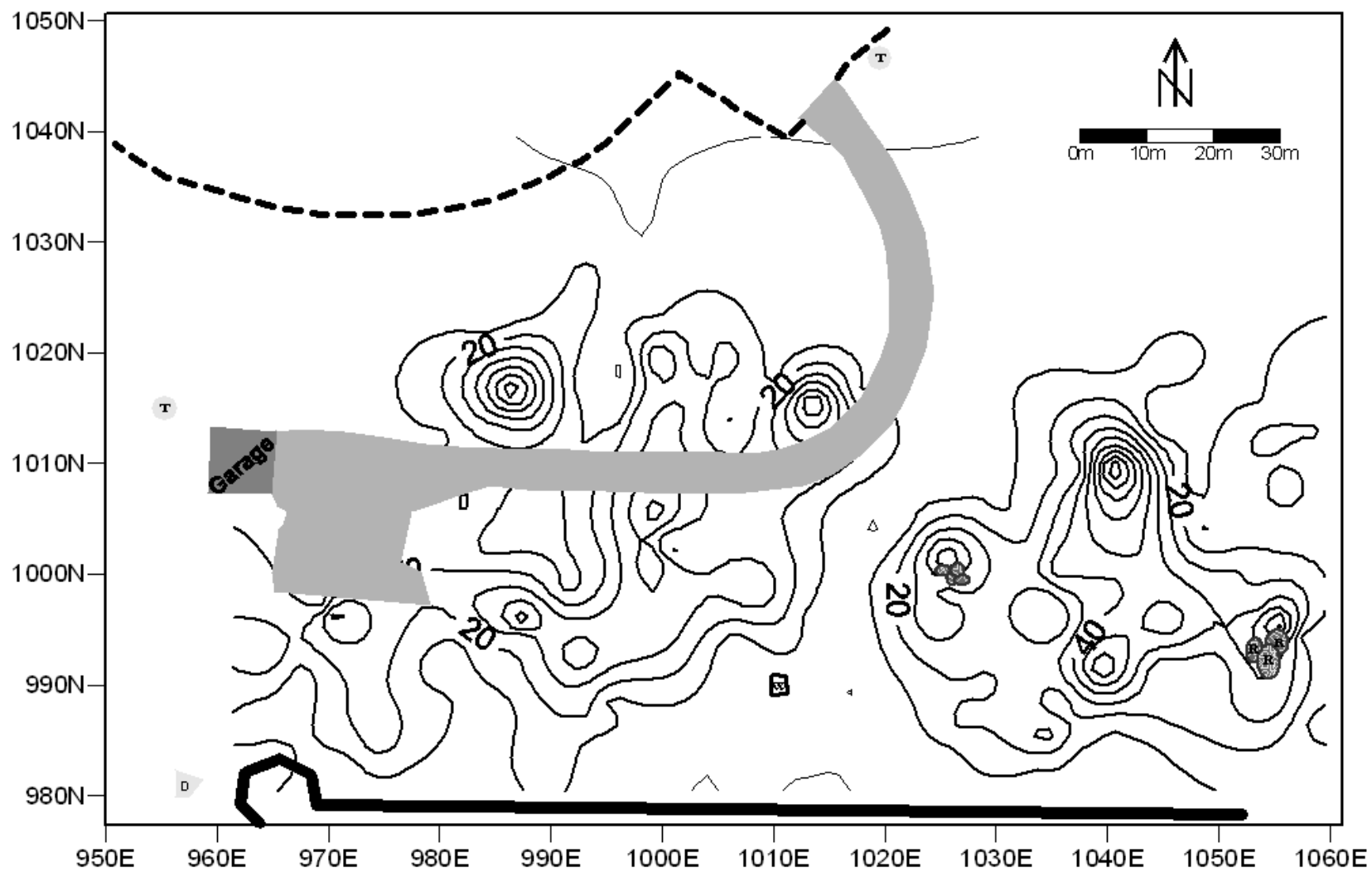


Figure 8. 13 Distribution of surface test units, 2006 and 2007



8. 14 Total surface artifact density, by count

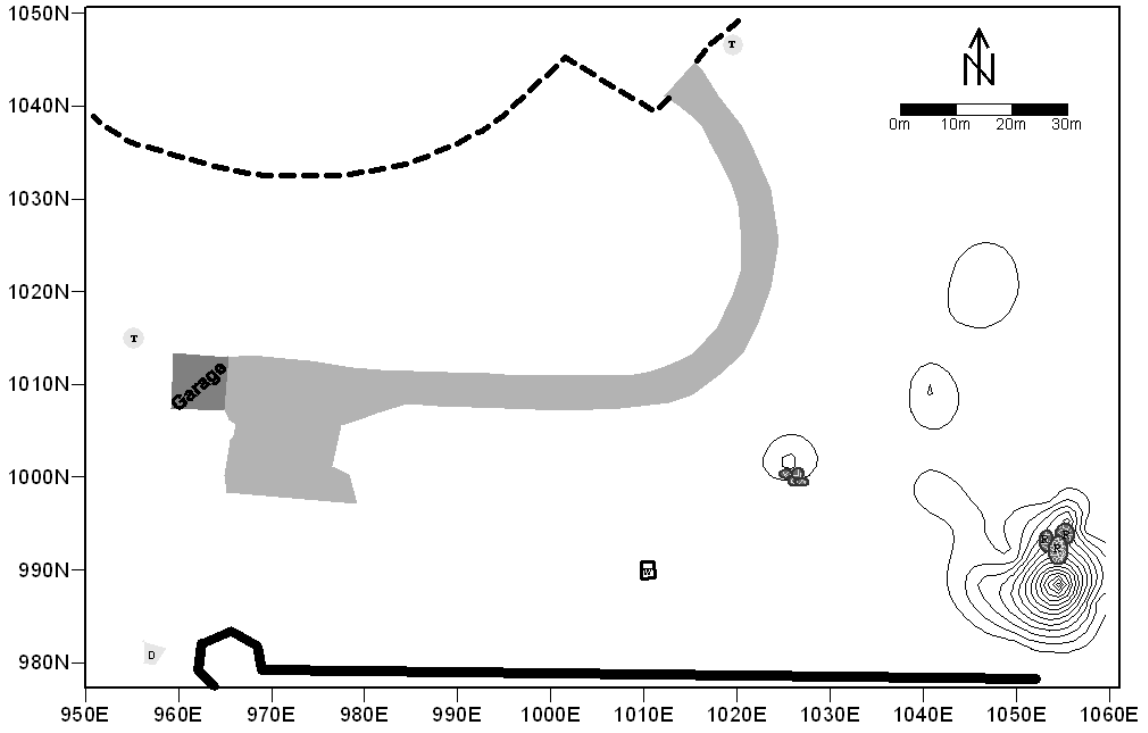


Figure 8. 15 Surface density of coal, by mass

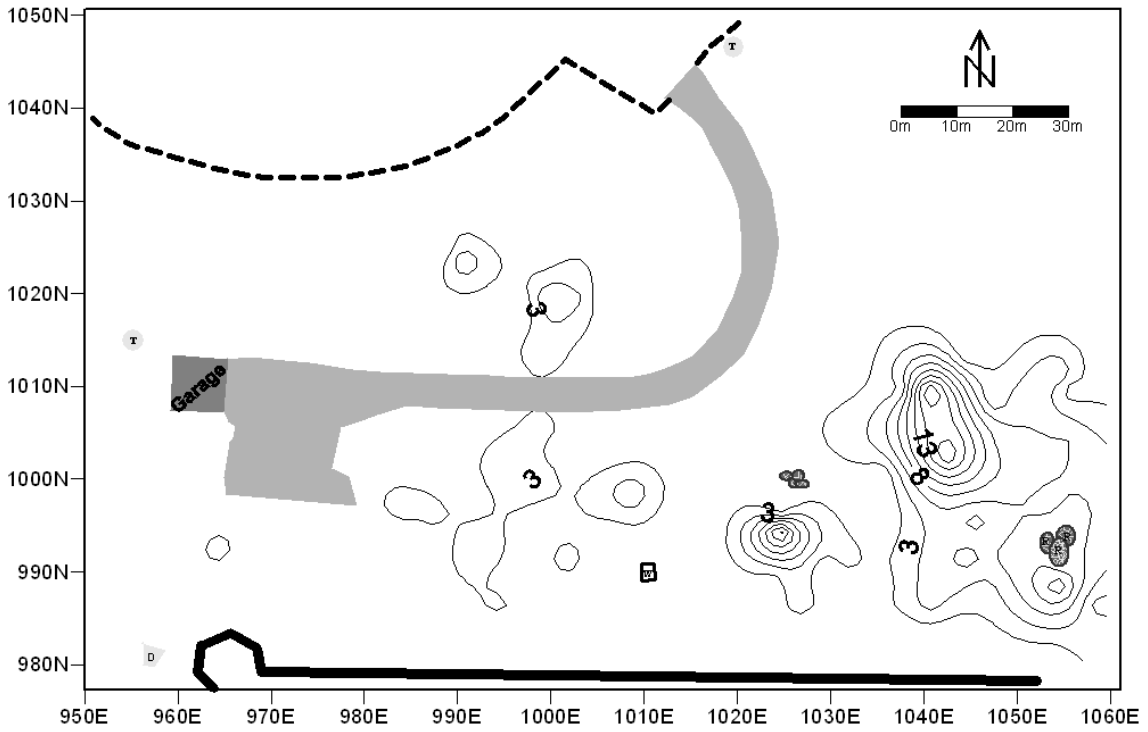


Figure 8. 16 Surface density of vessel glass, by count

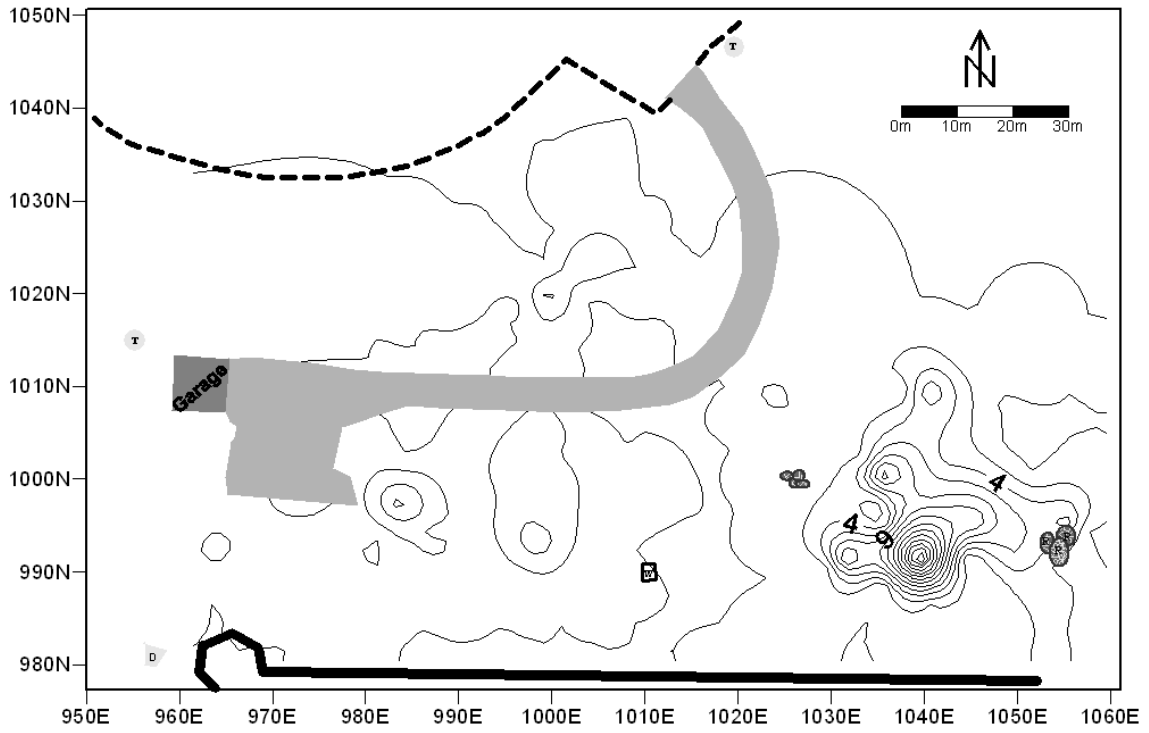


Figure 8.17 Surface density of flat glass, by count

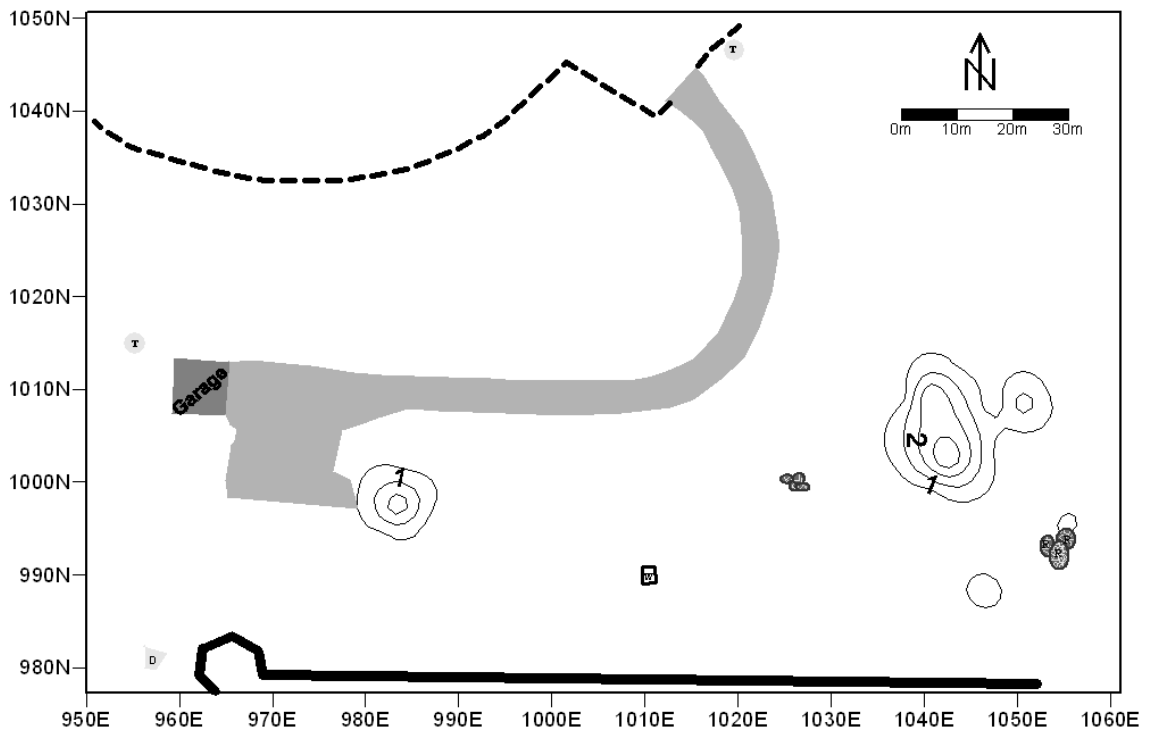


Figure 8.18 Surface density of yellowwares, by count

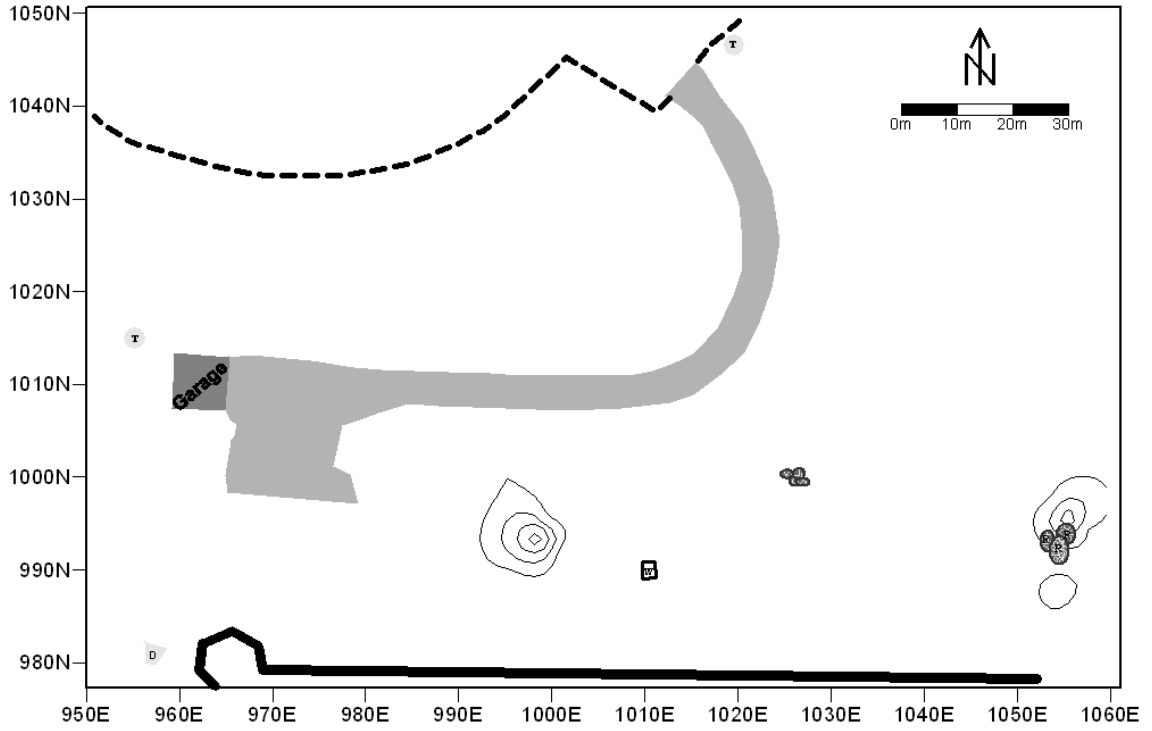


Figure 8. 19 Surface density of semi-vitrified white earthenwares (ironstones), by count

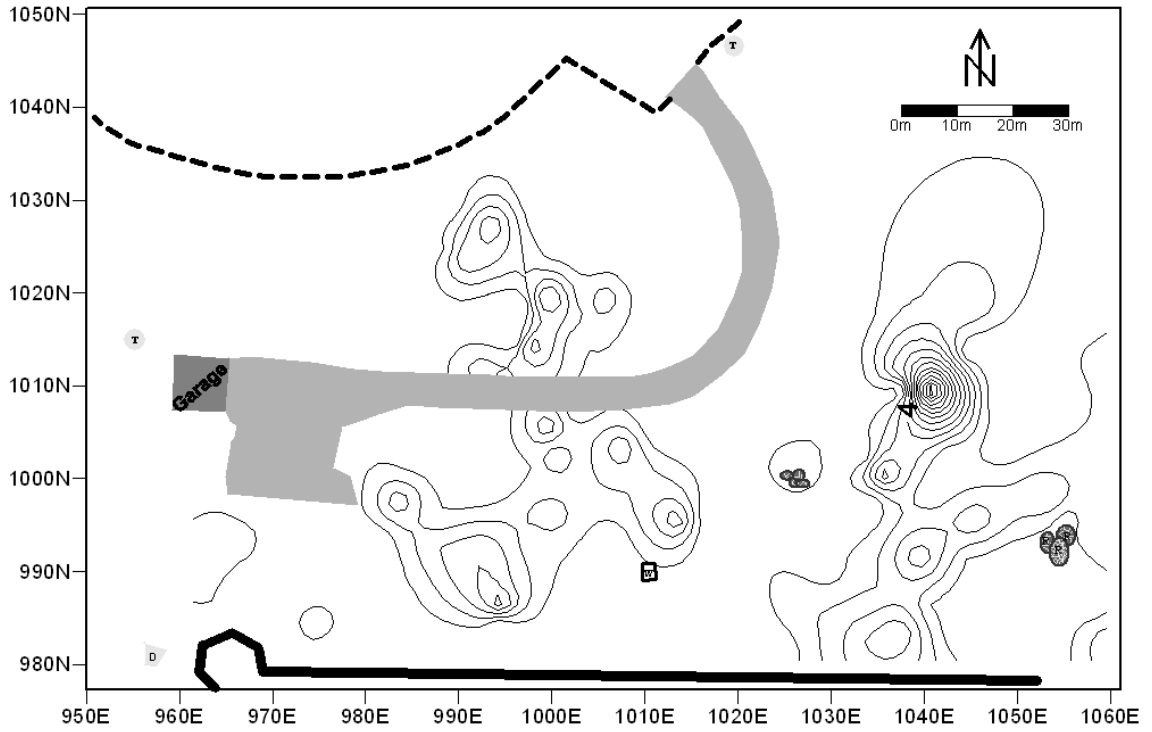


Figure 8. 20 Surface density of flaked obsidian, by count

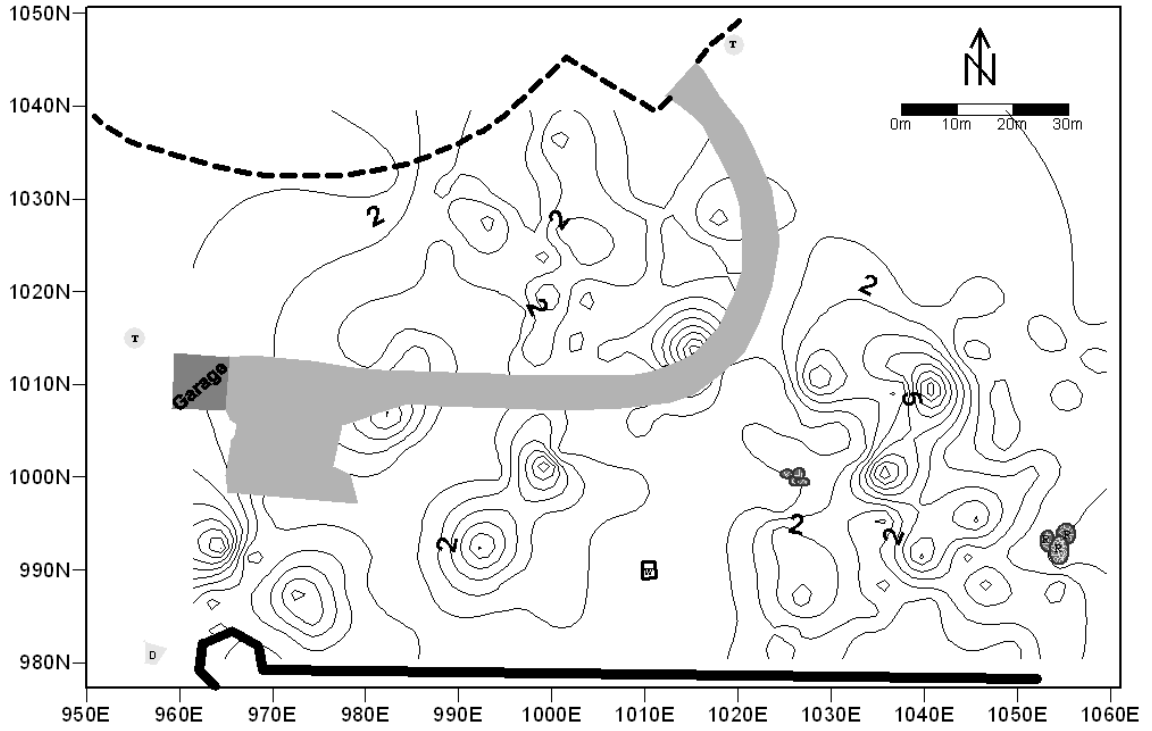


Figure 8. 21 Surface density of flaked chert, by count

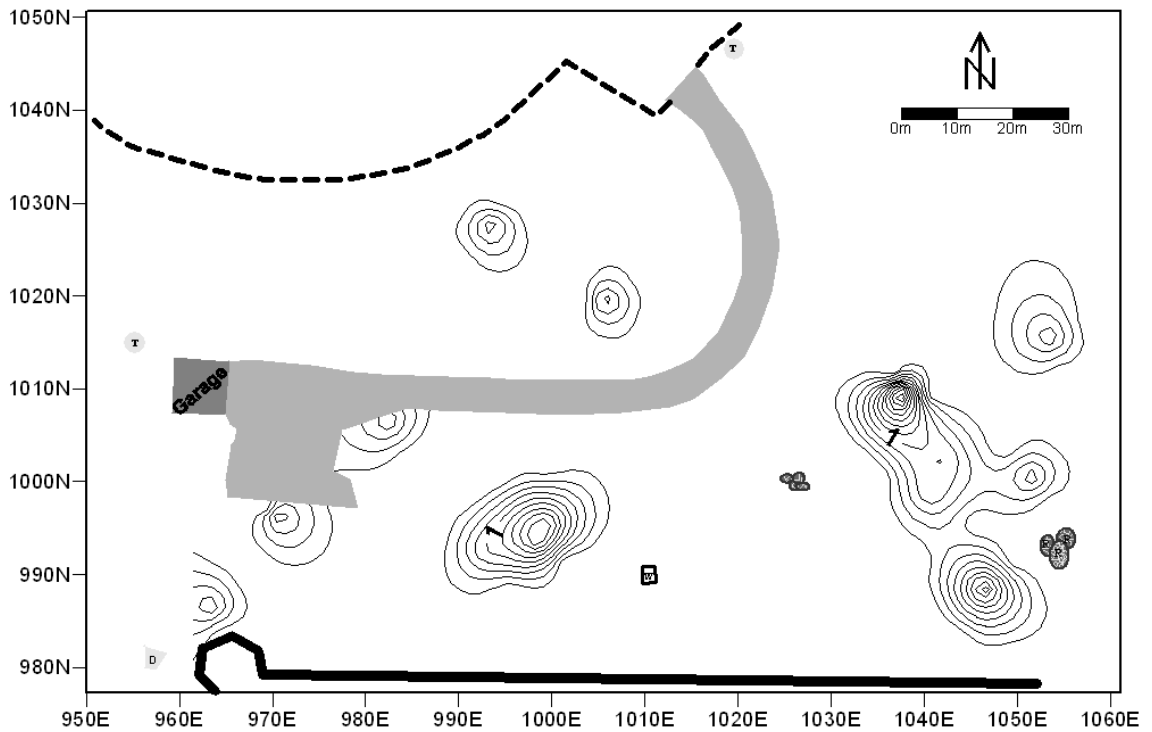


Figure 8. 22 Surface density of worked glass, by count

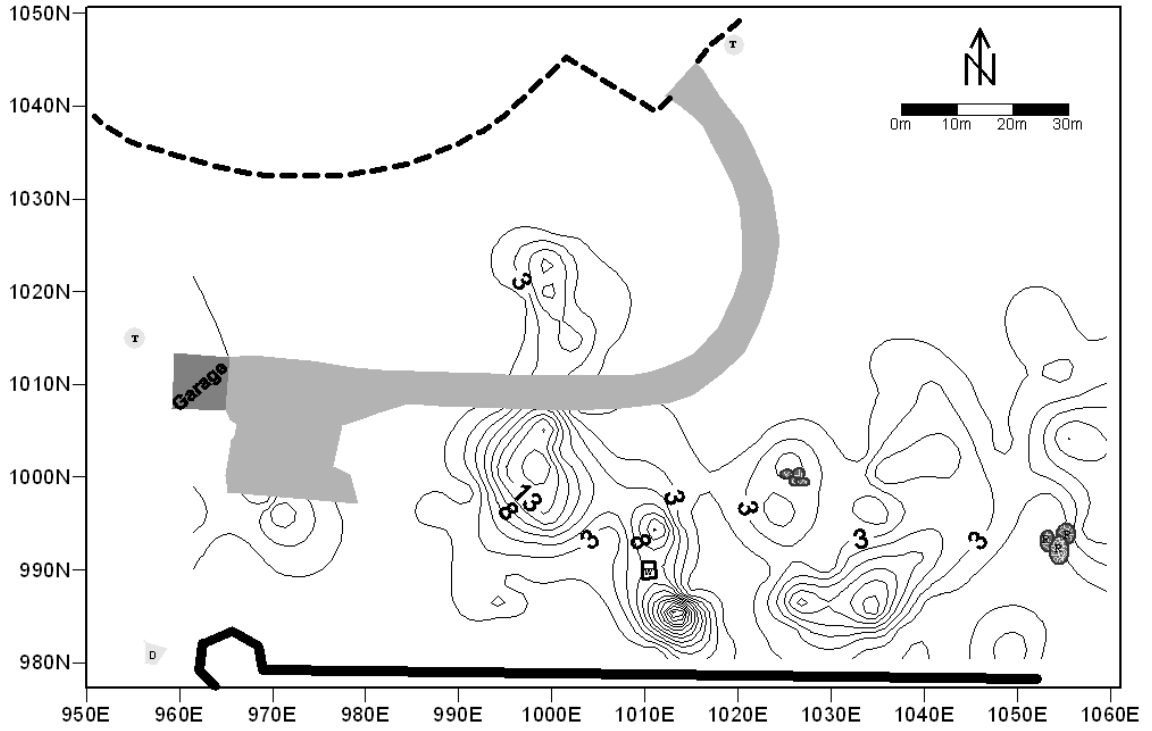


Figure 8. 23 Surface density of shellfish remains by mass. Contours are 2-gram intervals

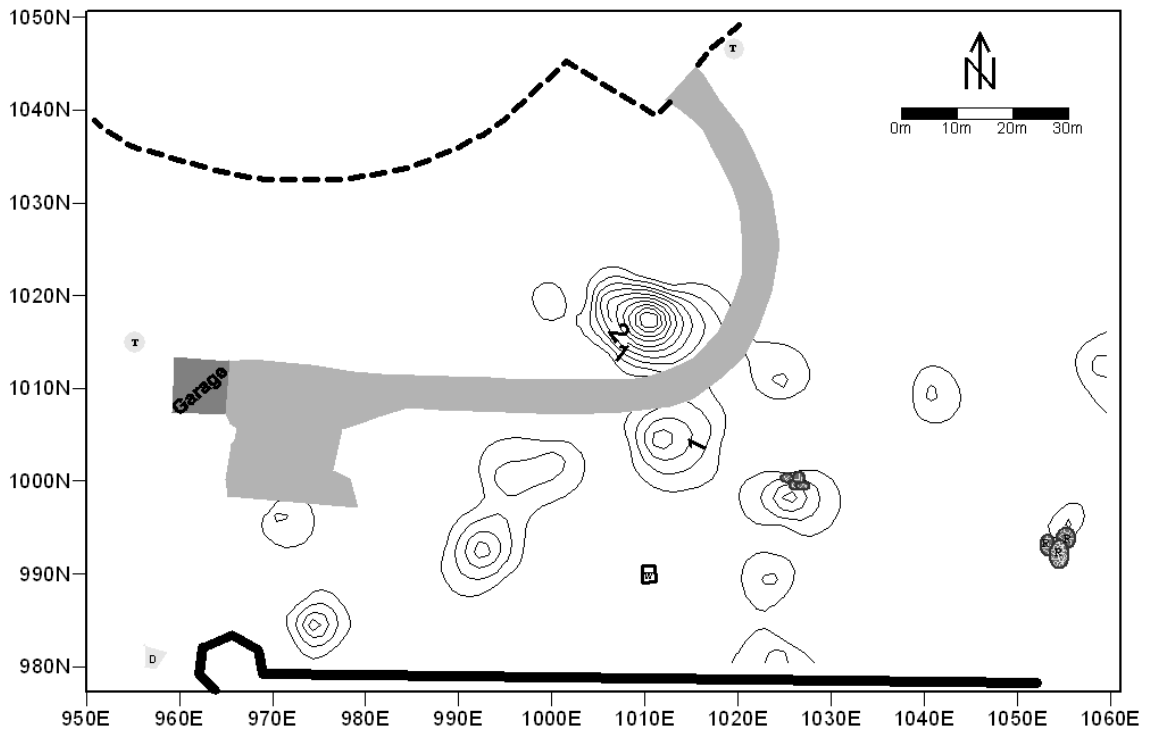


Figure 8. 24 Surface density of fire-cracked rock, by count

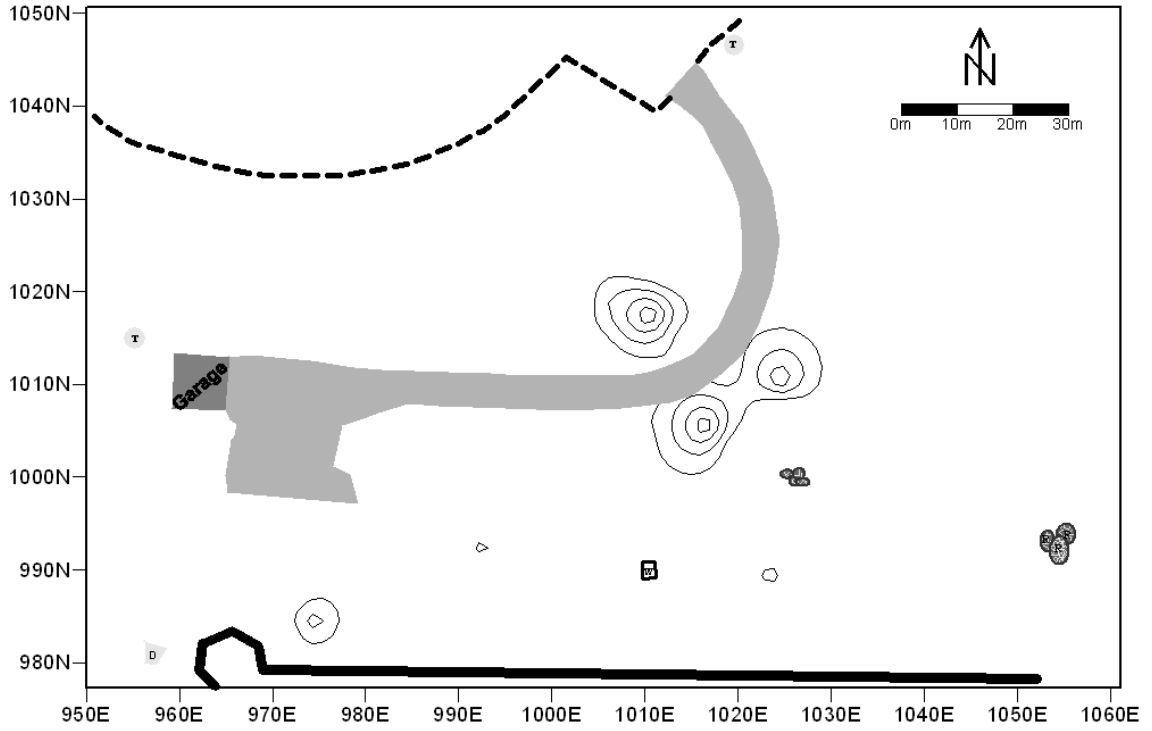


Figure 8. 25 Surface density of fire-cracked rock, by mass. Contours are 20-gram intervals

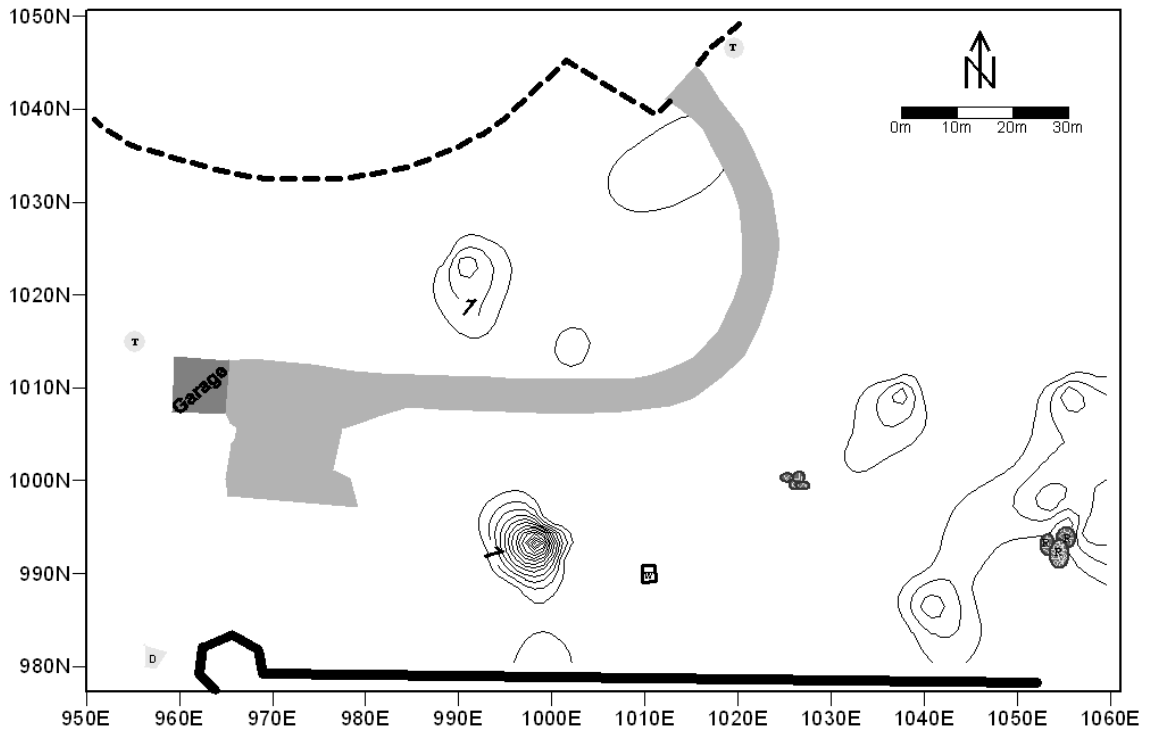


Figure 8. 26 Surface density of non-vitrified white earthenwares, by count

In terms of the eastern most artifact clusters, these appear to be associated with the white building owned by the Call Family and depicted in the 1934 photograph of the area by Sturtevant. According to Breck Parkman, CA Department of Parks and Recreation archaeologist, the Call family routinely used coal to heat buildings. The fact that coal is only found in the easternmost portions of the site and concentrated around the projected location of the white building supports this conclusion (Figure 8.15). High concentrations of 20th century materials such as vessel glass (Figure 8.16); flat glass (Figure 8.17); yellowwares, a type of refined earthenware (Figure 8.18); semi-vitrified white earthenwares (ironstones) (Figure 8.19); and other historic materials support this conclusion. Although this area of the site also has high concentrations of flaked lithics (Figures 8.20, 8.21) and worked glass (Figure 8.22) we were concerned that this building compromised the integrity of any deposits that were related to an ancient or Russian-period Native Californian occupation of this area. Furthermore, Treganza (1954) tested "Indian Site No. 1" somewhere in this general area, further impacting the structure and integrity of these earlier occupation periods.

Based upon the above considerations we limited further investigations of the North Wall Area archaeological deposits to the western portions of the site (40W to 10E). Within this area there were high concentrations of artifacts associated with a possible Native Californian or indigenous occupation of this area including: flaked tools, obsidian and chert debitage (Figures 8.20, 8.21), worked glass (Figure 8.22), worked shell, worked ceramics, a variety of faunal remains (Figure 8.23), and fire-cracked rock (Figures 8.24, 8.25). Similarly high densities of the following 19th century artifacts were also concentrated in this area: non-vitrified white earthenwares (pearlwares, creamwares, flow-blue transferprints) (Figure 8.26); "black glass"; wrought iron; and cut iron nails. These concentrations of artifacts correspond well to data collected from the geophysical survey, which indicate numerous localized magnetic anomalies in several of the same areas as we see concentrations of 19th century materials.

2007 Excavations

Using a combination of data from the 2006 and 2007 mapping and intensive site surveys, a limited number of 1-by-1 meter test units were chosen for subsurface testing in the 2007 and 2008 field seasons. The goals of this testing were to identify activity areas and, hopefully, subsurface architectural remains related to the houses and structures depicted in the Duhaut-Cilly and Voznesenskii illustrations. Excavation units were chosen with these overlapping objectives in mind: 1) to ground truth geophysical anomalies identified through the gradiometer survey; 2) to investigate the area of the site that exhibited high concentrations of artifacts associated with a Russian-period occupation; and 3) to better understand the structure of archaeological deposits along the north wall. With regards to geophysical data from the gradiometer survey, we chose discrete, low level anomalies in order to increase our chances of finding subsurface architectural features and to minimize the likelihood of testing anomalies that were the result of metal artifacts. We also chose to test areas of the site that had both high artifact densities and geophysical anomalies; again our goal here was to pinpoint potential activity areas or buried archaeological features.

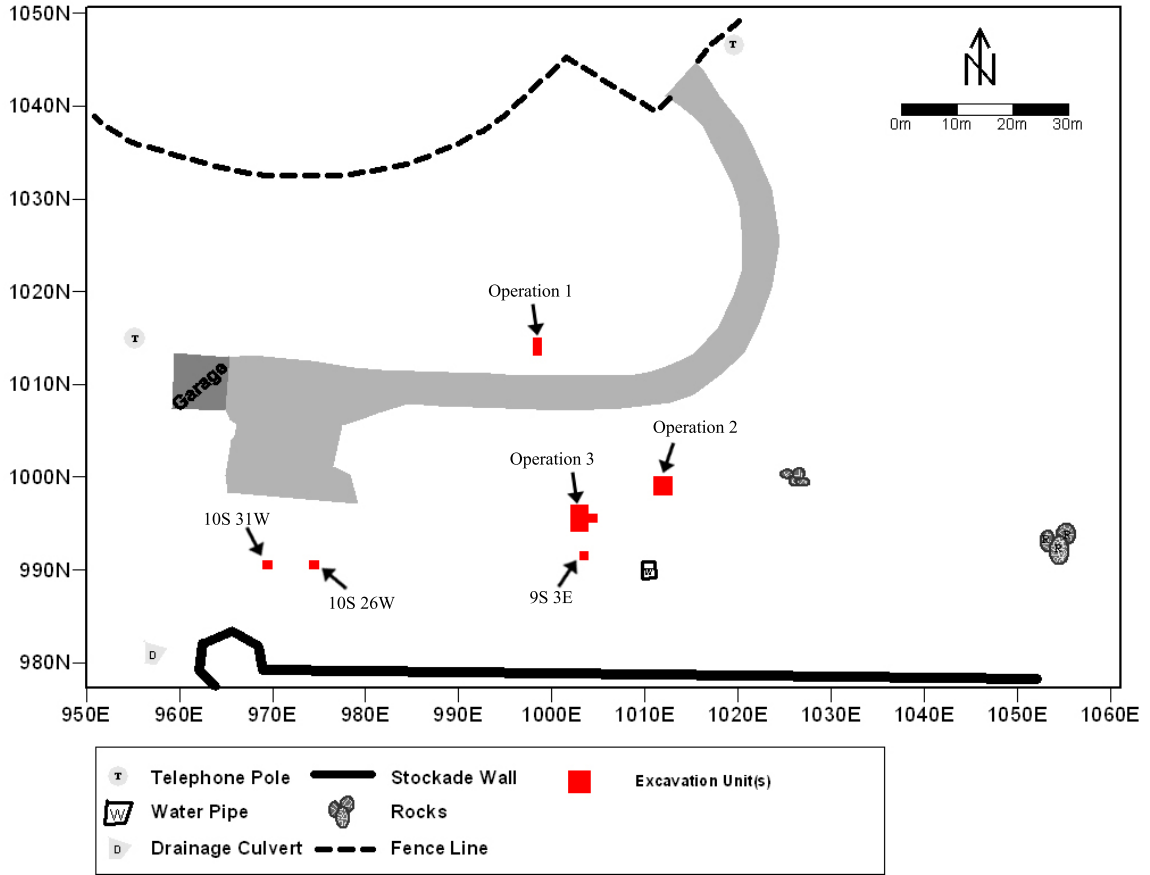


Figure 8. 27 Excavations at the North Wall Study Area, 2007-2008

KPITP Excavation Units, 2007-2008

Operations:				
1	2		3	
<i>2007</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2008</i>
14N 2W	0N 11E	1S 12 E	6S 2E	5S 2E
13N 2W	0N 12E		6S 3E	5S 3E
	1S 11E			5S 4E
				4S 2E
				4S 3E
Test Pits:				
<i>2007</i>			<i>2008</i>	
10S 31W 10S 26W			9S 3E	

Table 8. 2 Provenience information for KPITP excavation units, 2007-2008

A total of five test units was chosen for excavation in 2007: 10S 26W, 10S 31W, 13N 2W, 0N 11E and 6S 2E (Figure 8.27). All test units began as 1-by-1 meter units; however, following the discovery of significant archaeological features in three test units—13N 2W, 0N 11E and 6S 2E—we expanded the size of these excavations in order to follow cultural deposits. As such each of these units were relabeled as Operations and respectively were named Operations 1, 2, and 3 (Table 8.1).

Excavation Methodology

The excavation strategy used for work at the North Wall Community was designed in reference to previous archaeological investigations sponsored by the Fort Ross Archaeological Project (FRAP). The work of FRAP at the Native Alaskan Village (Lightfoot et al. 1997), Metini Village (Lightfoot and Gonzalez *forthcoming*), and along the coastal terrace (Lightfoot et al. 1991) had revealed the geophysical and general stratigraphic structure of sites within Fort Ross State Historic Park. These sites exhibit: 1) few cases of culturally or naturally stratified deposits; 2) shallow historical deposits that rest on or above a degrading sandstone bedrock; 3) heavily bioturbated, active and mixed deposits; 4) prehistoric deposits in the lowest levels of excavations, generally consisting of a low density of lithic debitage; and 5) clay loam soils. The excavation methodology at the north wall was thus designed with these observations in mind.

All units were excavated using a mixed stratigraphic/arbitrary excavation technique. The elevations reported in the final analysis are reported as “below surface”, rather than below datum due to the lack of consistent access to the Sokkia Set510 total station. Individual excavation units were 1-by-1 meter and given a unit coordinate that corresponded to meters north/south and east/west of the site datum. In all cases, the southwestern corner of the unit was established as the unit datum. Excavators were instructed to identify changes in excavation matrices such as changes in color, texture, or inclusions. Wet and dry soil colors were recorded for all levels using a Munsell soil color chart. Plan maps were drawn when the case called for it and photographs of features and the bottoms of each level were taken for every excavated unit. In addition, profile drawings of every unit were produced for at least one wall. A final plan map of Operations 1, 2, and 3 was produced at the end of these block excavations.

Levels were excavated stratigraphically unless there was no discernable natural or cultural stratigraphy; in the latter case, deposits were excavated as arbitrary 10 cm levels. Aside from a handful of levels, arbitrary 10 cm levels had to be followed due to the heavily bioturbated matrix. In 2008 this strategy was modified and deposits below 40cm were excavated in 5-centimeter levels. This decision was reached after the discovery of rock cobble features in Operations 1, 2, and 3, which appeared between 45 and 50cm below the surface. By excavating in smaller increments we hoped to impose a more refined artificial stratigraphy on deposits directly overlying these rock cobble features. This was done in order to define artifacts in association with the rubble. This standardized method was implemented after the excavation of Operations 1 and 2, and units 6S 2E and 6S 3E in Operation 3. Standardized forms were used to record every level. Features were recorded on the standardized level forms and described therein.

All excavated materials, including topsoil, were screened using 1/8" shaker screens, collected and bagged according to their unit and level provenience. The only exception to this practice was the collection of shellfish remains, which were collected only if they were > 1 centimeter in length or < 1 centimeter if the item were a diagnostic element. Collection of flotation samples varied from the 2007 to 2008 field season. In 2007 we collected 3-liter scatter samples from units 10S 26W and 0N 11E. In 2008 we expanded our sampling program and took flotation samples from each excavated unit. Following the excavation of the first level of a unit, which consisted of overburden and root mat, we collected a 5 liter scatter sample from each subsequent excavation level. Additional flotation samples were collected from excavated features. In each case, the sample was noted on the excavation form and all soil was collected as part of the sample.

Flotation samples were processed using a standard barrel-type flotation machine with a 1/32" heavy fraction mesh and a 1/64" light fraction mesh. Prior to flotation, 100g sediment samples were taken and preserved for future soil chemistry analysis. All heavy fraction will be sorted, catalogued, analyzed, and stored at the California Archaeology Lab at UC Berkeley until the entire artifact assemblage can be transferred to the California Department of Parks and Recreation Storage Facility. Light fraction from flotation will be submitted to the UC Berkeley Paleoethnobotany Lab for macrobotanical analysis at a future date.

2007 Excavation Results

10S 26W

This 1-by-1 meter unit was the first excavation unit opened during the 2007 field season. This unit was designed to test a localized magnetic anomaly that also corresponded to an area of high artifact density. The unit was excavated to a depth of 80 centimeters. Even with correction for the depth below datum, the unit revealed the deepest clay loam soil deposits out of all units excavated in both the 2007 and 2008 field seasons. The first two excavated strata (0-35 centimeters) contained significant quantities of fire-affected rocks, burned soil, and an assortment of late 20th century building material. Due to the close proximity of this unit to the former Ranger's House at Fort Ross, it is believed that these strata are the graded deposits from the controlled burn of the Ranger's House. Below 40 centimeters the total numbers of artifacts greatly diminished, with only a handful of remains recovered from below 60 centimeters. No historic artifacts were discovered beyond a depth of 50 centimeters and no artifacts were found 60 centimeters below surface. At a depth of ~70 centimeters we encountered a gradual transition from the very dark grayish brown (10yr 3/2) clay loam deposits of stratum three and to the dark yellowish brown (10yr 4/4) sandy loam deposits associated with stratum 4. At this point we sectioned the unit and continued to excavate the southern half of the unit with a shovel, excavating until we exposed dark yellowish brown (10yr 4/4) soils across the entirety of this section. At a depth of ~80 centimeters we encountered inclusions of degraded sandstone, which is indicative of sterile soils on the coastal terrace and thus halted our excavations (Figure 8.28).

Three-liter scatter soil samples were taken at a depth of 50 cm in order to test for macrobotanical remains, as both the thickness and total depth of the clay loam deposits are highly unusual for soils on the coastal terrace. Typically, clay loam soils are located within 30 to 40 centimeters of the surface, which leads us to believe that this area was previously used as a garden, perhaps one of those depicted in the historic illustrations of the North Wall Community. Supporting this conclusion, all historic artifacts recovered below a depth of 40 centimeters suggest a mid 19th century date. In addition to these materials, flaked obsidian and chert, patinated flat glass exhibiting use-wear, and the proximal tip of an obsidian biface were also found in this stratum, further indicating an early historic period Native Californian occupation for this portion of the study area. The magnetic anomalies detected in this unit are thought to be a result of the heavily fire-affected rock recovered in the top-most portions of the unit.

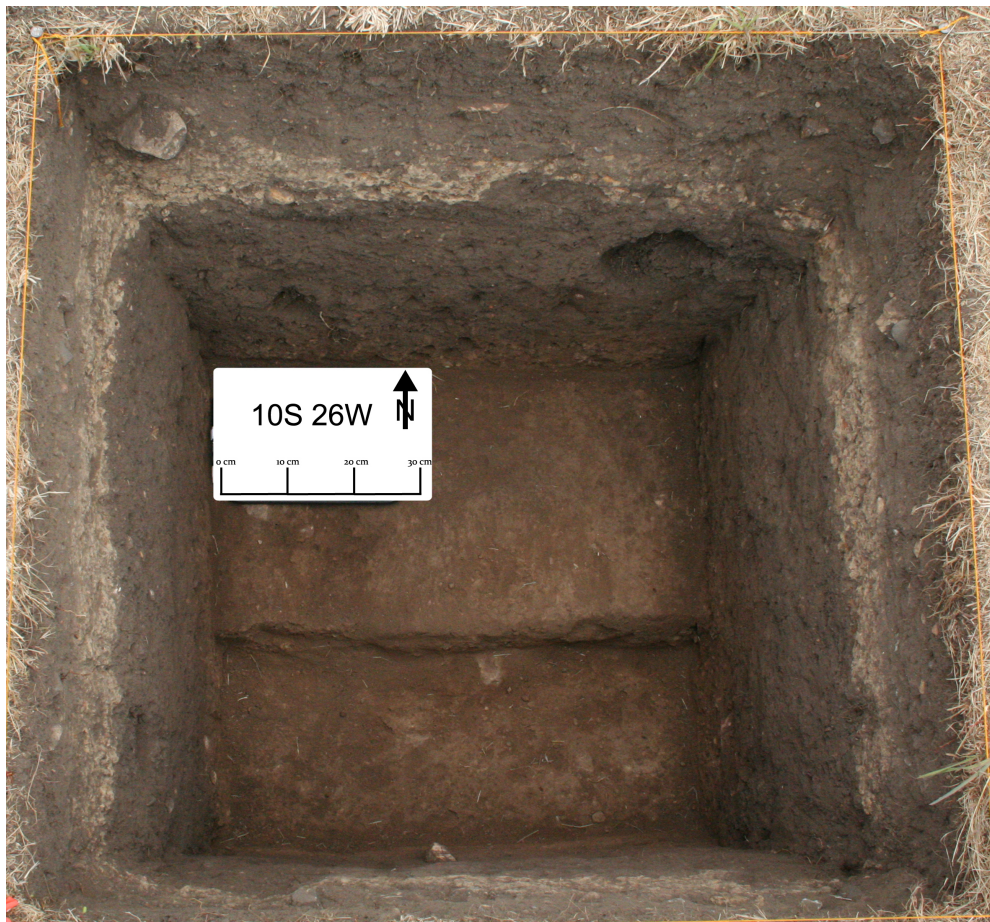


Figure 8. 28 Unit 10S 26W

10S 31W

This 1-by-1 meter unit was the second unit opened during the 2007 field season. As with 10S 26W, this unit was selected on the basis of a large, circular geophysical anomaly discovered in this area. The top 30 centimeters of soil were heavily bioturbated and contained a significant quantity of fire-affected rock and burned construction materials (Figure 8.30). Similar to 10S 26W, the unit had a compacted layer of burned fill (Munsell color 10yr 3/2 very dark grayish brown) beginning at a depth of ~15 centimeters below the surface. Artifacts within this stratum consisted of fire-affected rock, burned soil, plastic, and 20th century building materials (wire nails, roofing material, wires, etc.). Based upon the inclusion of these materials and the similarity of these deposits with those encountered in 10S 26W, this stratum is likely associated with the grading of deposits from the burning of the Ranger's House. At a depth of 33 centimeters, we discovered the valve of a metal oil or gas tank. We halted excavations at a depth of 50 centimeters once it became clear that the metal tank was fully intact and present throughout the entirety of the unit (Figure 8.29). The maximum height of the tank was 67 centimeters. Based upon consultations with the head park ranger Heidi Horvitz, we determined that this was an oil tank previously associated with the US Coast Guard's occupation at the site in the 1950s.

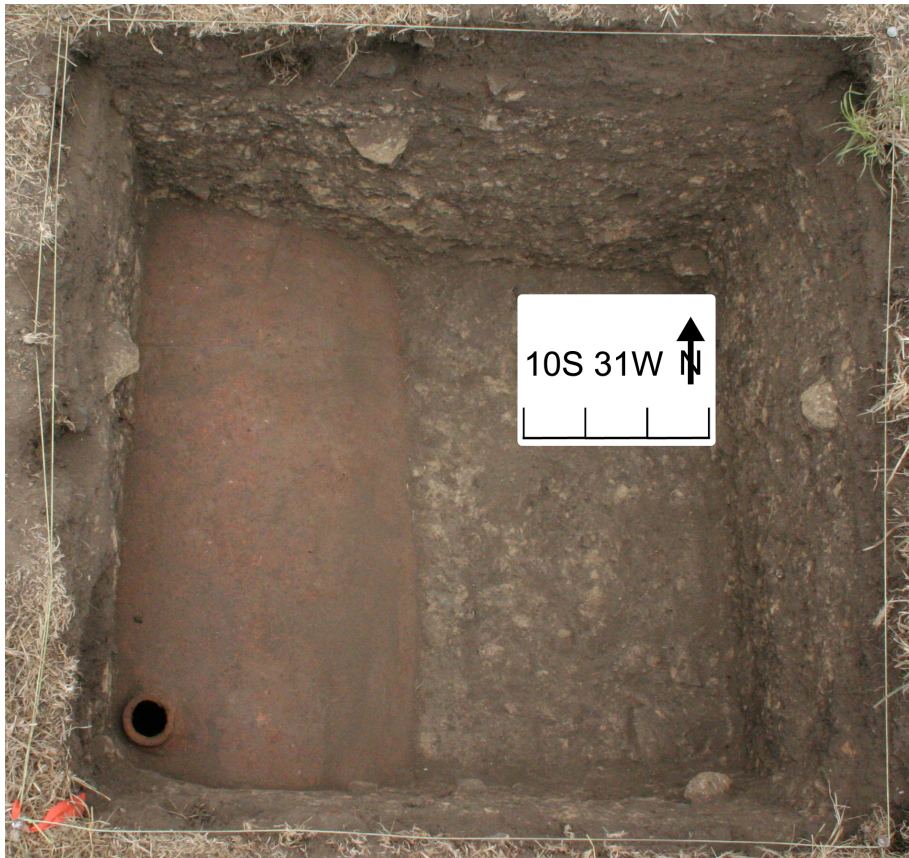


Figure 8. 29 Unit 10S 31W

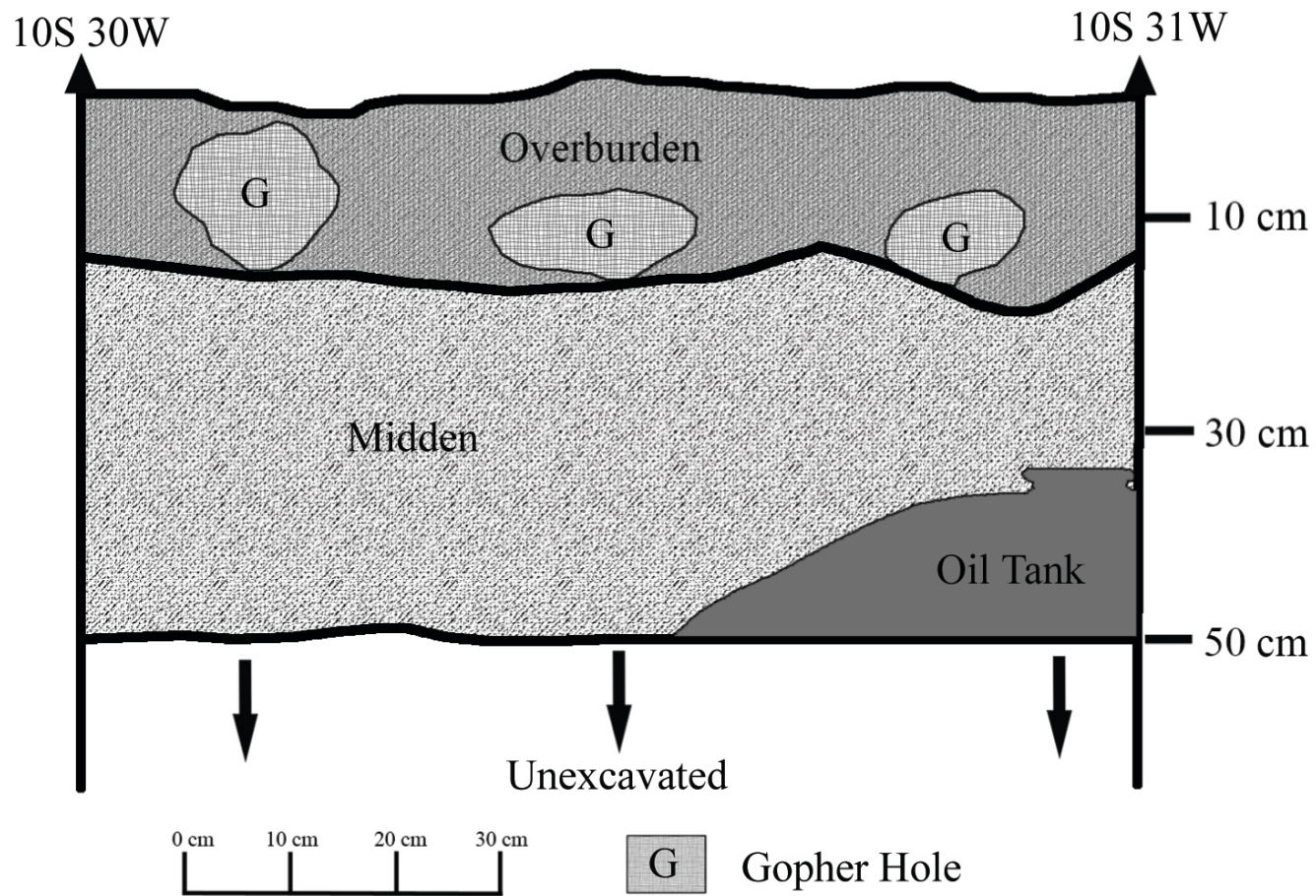


Figure 8. 30 South wall profile, 10S 31W

Operation 1

Operation 1 initially began as a single 1-by-1 meter test unit placed at 13 meters north and 2 meters west of the site datum. This unit was selected in order to test a linear magnetic anomaly (Figure 8.4) that runs parallel to the modern access road and was later expanded to follow cultural deposits. In sum, Operation 1 contained a total of two 1-by-1 meter units. The coordinates of these units are 13N 2W and 14N 2W.

Surface collection of this area revealed a concentration of 19th century Japanese hand painted porcelains, groundstone tools, and flaked obsidian and chert, including a finished obsidian biface. Ballard (1995, 1997) postulates that Donald Wood's excavation trenches were located in this area of the site. Given that the exact location of Wood's trenches remain unknown, we had hoped that testing these anomalies and concentrations of surface artifacts would perhaps reveal the previously excavated Wood trenches or, at the very least, expose the archaeological deposits he described in his site report.

Excavation of Operation 1 revealed a dense, mixed midden deposit with a variety of artifact classes including flaked chert and obsidian, groundstone, worked glass, worked and ground ceramics, clam disc and spire-loped *Olivella* shell beads, a wide variety of mammal and mollusk remains, and an assortment of 19th and 20th century historic artifacts (Table 8.2). We excavated to a total depth of 36.5 to 40 centimeters (Figure 8.31). Throughout both units we encountered a rich shell midden deposit comprised of sandy loam soils of a dark grayish brown (10yr 4/2) to very dark grayish brown (2.5yr 3/2) color. No significant soil changes were noted either within or between the units, though the top 20 centimeters of the Operation were heavily bioturbated³ and the shell midden matrix was densest at a depth of 20 to 35 centimeters below the unit datum. The increased number of shells and artifacts at this depth corresponds to where the slab millstone, full abalone shell, concentration of charcoal and cow femur are recorded on the western sidewall profile. Historic artifacts such as transfer printed whitewares and semi-vitrified white wares indicate a late 19th to early 20th century date for the shell midden deposit.

At a depth of 35 centimeters we began uncovering several large sandstone boulders that extended across the entirety of the excavation. A wooden post with a dozen or so nails haphazardly nailed into it was uncovered in 14N 2W (Figure 8.32). Cut marks on the rock indicate that the wooden post was an intrusive feature and was set into place sometime after the deposition of the shell midden. The rock cobbles found in this unit are large (greater than 30 centimeters) and are not consistent with the rock cobble features uncovered in Operations 2 or 3 (see below). Previous excavations inside the fort indicate that such large boulders were used as supports for large wooden sills, a practice that became common during the final years of the Russian colony and into the American period (Newland and Meyer 2003). Whether or not these cobbles represent some kind of building foundation or form part of the natural substrate is unclear as no other rocks of this size were found in the other areas of the site that were tested.

³ Bioturbation in this unit was extensive and active. This was evidence by the overnight deposition of a sawn cow femur into 14N 2W, which a rodent had "kicked" out of its burrow along the western sidewall.

Wood (1970) hypothesized that the midden deposits in this area were heavily disturbed and deposited in this portion of the site following the Russian period occupation of the site. Though his evidence is convincing, portions of the midden—particularly those deposits located directly above the rock rubble at a depth of 25 to 30 centimeters—appear to be undisturbed and intact. This conclusion is further supported in that many artifacts were aligned parallel to the surface of the rock rubble, such as the recorded slab millingstone and abalone shell embedded into the western sidewall. Further testing could help delineate the boundaries of this rock rubble as well as resolve whether or not these midden deposits are associated with the rubble or represent a later depositional event.

Operation 1														
13N 2W (2007)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	31	8	3	4	44	1	4	0	96	10	0	0	201
2	0	26	3	21	0	31	0	3	1	154	31	0	0	270
3	0	6	2	3	1	10	0	0	0	222	18	4	0	266
4	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	39	1	0	0	45
Total	0	63	14	27	5	89	1	7	1	511	60	4	0	782
14N 2W (2007)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	21	3	13	1	27	1	2	0	54	2	0	2	126
2	0	24	2	13	5	39	3	1	0	73	12	8	2	182
3	0	15	4	5	2	24	2	0	0	114	11	1	0	178
4	0	8	0	9	0	17	1	0	0	61	2	6	0	104
Total	0	68	9	40	8	107	7	3	0	302	27	15	4	590

Table 8.3 Counts of artifacts and faunal remains from Operation 1. Please refer to Table 8.1 for a description of the artifact codes.

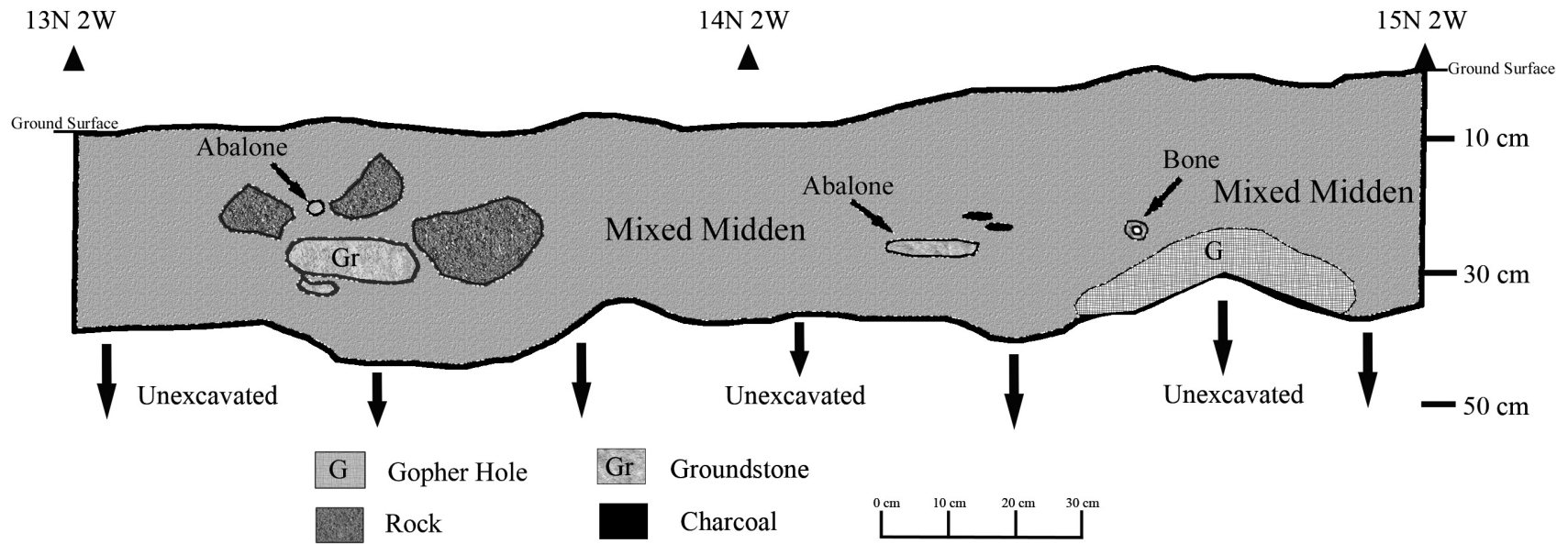


Figure 8.31 West wall profile, Operation 1



Figure 8. 32 Operation 1, with wood post circled. Note groundstone embedded in west side wall of unit 13N 2W.

Operation 2

Operation 2 began as a single 1-by-1 meter excavation unit (0N 11E) that was selected in order to test a low level magnetic anomaly. This anomaly was loosely associated with surface concentrations of obsidian, chert, and faunal remains. 0N 11E was later expanded to the east and to the south when excavations revealed a dense shell midden and an underlying deposit of fire-affected sandstone rock rubble (Figure 8.35). During the 2007 field season a total of three 1-by-1 meter units were excavated as part of Operation 2; these included the original test unit 0N 11E and units 0N 12E and 1S 11E.

Excavations in Operation 2 uncovered a rich shell midden deposit with a diverse assemblage of artifacts from numerous different artifact classes. This midden was deposited on top of a layer of fire-affected rock rubble that appears between 30 and 40 centimeters below the ground surface and extends throughout the bottom of all three units in this operation. Soils within this area are friable and range from loam to silt loam and vary in color according to soil moisture from very dark grey (10yr 3/1) when dry to very dark grayish brown (2.5yr 3/2) when moist. Extensive bioturbation within the top 30 centimeters of the operation has led to extensive mixing within the shell midden and there are only two observed stratigraphic changes: the transition from the mixed midden top soil and more compacted mixed midden deposits and the gradual transition from this compacted midden to the rock rubble and associated clay loam soils. Excavation was halted in this operation once rock rubble was uncovered throughout the entirety of the excavation unit; this occurred between 40 and 50 centimeters below ground surface.

Artifacts within the mixed midden do not appear to have any formal alignment or relationship to one another, though concentrations of shell and artifacts increase with depth and are most concentrated between 20 and 35 centimeters below the ground surface. Artifacts range from an assortment of historic materials such as wire, wrought and cut nails, non-vitrified white earthenwares (pearlwares, creamwares, and whitewares), hard and soft paste porcelains, semi-vitrified white earthenwares, worked "black glass", ground ceramic tokens and pendants, and assortment of drawn glass beads, obsidian projectile points, obsidian and chert debitage, clam shell disc and Olivella shell beads, and a wide variety of faunal and shellfish remains (Table 8.4). The mixed nature of the assemblage makes it difficult to determine the date of the shell midden, though the lower levels of excavations predominantly contain artifacts from the mid to late 19th century.

Two features were uncovered: one in unit 0N 11E and the other in 1S 11E. In both cases the feature consisted of a redwood post oriented perpendicular to the floor of the unit, which was discovered at a depth of 25 to 30 centimeters below the ground surface. These posts are set 100 centimeters apart, aligned north to south from 0N 11E to 1S 11E. Each post is roughly 15 centimeters in length and the top of each is jagged, suggesting it was roughly chopped or broken, perhaps at the ground surface since the tops of each post were also in alignment. On the basis of this evidence it appears that the shell midden deposit is at least partially intact below a depth of 30 centimeters, although the integrity of these deposits has subsequently been impacted by bioturbation. There is a strong likelihood that these posts are also related to the fence-line depicted in a survey map of the stockade

complex from 1859 (Figures 8.33, 8.34), as the fence has a similar north-south orientation and is located in the same area as the posts that were uncovered. The Sturtevant (1934) photograph also documents a fence line in the same location as that recorded on the 1892 survey map indicating that deposits associated with the posts date to 1892 or before.

The size and density of the rubble is consistent with that uncovered at both the Native Alaskan Village Site (Lightfoot et al. 1997) and the Old Magazin (Fur Warehouse) (Newland and Meyer 2003). In both cases this rock rubble fill was interpreted as the remains of Russian period building foundations. According to Newland and Meyer (2003:51):

The ground was prepared by clearing vegetation, excavating at least 45 centimeters of soil, and then backfilling with a cobble and clay fill of local material. The front of the foundation was buttressed with larger rocks to prevent movement of the fill. Depressions and trenches were incorporated into the fill that allowed the placement of redwood timber sleepers and support posts.

Newland and Meyer (2003:52) and Glenn Farris (*personal communication*) hypothesize that this timber-framed construction is associated with the earliest phases of construction at Fort Ross (1810 to 1820s). Builders during the later years of the colony tended to use a post-and-sill building technique in which they sunk posts directly into the ground and large rock cobbles were only used to buttress, not support the sills. Based upon the density and size of the rock fill found in Operation 2, it is proposed that this fill is part of the foundation for a Russian period structure, likely built in the 1820s. Given that the rock rubble is heavily fire-affected—something that appears to be unique to this area and the Native Alaskan Village Site (Lightfoot et al. 1997)—it is possible that these structures either burned down at some point during the Russian-period or after the sale of the Fort when Sutter removed many of the associated out buildings and equipment to his settlement at *New Helvetia*.

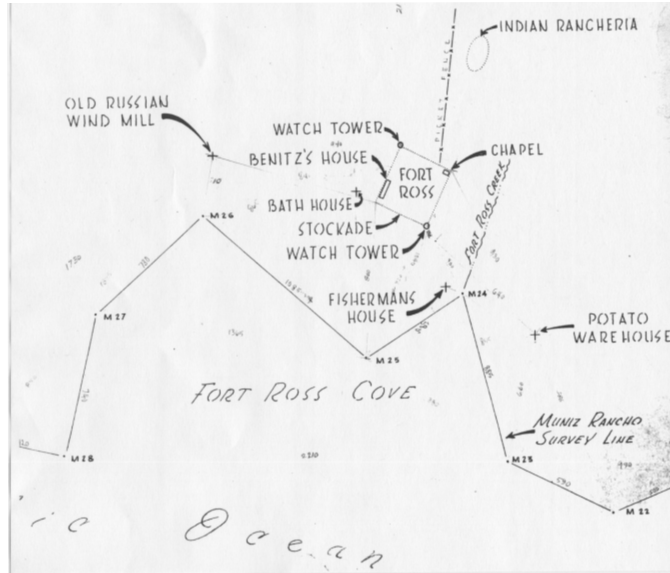


Figure 8. 33 1859 survey map of Fort Ross showing fence line between the north wall and the "Indian Rancheria," Fort Ross Interpretive Association Library



Figure 8. 34 Sturtevant (1934) photograph with fence line highlighted

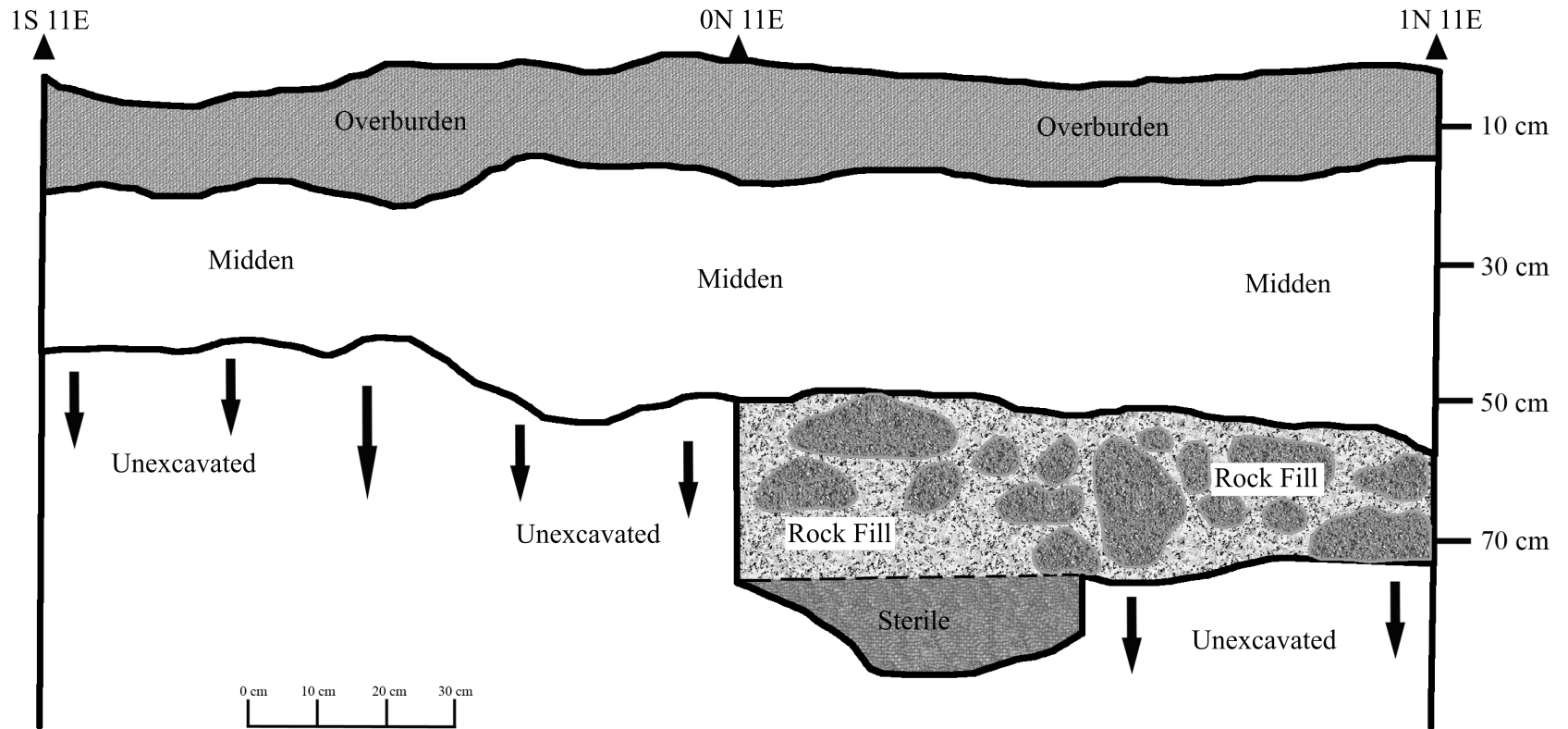


Figure 8. 35 West wall profile, Operation 2

Operation 2														
ON 11E (2007, 2008)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	23	9	6	0	29	0	0	1	112	0	0	0	180
2	0	23	12	26	0	30	0	3	0	195	1	2	3	295
3	0	33	14	52	5	33	0	3	1	393	7	55	0	596
4	3	30	6	12	5	51	1	20	0	498	23	19	16	684
5	0	0	0	5	0	26	1	13	1	649	12	3	0	710
6	0	3	0	6	0	30	0	8	0	168	7	0	0	222
7	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	31	0	0	0	34
Total	3	112	41	107	10	202	2	47	3	2046	50	79	19	2721
ON 12E (2007)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	W S	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	4	0	1	0	11	0	0	1	58	1	0	0	76
2	0	35	2	33	2	47	0	45	1	256	5	7	8	441
3	0	17	8	21	4	32	3	40	0	215	5	2	3	350
4	1	15	4	22	2	28	1	34	0	202	5	2	0	316
Total	1	71	14	77	8	118	4	119	2	731	16	11	11	1183
1S 11E (2007)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	19	16	20	0	50	0	3	0	243	13	8	0	372
2	0	34	11	12	0	60	0	0	2	314	21	0	3	457
3	0	39	12	24	0	98	1	0	2	377	22	13	12	600
4	0	21	7	21	3	12	0	2	1	472	29	17	19	604
5	0	3	2	17	0	54	1	0	2	303	11	19	0	412
Total	0	116	48	94	3	274	2	5	7	1709	96	57	34	2445

Table 8.4 Counts of artifacts and faunal remains from Operation 2, 2007 and 2008. Please refer to Table 8.1 for a description of the artifact codes.

Operation 3

As with the prior operations, Operation 3 began as a single 1-by-1 meter test unit (6S 2E). High concentrations of non-vitrified white earthenwares and porcelains, obsidian artifacts, and worked glass were observed in this area, as was a localized magnetic anomaly. Both the Duhaut-Cilly and Voznesenskii illustrations document buildings between the Northwest Blockhouse and the Kuskov house, thus our hope in testing this area was to locate features related to these buildings. This unit was later expanded 1-meter to the east (6S 3E) in order to follow the observed cultural deposits.

Similarly to Operation 2, excavations in this 1-by-2 meter excavation block revealed a dense shell midden matrix that was positioned on top of a fire-affected rock cobble fill (Figures 8.36). Loam soils extend throughout the unit and range from sandy clay to clay loam and were dark grayish brown (10yr 3/2) in color. The top 20 to 40 centimeters of this operation consisted of mixed overburden, which was comprised of a mixed assortment of shell and artifacts. Underlying this stratum we observed a more compacted layer of mixed shell midden, which extended from 20 to ~40 centimeters below the ground surface. The shell midden matrix transitioned to rock cobble fill between 40 and 45 centimeters below the ground surface.

Operation 3 contained a wide range of artifact classes (Table 8.5). This included an assortment of 19th and 20th century ceramics, worked vessel and flat glass, an assortment of faunal remains, chipped stone, ground stone and other materials indicative of indigenous occupation in this area. Of particular note, a Matchbox car dated to 1974 was found in unit 6S 3E at a depth of 17 centimeters and the only identified sea mammal remain—a possible pinniped vertebrae—was located at a depth of 30-40 centimeters in unit 6S 2E. The density of materials revealed in this area was highest at a depth of 20 to 30 centimeters, with artifacts as well as shell tapering off at about 35 centimeters below the ground surface, which is consistent with the appearance of rock fill beginning at this depth.

The rock rubble in Operation 3 varied slightly in appearance compared to that revealed in Operation 2. First, the rubble appeared to be more compact, with greater numbers of groundstone and fire-cracked rocks mixed in with the fill. This pattern is consistent with the density and size of rock rubble foundations located inside of the fort and at the Native Alaskan Village Site (Lightfoot et al. 1997; Newland and Meyer 2003). Second, the rubble was only fully revealed at a depth of 50 to 55 centimeters below the ground surface. This is partially the result of a slight grade from north to south across the site. Soils below 30 centimeters exhibit few signs of bioturbation or other disturbances, indicating that the deposits immediately above the rock rubble have a high degree of integrity and are likely part of an intact midden.

Operation 3														
6S 2E (2007)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	10	4	1	0	28	0	6	0	62	6	17	20	154
2	1	33	8	25	6	73	4	10	0	122	38	29	37	386
3	1	29	6	10	4	29	6	0	1	381	46	0	3	516
4	0	8	5	19	4	28	0	5	1	489	41	1	1	602
5	0	7	4	9	2	18	2	6	0	187	18	0	0	253
Total	2	87	27	64	16	176	12	27	2	1241	149	47	61	1911
6S 3E (2007, 2008)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	5	2	2	0	9	5	0	0	19	3	15	0	60
2	0	34	14	11	2	41	0	7	0	101	7	25	3	245
3	0	28	11	20	1	45	1	1	0	252	29	4	1	393
4	0	10	4	4	1	61	1	1	1	403	93	1	1	581
5	0	8	3	3	1	21	0	0	0	266	26	0	6	334
6	0	1	0	14	1	2	3	0	1	123	8	0	0	153
7	0	0	0	0	0	40	1	5	0	15	2	0	0	63
Total	0	86	34	54	6	219	11	14	2	1179	168	45	11	1829

Table 8.5 Counts for artifacts and faunal remains from Operation 3, Units 6S 2E and 6S 3E. Please refer to Table 8.1 for a description of the artifact codes.

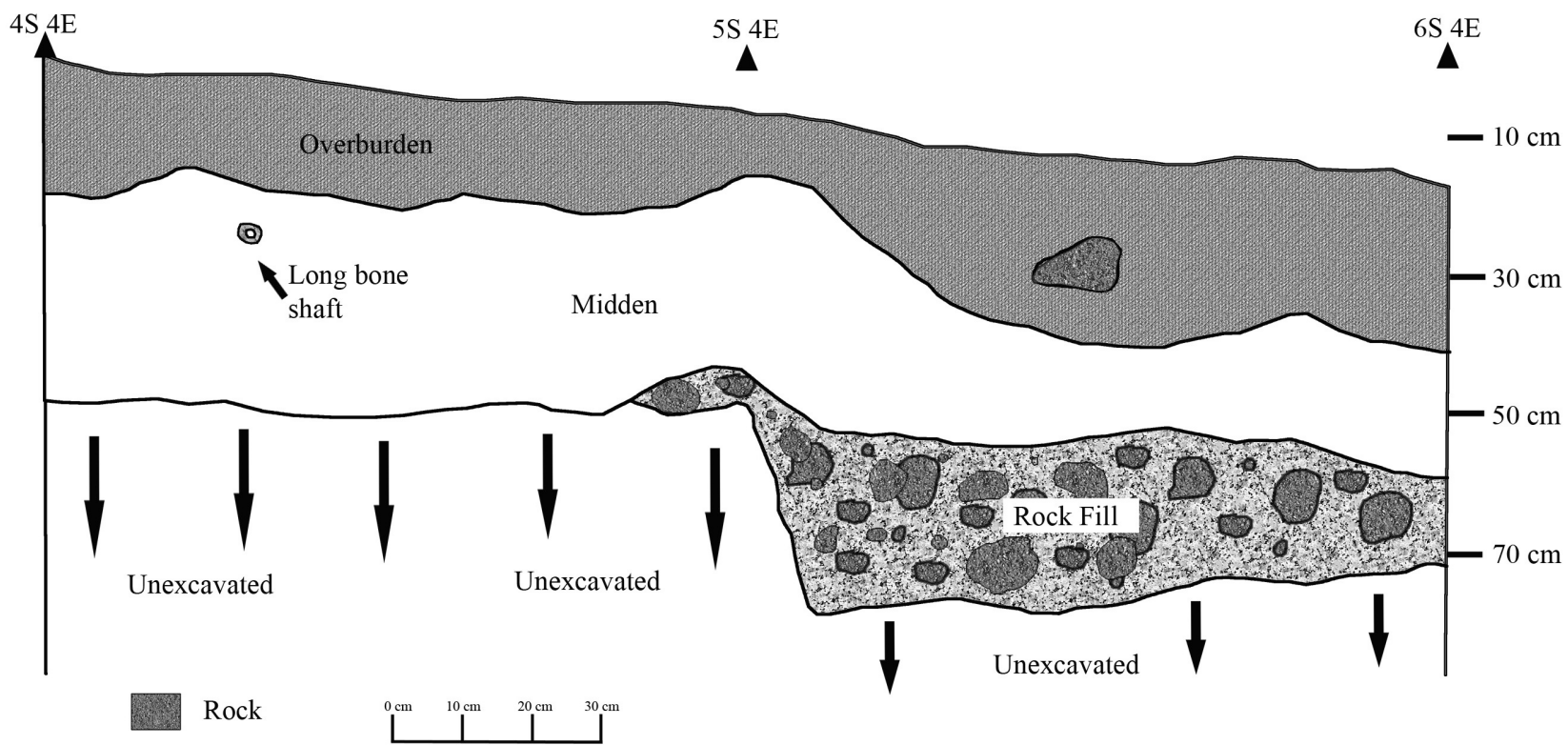


Figure 8.36 East wall profile, Operation 3

2007 Conclusions

The purpose of the 2007 field season was to identify intact deposits associated with the Russian period households located along the north wall of the Russian stockade. We combined the results from data that we collected through our topographic map and gradiometer survey with the information gathered through our 2006 and 2007 surface collection in order to pinpoint potential habitation or use areas. Prince's Principle was also applied to two historic illustrations and a photograph of the North Wall Community so that we could further delineate the boundaries of the site and the location of Russian and American period buildings that were once located there. Although this application was not entirely successful we were able to identify the approximate location from which each image was constructed and verify that both the Duhaut-Cilly and Voznesenskii illustrations roughly match up to the existing reconstructed landscape at Fort Ross. In the case of the Sturtevant photograph we were able to project the location of the cabin located directly north of the Russian Chapel and thus interpreted the concentrations of coal and early 20th century artifacts within this area as relating to this specific building.

Next, we chose a series of test excavation units, three of which—Operation 1, Operation 2, and Operation 3—revealed substantial cultural deposits that are indicative of “Indian Site No. 1” that Treganza (1954) and others had previously identified in the North Wall Area (see also Farris and Traugher 1983; Lightfoot 1999; Ritter 1971-1972; Wood 1970). Operation 2 and Operation 3, in particular, revealed fire-affected rock cobble foundations that were capped by a deposit of mixed shell midden. These possible Russian period architectural features, as well as the rich assemblage of 19th and early 20th century artifacts indicate that Native Californians were residing within this community during the Russian period and even likely in the subsequent Mexican and American periods.

2008 Field Season

Although the previous field season exposed fire-affected rock rubble fill that is consistent with early Russian period building practices, due to the heavily mixed shell midden deposit overlying these features we were unable to securely date both the midden and rock rubble. We were also concerned with identifying the occupation history for the site. Although the artifacts recovered from this area suggest that Native Americans resided here from the Russian period through to the American period, some archaeologists question whether or not Native Californian occupation of this area was limited to either the Russian period or even before. For example, Treganza (1954) proposed that the Russian settlement was established within a Native Californian village. This is a consistent theme in colonial period archaeology, and especially studies involving missions, where colonial settlements are proposed to have been established at or in close proximity to pre-existing large village sites (see Panich 2009 for a discussion of this issue as it relates to understanding the occupation history of Mission Santa Catalina in Baja California). We were thus concerned with testing whether or not the stockade complex was established at a Kashaya Pomo Village, and furthermore, finding evidence that would enable us to securely date both the shell midden deposits and the rock rubble features.

As with past field seasons, the crew consisted of UC Berkeley graduate students—Rob Cuthrell, James Flexner, Anna Harkey, Ashley Lipps, John Matsunaga, and Darren Modzelewski—as well as Undergraduate Research Apprentices from the California Archaeology Lab at UC Berkeley. An assortment of volunteers—friends, family, and colleagues also volunteered their labor: Rut Ballesteros (Sonoma State University), Gina Garcia, Allan Gonzalez, Darlene Gonzalez, Laurence Haipot, Gilles Lubineau, Kaulleen Menard, Michael Newland (Sonoma State University), Paula Satariano, Virginia Satariano, and Leslie Smirnoff (Sonoma State University). Walter Antone and Reno Franklin of the Kashia THPO also lent critical assistance to the project. Fieldwork was completed throughout the month of June and portions of July and August.

2008 Excavations

Our goal for this season was to re-open Operation 2 and Operation 3 so that we could more fully explore both the depth and horizontal extent of the rock rubble fill. Beginning first with Operation 2 and then with Operation 3 we re-excavated the back dirt and continued excavations (Table 8.1). In each case we selected one 1-by-1 meter unit within the excavation block to continue vertical excavations, thus in Operation 2 we continued excavations in unit 0N 11E and in Operation 3 we continued excavations in unit 6S 3E. This was done in order to determine whether or not the rock rubble fill capped any earlier, pre-Russian period deposits. Following this testing, we expanded the operations horizontally, our goal being to reveal the boundary between intramural and extramural space.

Operation 2

Following the re-excavation and cleaning of the operation we chose to excavate the rock rubble fill centered in unit 0N 11E. This unit was chosen as it had the highest density of rock rubble. As stated above we had two goals for this vertical testing: 1) to determine the total depth of the rock rubble fill and 2) to ascertain whether or not this fill capped any deposits relating to an ancient period occupation of the site. The density of the rocks in this unit made it impossible to excavate the unit by trowel and thus both shovels and an archaeo pick were used in order to clear the fill. The fill was excavated as a single cultural stratum and began at a depth of 50 centimeters below the ground surface (Figure 8.35). The clay loam soils in the rock fill were moist and slightly mottled, varying between dark grayish brown (10yr 3/2) to very dark greyish brown (2.5yr 3/2). Individual sandstone cobbles and rocks varied in size from 5 to 30 centimeters in length and in all over 150 were pulled from this level. This level was terminated at a depth of approximately 75 centimeters once the rock rubble transitioned into what we believed to be sterile soils. At this point we continued our excavations in the southwest quadrant of the unit in order to determine if we could find evidence of any other deposits under the rock rubble. Soils within this stratum were consistent in color (2.5y 5/4 light olive brown) with sterile soils on the coastal terrace and we halted excavation in the unit at a final depth of 80 centimeters due to the lack of any observed artifactual or faunal remains.

Operation 2														
ON 11E (2007, 2008)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	23	9	6	0	29	0	0	1	112	0	0	0	180
2	0	23	12	26	0	30	0	3	0	195	1	2	3	295
3	0	33	14	52	5	33	0	3	1	393	7	55	0	596
4	3	30	6	12	5	51	1	20	0	498	23	19	16	684
5	0	0	0	5	0	26	1	13	1	649	12	3	0	710
6	0	3	0	6	0	30	0	8	0	168	7	0	0	222
7	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	31	0	0	0	34
Total	3	112	41	107	10	202	2	47	3	2046	50	79	19	2721
1S 12E (2008)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	4	0	0	11
2	0	42	7	31	0	50	3	6	0	368	34	19	3	563
3	0	40	10	31	0	85	0	4	0	383	56	24	3	636
4	0	35	10	77	1	50	8	2	1	521	38	24	1	768
5	0	15	9	3	3	30	3	6	1	205	25	4	0	304
Total	0	132	36	142	4	216	14	18	2	1483	157	71	7	2282

Table 8.6 Counts of artifacts and faunal remains from ON 11E, 2007-2008, and 1S 12E, 2008. ON 11E 2008 levels and counts are in bold. Please refer to Table 8.1 for a description of the artifact codes.

A total of 256 artifacts were covered from Levels 6 and 7 (30 centimeters) compared to a total of 2465 artifacts from the previous five levels (50 centimeters) (see Table 8.6). The majority of these remains consist of shellfish (n=199, or 77.7% of the total assemblage for Levels 6 and 7), though we also observed fire-cracked rock, fire-cracked groundstone, obsidian and chert debitage, and a small quantity of charcoal. Only two classes of historic period materials were recovered: heavily patinated window glass (n=3), which is identical to the kinds of window glass associated with Russian period buildings (Breck Parkman, *personal communication*), and a single square cut nail, also consistent with a Russian period date. Both of these classes of materials were found in the top-most portion of the rock rubble.

Based upon these finds we concluded that the rock rubble dates to the Russian period. The structure of the rock rubble fill is also consistent with timber construction used both inside the fort and at the Native Alaskan Village site; in all cases rock cobbles were deposited directly on top of graded, sterile soil. Furthermore, Newland and Meyer (2003:51) note that the rock cobble for timber-frames buildings was quarried from local deposits and filled into the foundation area along with local clay fill and other material. The fact that few artifacts were found in the soil matrix of the rock fill indicates that the fill we excavated in association with the cobble was obtained in a similar manner. That only shellfish and a few

pieces of lithic debitage were found within this matrix would not be uncommon, as excavations in and around the stockade reveal a long history of use and occupation that is evidenced by the presence of lithic debitage and shellfish remains across the coastal terrace (Lightfoot 1999; Newland and Meyer 2003: 46; Purser et al. 1990:45).

Taken together this evidence suggests that the rock rubble fill in Operation 2 represents rock cobble foundations for buildings dated to the early Russian period. The fact that the top most layer of rock cobble exhibited a high degree of fire alteration, we also concluded that a significant fire event occurred either before the removal of these buildings or afterwards. This conclusion was based upon the previous experience of excavators who had considerable experience with fire-affected rock and, specifically, burned building material (John Matsunaga, *personal communication*).

Based upon our observations in 0N 11E we decided to expand the operation order to find the boundary of the rock cobble foundations. We thus opened up an additional 1-by-1 meter excavation unit at 1S 12E, effectively creating a 2-by-2 meter excavation block. Soil type and color was consistent with previously excavated units in this operation and the rock cobble foundations were revealed between 45 and 50 centimeters below the ground surface. No features were recorded in this unit, though two pieces of fire-cracked groundstone and the tip of a pestle were found at a depth of 35.5 centimeters and 33 centimeters respectively. These objects were lying parallel to the bottom of the unit and both pieces of fire-cracked groundstone, though lying 5 centimeters apart, fit together. A rodent burrow containing an intact pocket gopher skeleton was also found in the southwest quadrant of the site. No other features were recorded for this unit. As with the other units a wide range of artifact classes were observed in this unit (see Table 8.4). Excavations in this unit were halted at a depth of 50 centimeters as we felt it unnecessary to further test the vertical extent of the rock cobble foundations in this area. Following the excavation of this unit, no other investigations were conducted in Operation 2.

Operation 3

In the previous season of fieldwork Operation 3 consisted of a 1-by-2 meter excavation block. This Operation was re-opened in the 2008 field season in order to test the depth and extent of the rock rubble fill encountered in this operation 50 to 55 centimeters below the ground surface. As with Operation 2, our first step was to reveal the underlying deposits in one of the units: 6S 3E (Figure 8.36). The rock rubble in this operation extends from approximately 50 centimeters to a depth of 75 to 80 centimeters. Soils within this rubble are consistent with those previously excavated (Sandy Clay Loam, very dark grayish brown [2.5y 2/2]). These soils begin to transition to sterile soil at a depth of 70 centimeters when the soils became increasingly mottled with light olive brown (2.5y 5/4) sandy clay loam soils. At this point we quartered the unit and continued excavations only within the northeast quadrant of the unit. This area of the unit was excavated to a total depth of 80 centimeters. Excavations were halted once we encountered sterile soil across the entirety of this area; sterile soils are typified by both color (light olive brown 2.5 y 5/4) and the increasing quantity of small (1-2 centimeter) inclusions of degrading sandstones.

A total of 63 artifacts were recovered in Level 7 of 6S 3E (~30 centimeters of excavated soil) compared to a total of 1766 artifacts recovered from the previous season (~55 centimeters of excavated soil) (Table 8.7). As with the 2008 excavation of 0N 12E a limited number of artifact classes were observed: a scant amount of charcoal (n=2), shellfish (n=15), lithic debitage (n=38), one unifacial obsidian tool, fire-cracked rock (n=2), a sandstone hammerstone, and a single quartz core, the only one discovered at the site. All of these artifacts were located mixed in with the rock rubble and none were found below a depth of 60 centimeters.

Operation 3														
6S 3E (2007, 2008)														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	5	2	2	0	9	5	0	0	19	3	15	0	60
2	0	34	14	11	2	41	0	7	0	101	7	25	3	245
3	0	28	11	20	1	45	1	1	0	252	29	4	1	393
4	0	10	4	4	1	61	1	1	1	403	93	1	1	581
5	0	8	3	3	1	21	0	0	0	266	26	0	6	334
6	0	1	0	14	1	2	3	0	1	123	8	0	0	153
2007 Total	0	86	34	54	6	179	10	9	2	1164	166	45	11	1766
7	0	0	0	0	0	40	1	5	0	15	2	0	0	63
07- 08 Total	0	86	34	54	6	219	11	14	2	1179	168	45	11	1829

Table 8.7 Counts of artifacts and faunal remains from Unit 6S 3E, 2007-2008. 2008 excavations in bold. Please refer to Table 8.1 for a description of the artifact codes.

The extent and structure of the rock cobble fill in this operation was consistent with that located in Operation 2. We thus interpreted the rock cobble fill as characteristic of timber-framed building foundations. Furthermore, the lack of any historic artifacts found in association with the rock rubble indicates an early Russian-period date for these foundations. As with the previous operation, the rock cobble foundation is fire-affected leading us to the conclusion that in both cases the foundation was subjected to a high intensity fire at some point during the life history of the building.

Based upon our findings from both Operation 2 and 3 we further refined our excavation methodology so that we could try to distinguish between those artifacts associated with the

overlying shell midden matrix and those associated directly with the rock cobble foundations. Following the re-excavation of 6S 3E in 2008, we excavated the first 40 centimeters of a unit using 10-centimeter arbitrary levels and thereafter used 5-centimeter intervals. This depth (40 centimeters) was chosen as we had previously observed that displaced cobbles from the foundations began to first appear in this operation between 42 and 47 centimeters below the ground surface. As stated in the *Excavation Methodology* section, we felt that this altered strategy would provide better stratigraphic control within these mixed midden deposits. At this point we also began a more systematic collection of soils for macrobotanical analysis. Once the overburden and root mat had been cleared from a unit, we took a 5-liter soil sample from each subsequent excavation level.

During this season we also expanded our excavations in Operation 3, laying out an additional 2-by-2 meter excavation block. Although it would have been ideal to excavate this area as a single block, the scheduling of fieldwork demanded that we excavate each 1-by-1 meter unit individually.⁴ The coordinates for these units are as follows: 5S 2E, 5S 3E, 4S 2E, and 4S 3E. One additional unit (5S 4E) was also excavated as part of this operation and was chosen after we excavated the 2-by-2 meter block.

Excavated soils in this area were classified as clay loam to sandy clay loam and varied in color from very dark grayish brown (10yr 3/2) to dark brown (10yr 3/3) (Figure 8.37). Similar to what was observed in the excavation of 6S 2E and 6S 3E, the top 20 to 35 centimeters within the above units consisted of mixed overburden, which was flecked with bits of shell and contained a wide range of artifact classes (Table 8.8). Below this we observed a compacted layer of mixed shell midden that was both rich in shell and cultural materials. Both strata were bioturbated, though the majority of these disturbances were noted between 0 and 40 centimeters below the ground surface. The soil matrix directly overlying the rock cobble foundations (40-50 centimeters below ground surface) displayed no evidence of bioturbation, recent or otherwise. As with the other areas of the operation, rock cobble was observed beginning at a depth of 42 to 45 centimeters and fully exposed at a depth of 50 to 57 centimeters below the ground surface.

In addition to the rock cobble foundations, two additional features were observed in our 2008 excavation of Operation 3: a possible cooking related feature located in unit 4S 2E; and a collection of ash deposits located primarily in unit 4S 3E, but also extending into the northern section of unit 5S 3E.

⁴ The 2008 field season was interrupted during the month of July due to my participation at the World Archaeological Congress in Dublin, Ireland. All excavations were halted from June 21, 2008 to August 2, 2008 and upon consultation with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians THPO, we agreed to backfill all excavation units during this time period. Given this requirement, we were hesitant to open up a 2-by-2 meter areal excavation unit and chose to excavate each 1-by-1 meter unit individually, hoping to limit the overall area we had to backfill.

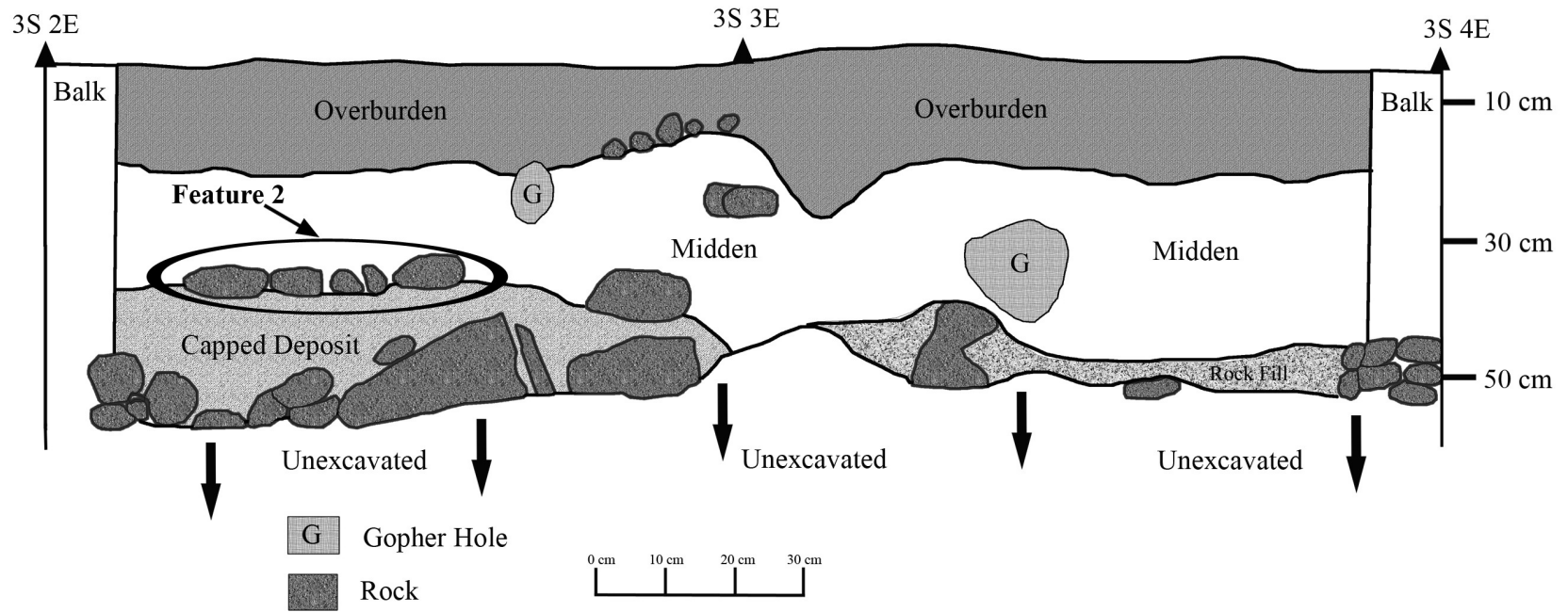


Figure 8.37 North wall profile, Operation 3

Operation 3														
4S 2E (2008)														
Level	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	5	5	1	1	15	0	0	0	13	0	6	0	46
2	0	28	5	12	6	13	0	0	0	54	9	17	0	144
3	0	20	7	16	4	54	0	0	1	395	109	23	0	629
4	2	11	1	4	2	33	7	12	1	322	81	14	0	490
5	1	5	2	8	0	37	0	2	0	158	37	2	0	252
6	1	1	2	5	4	25	2	4	0	80	30	4	0	158
7	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	29	5	0	0	39
Total	4	70	23	46	18	179	9	19	2	1051	271	66	0	1758
5S 2E (2008)														
Level	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	8	1	33	0	11	0	2	0	60	0	0	0	115
2	3	42	16	58	4	73	2	14	0	296	30	4	7	549
3	0	15	9	35	5	44	4	9	1	235	79	8	0	444
4	3	4	2	14	5	33	3	0	0	492	91	0	0	647
5	0	0	2	2	1	35	2	7	0	44	28	1	0	122
6	0	1	0	0	0	13	1	6	0	11	7	0	0	39
Total	6	70	30	142	15	209	12	38	1	1138	235	13	7	1916
4S 3E (2008)														
Level	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	25	1	11	4	14	0	0	0	61	2	15	0	133
2	0	23	5	13	24	54	2	10	0	113	9	29	1	283
3	1	9	7	7	5	20	1	0	0	291	17	4	1	363
4	0	6	6	7	0	45	0	16	0	373	81	11	0	545
5	1	2	1	0	0	6	0	3	0	80	26	0	0	119
6	0	2	2	0	0	5	1	4	0	114	13	1	0	142
Total	2	67	22	38	33	144	4	33	0	1032	148	60	2	1585
5S 3E (2008)														
Level	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	12	4	1	5	30	0	0	0	30	6	48	2	138
2	1	52	10	36	0	106	0	0	0	97	34	54	4	394
3	3	16	5	7	0	37	3	1	0	352	59	5	1	489
4	0	8	3	3	7	43	2	4	1	360	75	0	0	506
5	2	3	2	1	0	18	1	0	0	390	45	0	0	462
6	0	1	1	3	0	7	1	1	0	143	5	4	0	166
Total	6	92	25	51	12	241	7	6	1	1372	224	111	7	2155

5S 4E (2008)														
Level	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	0	4	4	4	0	13	0	0	0	16	5	168	0	214
2	1	31	8	15	5	53	0	3	0	74	19	60	1	270
3	1	13	5	8	6	54	0	0	0	179	4	1	2	273
4	0	11	4	11	5	50	0	0	0	267	86	1	1	436
5	1	4	0	15	1	21	0	0	0	151	3	1	0	197
6	0	1	0	1	0	4	2	2	0	53	11	0	0	74
7	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	13	6	0	0	24
Total	3	64	21	54	17	200	2	5	0	753	134	231	4	1488

Table 8. 8 Counts of artifacts and faunal remains from Operation 3, 2008. Please refer to Table 8.1 for a description of the artifact codes.

Feature 1 Feature 1 was first observed in 5S 3E at a depth of 25 centimeters along the north sidewall of the unit. The feature consisted of a matrix of ash and sandy clay soils that were light yellowish brown (10yr 6/4) in color that spanned 45 centimeters along the north wall of the unit, approximately 25 centimeters east of the NW nail and extended out approximately 2 to 4 centimeters south of this wall. In addition to this matrix, large piece of charcoal were found on the edges of the feature, alongside oyster shells (the only ones found at the site), some mammal bones, and a couple small chert flakes (less than 3 millimeters in length). In all, the feature was between 2 and 7 centimeters thick. All of the soil matrix from this feature was collected for future analysis of soils and macrobotanical remains.

Upon excavation of the unit directly north (4S 3E) we observed the continuation of Feature 1. In its entirety, this feature consisted of three spatially related deposits of an ash and clay loam matrix (10yr 6/4—light yellowish brown) that were all located in the southern half of the excavation unit, of which one partially extended south into unit 5S 3E. Again, these deposits were first noted at a depth of 27 centimeters below the ground surface and continued to a total depth of between 34 and 38 centimeters. We observed a limited number of cultural materials in association with these deposits, the majority of which were lightly burned pieces of shell. As with the excavation of the feature in 5S 3E we excavated each occurrence of the deposit separately and collected all soils for future analysis. We were initially concerned that the ash could be related to a cremation, and halted excavation in this unit until we could consult with the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians (Figure 8.38). Upon consultation and further examination of the deposit, we determined that the ash and clay loam deposits were not consistent with such an interpretation. Our preliminary interpretation of this feature is that it represents a discreet dump of ash from a cooking related event, perhaps related to Feature 2, which was located 40 centimeters to the west.



Figure 8. 38 Excavation of Feature 1. From left to right: Walter Antone, Rut Ballestros, Reno Franklin and Aphrodite Obezo.



Figure 8.39 Feature 2, 27 centimeters below ground surface



Figure 8.40 Feature 2, 32 centimeters below ground surface

Feature 2 Feature 2 consisted of a collection of some 12 sandstone rocks, all with flat surfaces, which range from 10 to 30 centimeters long and 10 to 20 centimeters wide. These stones are centered in unit 4S 2E and formed two clusters within the unit: four stones were grouped together along the north sidewall and the remaining eight stones were located in the southern half of the unit. The southern cluster was observed beginning at a depth of 27 centimeters below the ground surface, the northern at a depth of 32 centimeters below the ground surface (Figures 8.39, 8.40). Of the stones, seven are classified as groundstone tools, which included two slab millings, one possible handstone and five undetermined groundstone tools. The remaining stones are all fire-cracked and have smooth, flat surfaces but exhibit no grinding, pecking or other signs of manufacture or use-wear. High concentrations of charcoal were observed in direct association with the cobbles and groundstone located along the north wall of the unit. We collected all the soils around these rocks for future macrobotanical analysis. No similar concentration of charcoal was found in association with the groundstone and fire-cracked rocks in the southern half of the unit, though high concentrations of charcoal were found throughout the excavation of these stones.

All of the rocks noted as part of this feature lie parallel to the floor of the unit. The fact that all groundstone exhibited use-wear on the exposed surfaces supports the conclusion that these stones were purposefully aligned or arranged in this manner. The concentrations of charcoal, animal bone, shellfish remains, and wood also suggests that this feature is related to a cooking or food-processing event. The groundstone tools from this feature were collected. At a future date we hope to submit these stones for pollen, starch grain and opal phytolith analysis to determine what, if any, plant materials were processed using these groundstone tools.

Analysis of artifacts from 4S 2E indicate that feature 2 created an intact, capped deposit of shell midden that is in direct association with the underlying rock cobble foundations (Figure 8.37). This interpretation was initially proposed due to the alignment and distribution of the stones, which were all discovered at roughly the same depth and extended across almost three-quarters of the unit. Furthermore, deposits associated with Level 5 appeared to have a high degree of integrity, as the only disturbances noted in this level occurred in areas of the unit that were located outside of the two localized areas of Feature 2.

This interpretation is supported by the observed patterns of artifact and faunal remain densities observed for 4S 2E in comparison to the other excavated units of Operation 3. Instead of using simple artifact density calculations, I have calculated the density of midden deposits. Midden densities record the combined density of both artifacts and faunal remains. Tables 8.9 and 8.10 list midden densities for each unit and excavated level of Operation 3. First, for unit 4S 2E the deposits directly above Feature 2 (Level 3) contain 30% more artifacts than the deposits located directly below the feature (Level 5). In fact, the density of the midden above Feature 2 is the highest recorded of all units within Operation 3, which is unusual given that midden densities were generally lower from 20-30 centimeters below the ground surface than they were 30-40 centimeters below the ground surface within these units.

Unit	Total # Artifacts and Faunal Remains	Excavated Volume (m ³)	Midden Density (m ³)
4S 2E	1758	.55	3084
5S 2E	1916	.50	3832
4S 3E	1585	.50	3170
5S 3E	2155	.50	4310
5S 4E	1488	.55	2705

Table 8. 9 Total midden remains and midden density by unit, Operation 3.

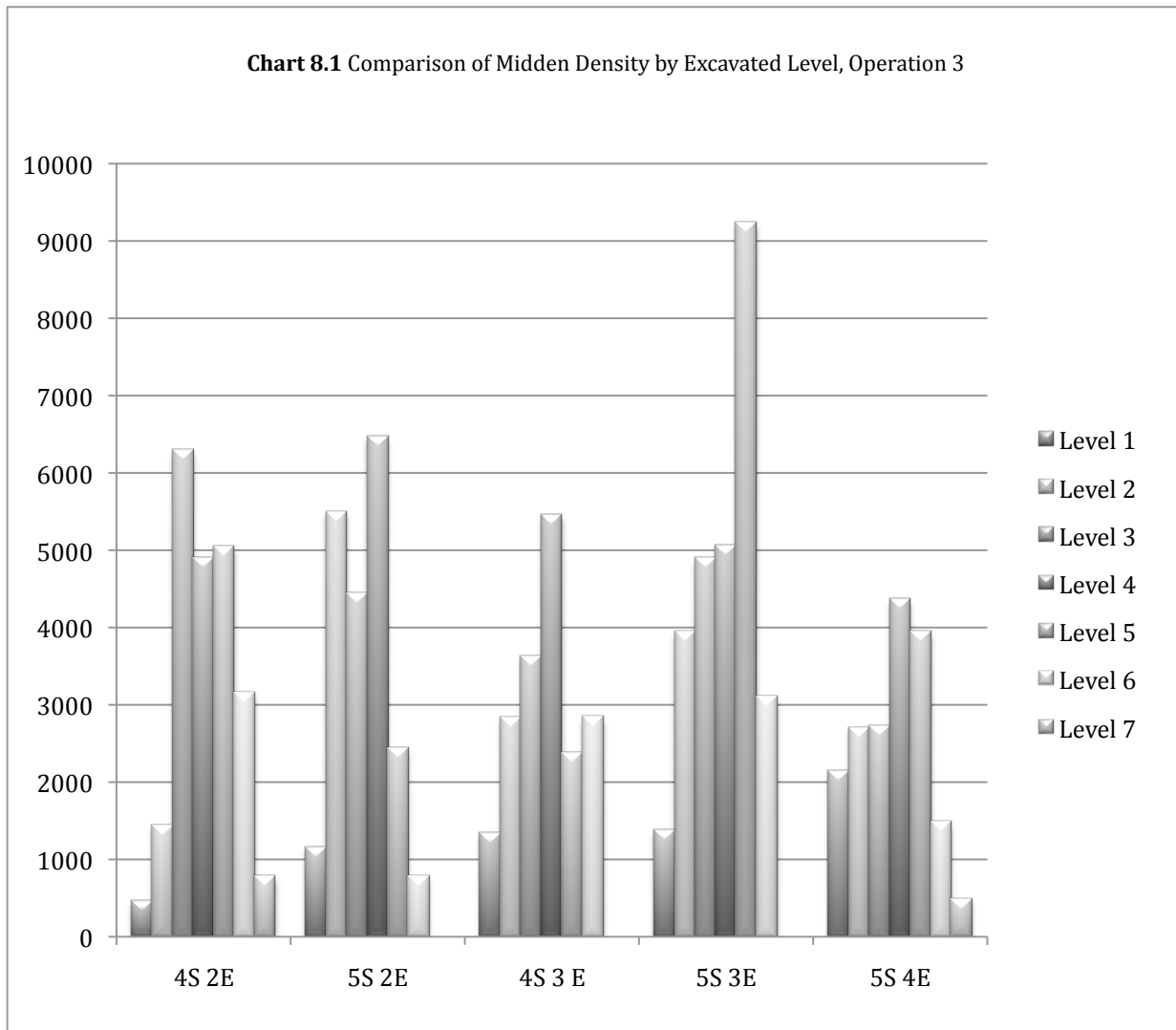
Level	Depth (below unit datum)	4S 2E		5S 2E		4S 3 E		5S 3E		5S 4E	
		#	m ³	#	m ³	#	m ³	#	m ³	#	m ³
1	0-10 cm	46	460	115	1150	133	1330	138	1380	214	2140
2	10-20 cm	144	1440	549	5490	283	2830	394	3940	270	2700
3	20-30 cm	629	6290	444	4440	363	3630	489	4890	273	2730
4	30-40 cm	<i>490</i>	<i>4900</i>	647	6470	545	5450	506	5060	436	4360
5	40-45 cm	252	5040	122	2440	119	2380	462	9240	197	3940
6	45-50 cm	158	3160	39	780	142	2840	166	3100	74	1480
7	50-55 cm	39	780	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	24	480

Table 8. 10 Total midden remains and midden density by unit and level, Operation 3. Feature 2, which was recorded in Level 4 of 4S 2E is italicized and in bold.

Second, the density of the midden in Level 5 (40-45 centimeters below the ground surface) is the second highest density recorded for that equivalent depth within Operation 3⁵ and this density is more than 50% higher than those noted for the equivalent levels in adjacent units 5S 2E and 4S 3E. Furthermore, midden density is roughly equivalent between Level 4 and Level 5 in 4S 2E, which is also unusual given that the above adjacent units exhibit a 50% or more decrease in midden density between these equivalent levels (Chart 8.1). Though the similarity in midden densities between Level 4 and 5 could be attributed to the volume of the rocks associated with Feature 2, the calculated volume of this Feature (~ 8%

⁵ The only exception to this is Level 5 from 5S 3E, though it should be noted that this spike in artifact density is solely attributed to a high number of mussel (*Mytilus californianus*) fragments discovered in this unit (n=319), without which artifact densities for this level would be 2860 m³.

of total excavated volume) has a negligible impact upon the calculated densities for Level 4. The only other case where we see roughly equivalent densities between levels 4 and 5 is in unit 5S 4E, where excavators noted a high degree of integrity and lack of bioturbation below 40 centimeters. Taken together, these marked differences in the density of artifact and faunal remains supports the conclusion that Feature 2 created a capped, intact deposit of shell midden that is potentially distinct from the mixed shell-midden that is found between 20 and 30 centimeters below the ground surface in Operation 3.



Further suggesting this distinction, there are unique differences between the artifacts and faunal remains recovered from within and above Feature 2 compared to those associated with the deposits below it. In both Level 3 and Level 4 of 4S 2E the flaked stone assemblage is between 8 and 6% percent of the total assemblage, whereas flaked stone within Level 5 and Level 6 account for 14.6 and 15.8% of the total artifact assemblage—an increase of about 100%. This pattern is only witnessed in one other unit, 5S 2E, which is adjacent to

4S 2E.⁶ In all other areas of this operation the flaked stone assemblage decreased with greater depth and tends to vary by only a couple percentage points. Likewise, unique faunal materials were recovered in the lower levels of 4S 2E, namely sea urchin spines (n=9). Though sea urchin spines were also recovered from adjacent units (4S 2E n= 2 and 5S 2E n=2), they were all found at a depth of between 40-50 centimeters below the ground surface, indicating another material difference between the upper and lower portions of the shell midden deposits in Operation 3. Combined with the increase in the flaked stone assemblage in the lower excavated levels, there appears to be a significant material and perhaps temporal difference between the upper and lower portion of the shell midden in Operation 3. This difference appears to be most striking in 4 S 2E due to Feature 2, which may have acted as a bulwark against bioturbation of the deposits between the feature and the underlying rock rubble.

This temporal difference is most accurately reflected through the historic assemblage in unit 4S 2E. Level 1 through Level 4 contain a wide variety of historic materials including glass beads, flat glass, a variety of 19th and 20th century tablewares (glass and ceramic), metals, worked glass, and worked ceramics. The mixture of later 20th century artifacts alongside 18th and 19th century materials such as black bottle glass and undecorated pearlwares indicates that these levels are mixed deposits. Although the deposits below the cooking feature contain more historic artifacts (n=31) versus those found directly above and within the cooking feature (Level 4 n=20), this increase is attributed to the recovery of greater numbers of historic ceramics (including one hand-painted blue pearlware fragment and one whiteware with blue transferprint decoration), worked glass (including one project point made out of patinated window glass), and metal (five cut iron nails). All of the diagnostic artifact types within Levels 5 through 7 indicate an early to mid-19th century date for these deposits. Of the non-diagnostic historic artifacts found within these levels (worked glass of undetermined manufacturing technique, an undecorated whiteware fragment, patinated flat glass, and a single white glass bead), all are consistent with materials that were in use during the Russian period at Fort Ross. Furthermore, the increase of worked glass and modified material culture co-occurs with greater numbers of groundstone tools and flaked lithics recovered from the levels below Feature 2, indicating that this deposit can both be securely dated to the Russian period and associated with Native Californian occupation at the North Wall Community.

Comparisons between 4s 2E and the rest of Operation 3 reveal a similar pattern in regards to the material and temporal differences between the mixed shell-midden and deposits directly associated with the rock cobble foundations. Although the upper levels of Operation 3 appear to be heavily mixed, deposits directly associated with the rock cobble foundations are consistent with a mid to late Russian period date (1820s-1830s) Figure 8.41).

⁶ The increase in percentage of flaked stone assemblage from Level 3 to Level 6 in 5S 2E actually exceeds that noted for 4S 2E. However, the high percentages of flaked stone in Levels 5 and 6 could be attributed to the markedly low numbers of faunal remains collected from these levels (Level 5 n= 44, Level 6 n=11) in comparison to those collected from the previous two levels (Level 3 n =235, Level 4 n=492). While faunal remains did decrease significantly in each unit between Level 4 and Level 5, the decline of faunal remains in 5S 2E is both significant and unusual compared to other units within this operation.



Figure 8. 41 Rock cobble foundations revealed in Operation 3

The use of 5-centimeter intervals beginning at 40 centimeters below the ground surface was integral in that all historic artifacts from the upper extent of the rock cobble foundations can be securely dated to the Russian period. Artifacts within this region include a variety of early 19th century ceramic types [hand-painted pearlwares, undecorated refined white earthenwares (whitewares), and whitewares with underglaze blue transfer prints]; 19th century black glass that exhibits use-wear and retouching; both hand forged and early machine-cut nails with hand-made heads (c. 1790-1825) (Farris 1990:493); patinated flat glass that is consistent with Russian window glass recovered from excavations inside the fort (Breck Parkman *personal communication*); and both opaque white glass beads (Kidd and Kidd Type Ila13, n=5) and Green Heart Beads (red-on-green, Kidd and Kidd Type Iva2, n=1), which indicate a pre-1840s date (Blair 2010, Appendix B).

2008 Geophysical Survey

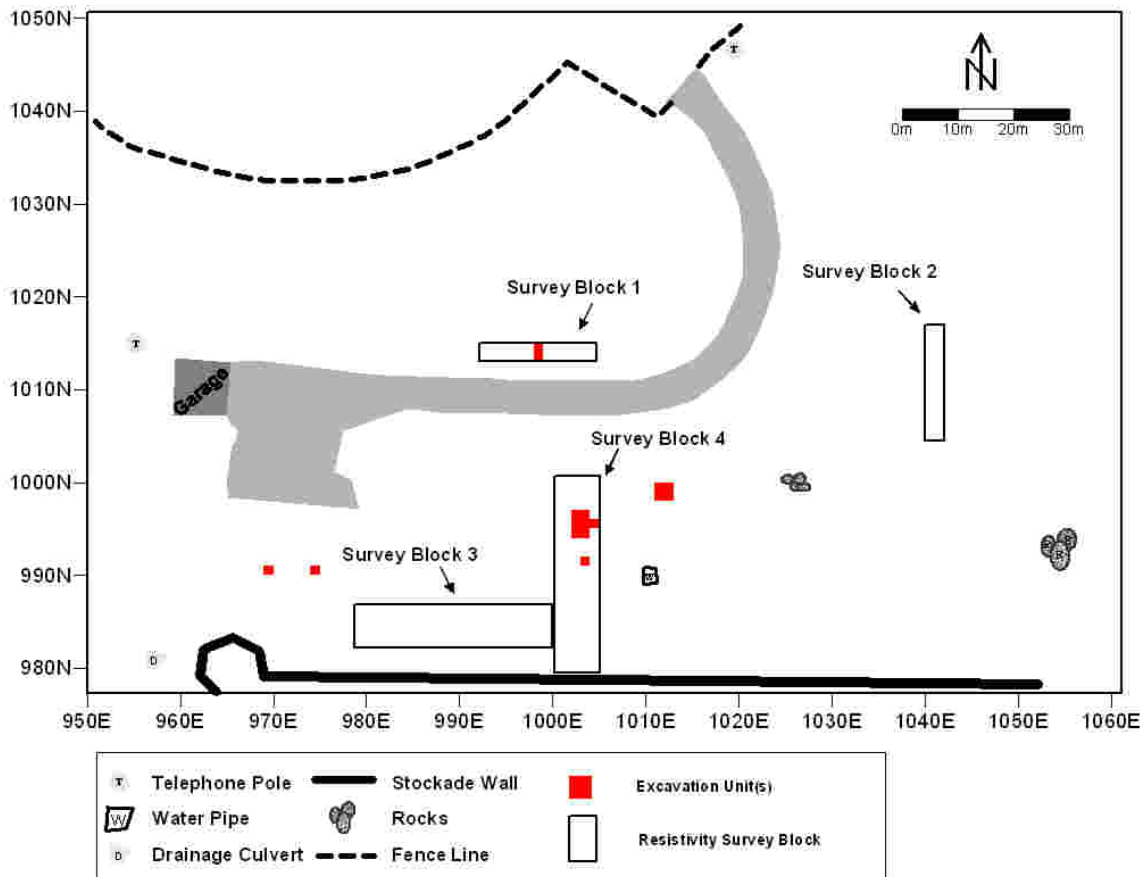
Although excavations of the North Wall Community were already underway in 2008, the purchase of an AGI Mini Sting resistivity meter by the Archeological Research Facility at UC Berkeley presented a unique opportunity to conduct further geophysical survey of the site. This survey technique measures the resistance of soils and provides a two-dimensional and three-dimensional view of subsurface deposits up to 1.6m below the ground's surface. Given that the deposits along the north wall are relatively shallow (only 0-50 centimeters below the ground surface), the Mini Sting provided a complimentary method for both defining and providing a more focused and detailed image of subsurface deposits and features.

The Mini Sting survey allowed the project to non-invasively test the results of the previous gradiometer survey of the site. As noted previously, the gradiometer survey was heavily impacted by the quantity and distribution of near-surface metals across the site, which even included a buried oil tank. The AGI Mini Sting is a more intensive form of geophysical survey—it takes approximately 45 to 60 minutes to complete one survey line. Each line consists of 28 individual stainless steel pins, which are attached a cable that is approximately 28 meters long with an array of 28 electrode attachment points that are spaced at 1-meter intervals. Individual survey lines can thus be up to 28 meters long, which provides a survey area of up to 4 meters wide. Closer intervals can be used in order to gain a more intensive survey image of subsurface deposits, but this strategy is more time consuming both in terms of the time it takes to survey an area and in the time it takes to process the collected data. Thus AGI Mini Sting is most appropriately used to intensively survey limited areas of a site have already been identified as containing subsurface features or observed geophysical anomalies detected through a broad scale gradiometer, magnetometer, or ground penetrating radar surveys.

It should also be noted that as of 2008 when this machine was originally acquired, it had been tested in limited numbers of archaeological settings. Our goal in using the AGI Mini Sting at the North Wall Site was first to test the applicability of this intensive form of resistivity survey and, second, to determine the “best contexts” for use of this survey. For example, could this survey instrument be used to test areas that had been previously

excavated and then backfilled, and what kinds of anomalies are created by subsurface archaeological features such as post holes, shell midden, or rock cobble foundations and what would they look like?

We conducted two different phases of testing at the North Wall Site (Figure 8.42). Phase 1 used an intensive array set-up with 0.5 meter electrode intervals and a spacing of 0.5 meters between individual survey lines and consisted of two survey blocks. Two areas of the site were surveyed using this array set-up: Survey Block 1, a 13.5-by-2 meter block at 12N 8W; and Survey Block 2, another 13.5-by-1.5 meter survey block at 7N 40E.



8.42 2008 Geophysical survey blocks

Phase 2 used a broad-scale array with 0.8-meter electrode intervals and 1.0 meter spacing between individual survey and also consisted of two new survey blocks. This phase of testing occurred after we had backfilled Operation 3, which was done in order to protect the site during an extended absence. Two areas of the site were tested during this period: Survey Block 3, a 21.6-by-5 meter block at 18S 21.6W; and Survey Block 4, a 21.6-by-5 meter block at 1.6N 0E.

Survey Block 1

Measuring 13.5 meters east-west and 2 meters north-south, Survey Block 1 was chosen in order to further explore the gradiometer anomaly and high densities of Japanese and Chinese export porcelains that were previously observed in this region. We had also hoped to test the effectiveness of the AGI Mini Sting resistivity survey by surveying a previously excavated area of the site, thus determining the specific signature created through this type of ground disturbance. Both the Z (horizontal) and Y (vertical) slices of inverted resistivity for this survey block displayed a highly resistive anomaly, approximately 2 meters by 3 meters in size, in the same area as Operation 1 (Figure 8.43). It appears that the recently excavated soil created a large “shadow” that was immediately perceptible, even from the initial, un-processed resistivity data.

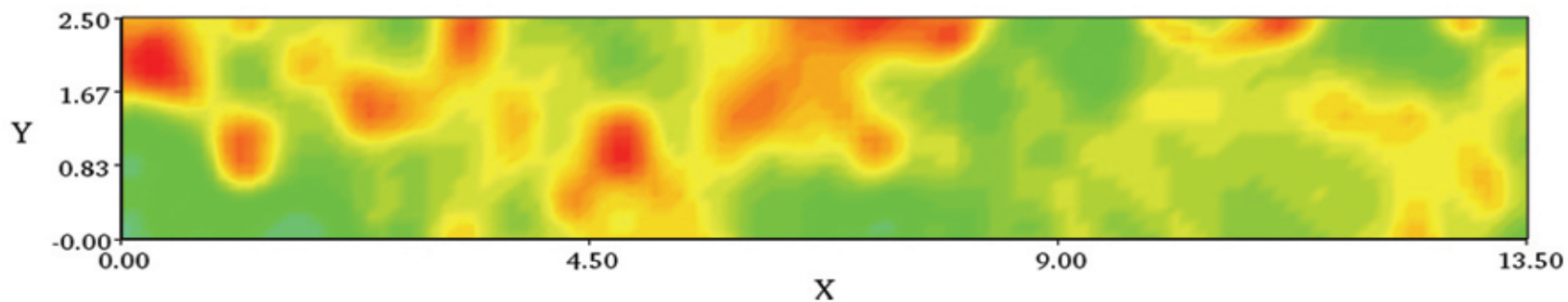
The Y slices of inverted resistivity also indicated that there was a layer of highly resistive soils, which is indicative of rock cobbles or an impenetrable, dense rocky level. The depth of this resistive layer coincides with the depth of the large rock cobbles revealed in Operation 1 (30 centimeters and below). Survey in this block also indicated a localized and highly resistive anomaly located at 12.5N 4.5E that extended below 50 centimeters in depth. In order to determine the nature of the anomaly we excavated a 50-by-50 centimeter Shovel Test Pit in this location; the SW corner of this STP was 12.5N 4.5E. This test pit was excavated to a total depth of 30-40 centimeters, at which point the emergence of rock cobbles similar to those found in Operation 1 forced us to halt our excavations. As with Operation 1 a wide variety of artifacts classes were observed in this locale, including hand-painted Chinese export porcelains, one deer astragalus (a possible gaming piece), as well as an assortment of historic worked glass, worked ceramic, building materials, shellfish and faunal remains.

Survey Block 2

This 13.5 (north-south) by 1.5 (east-west) meter survey block was chosen on the basis of two considerations. First, high densities of artifacts had been observed directly north of the Russian Chapel. Second, the application of Prince’s Principle to the 1934 photograph of the North Wall Area indicated that the building depicted in that photo was located somewhere between 15 to 20 meters north of the chapel and 40 meters east of the site datum. Though the gradiometer survey did not indicate any anomalies in this area, there were several problems with the data recovered from this area, namely a linear drop-out in data that was perhaps due to the undergrounding of telephone and water lines. We thus felt that an intensive resistivity survey of this area would provide greater resolution of the subsurface deposits in this area of the site.

Analysis of the X and Y inverted resistivity slices demonstrated that there was a diffuse transition between more resistive topsoils (0-50 centimeters below the ground surface) and less resistive subsoils (Figure 8.44). Unlike the previous survey block we found little evidence of a sharp transition between soils that would indicate the presence of an impenetrable layer of rocky soils or rock cobble foundations. However, two distinct anomalies were observed. The first anomaly can be seen in both the Z and Y slices of

Z Slices of Inverted Resistivity



Y Slices of Inverted Resistivity

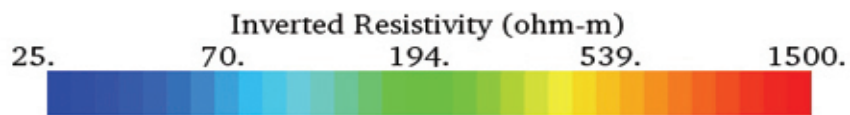
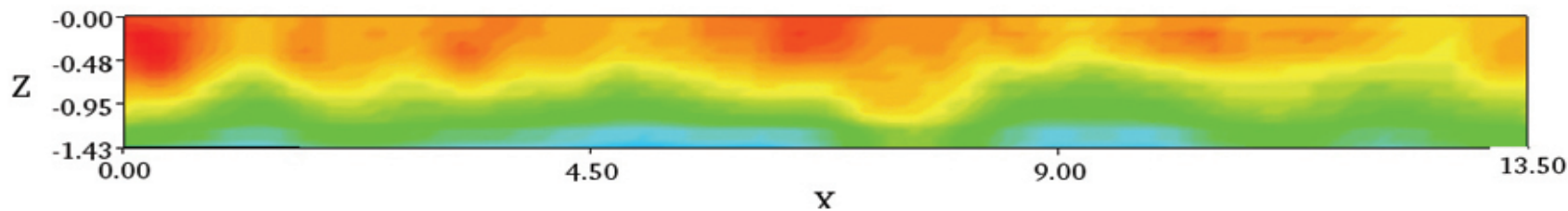
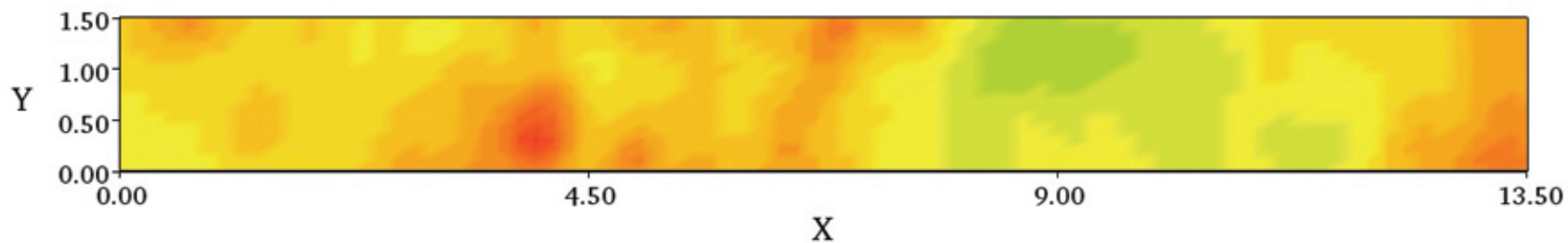


Figure 8.43 Resistivity Survey Block 1. Z slice of inverted resistivity is at a depth of 0.50 meters; Y slice of inverted resistivity is an east-west transect located at 14N.

Z Slices of Inverted Resistivity



Y Slices of Inverted Resistivity

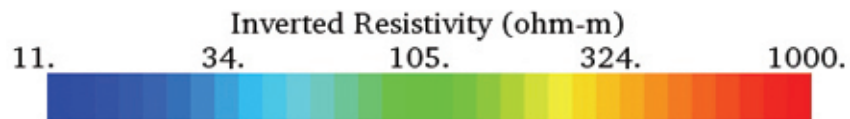
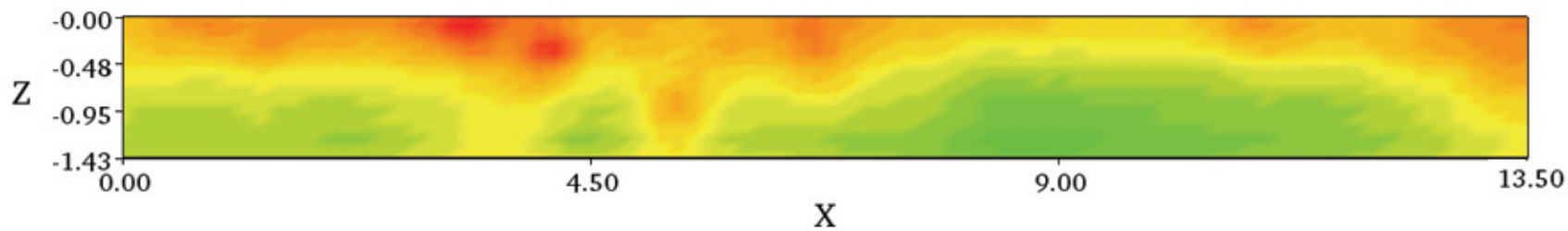


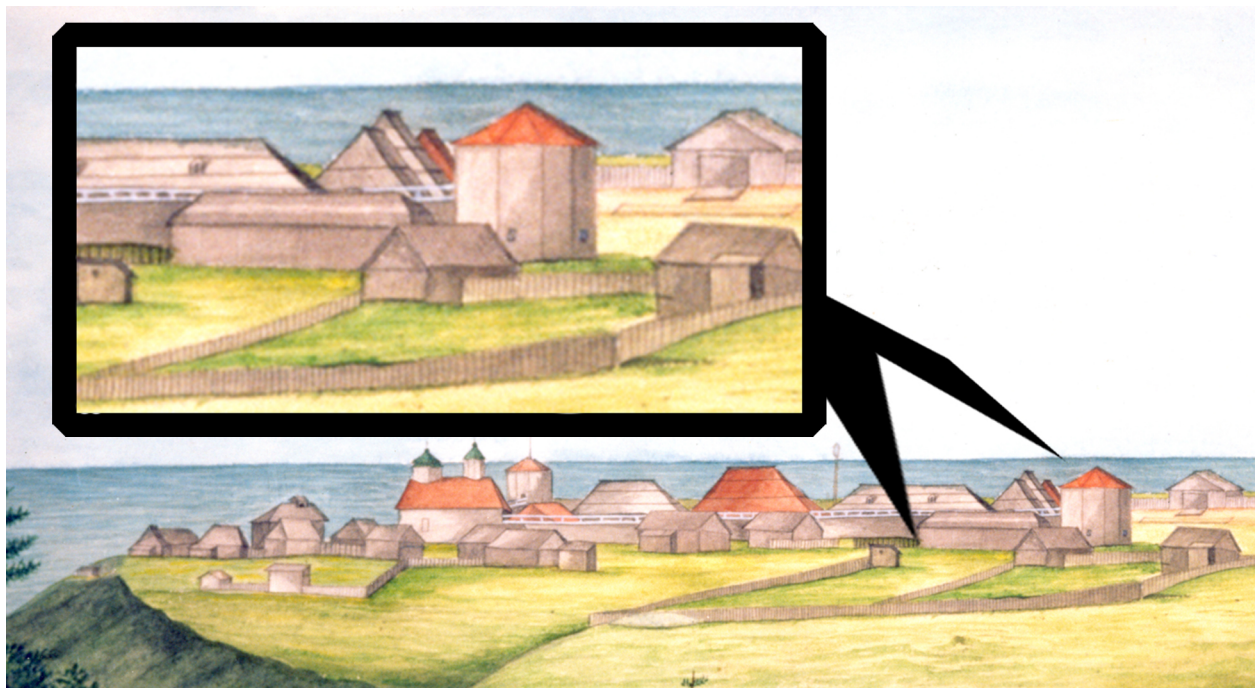
Figure 8.44 Resistivity Survey Block 2. Z slice of inverted resistivity is at a depth of 0.50 meters; Y slice of inverted resistivity is a north-south transect located at 40.75E.

inverted resistivity and consisted of a deposit of resistant soils in the southern half of the survey block. What is particularly unusual about this anomaly is that these soils extend from the surface down to total depth of approximately 1 meter, as subsoil across the costal terrace is generally encountered between 50 to 60 centimeters below ground surface. This pattern indicates some kind of diffuse ground disturbance in this locale such as that created by midden deposits with quantities of fire-cracked rock.

The second observed anomaly is centered at approximately 2N 41E and consists of a discrete intrusion of resistive soils into the underlying subsoils. This feature is most clearly viewed through the Y slice of inverted resistivity, which shows this disturbance to extend from .5 to 1.5 meters below the ground surface. Analysis of the Z slices of inverted resistivity, which display the horizontal extent of deposits 50 centimeters below the ground surface, demonstrate that this vertical anomaly occurs next to two highly resistive circular anomalies. The shape of the intrusive anomaly is similar to that expected to be associated with a trench and or post-hole. Given that this anomaly occurs within close proximity to the projected area where the late 19th and early 20th century building was located, we believe that this interpretation is most likely. Due to time constraints and the fact that we were most interested in recovering remains related to the Russian period occupation of the North Wall Community, we did not initiate any form of subsurface testing in this survey block. Perhaps at a future date, a more broad scale resistivity of this area might resolve the relationship of both resistivity anomalies.

Survey Block 3

Survey Block 3 consisted of an area 21.6 meters east-west and 8 meters north-south. The southwest corner of this block was located 18 meters south and 21.6 meters east of the site datum. Using a less-intensive form of array set-up, we surveyed this area of the site using the AGI MiniSting in order to test for potential underground features related to the buildings documented in both the Duhaut-Cilly and Voznesenskii illustrations. Both illustrations place a large, rectangular timber building in the area immediately adjacent to the north wall of the stockade that is situated between the northwest blockhouse and Kuskov house (Figure 8.45). Farris (*personal communication*) has previously proposed that this long building was a labor barracks, used to house Native Californian male laborers working at the colony in the 1830s. Previous research by Lightfoot (1999) also indicated a high degree of integrity for deposits located immediately north of the stockade wall, thus the placement of this survey block approximately 3 meters north of the stockade wall was purposeful in that we hoped to test the archaeological deposits described by Lightfoot and determine whether or not we could detect an subsurface anomalies specifically related to buried architectural features.

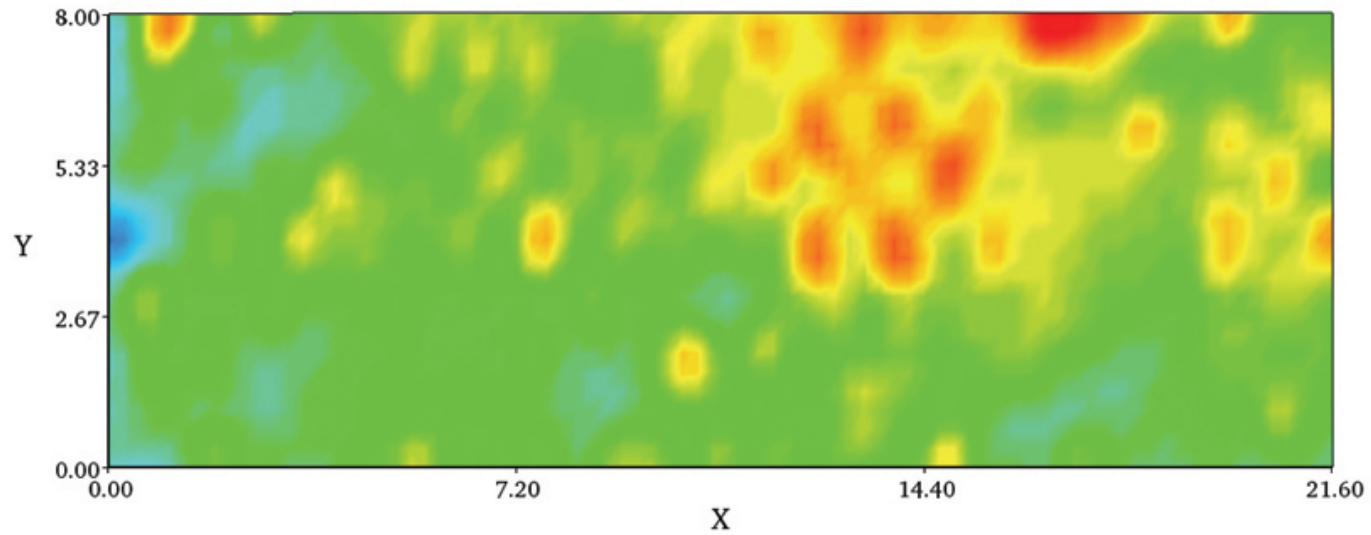


Laborer's Barracks?



Figure 8. 45 Close-up of long rectangular buildings depicted in both the Duhaut-Cilly (1828) and Voznesenskii (1841) images. Both buildings are located in close proximity to the north wall and situated next to the Northwest Blockhouse

Z Slices of Inverted Resistivity



Y Slices of Inverted Resistivity

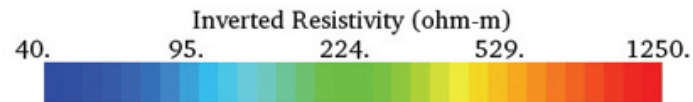
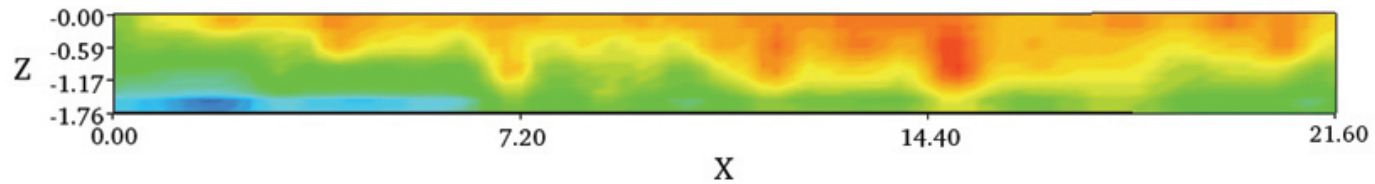


Figure 8.46 Resistivity Survey Block 3. Z slice of inverted resistivity is at a depth of 0.60 meters; Y slice of inverted resistivity is an east-west transect located at 13S.

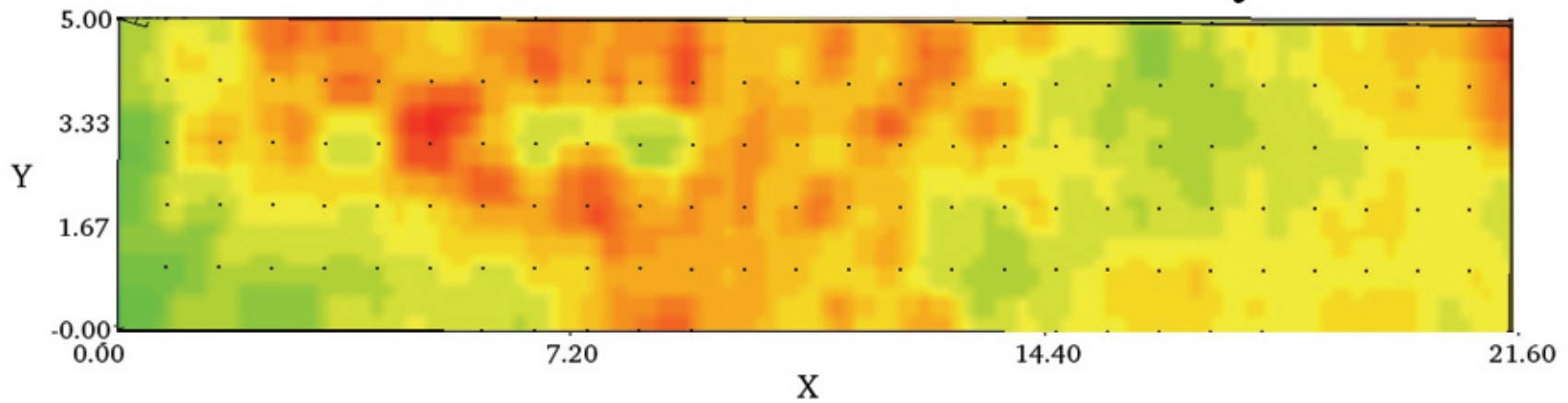
We ran a total of five survey lines in this area. Whereas the initial gradiometer survey of this area revealed no significant anomalies, the resistivity survey detected numerous horizontal and vertical anomalies (Figure 8.46). As with Survey Block 1, this area revealed a sharp transition between resistive topsoils and less resistive subsoils. The depth of resistive soils in this area appears to be quite deep in comparison to other areas of the terrace, extending down a meter or more from 5 to 10 meters west of the site datum. This anomaly appears to be localized, horizontally, to an area approximately 5 meters north-south and at least 7 meters east-west. The fact that this anomaly is surrounded by less resistive soils at a depth of 60 centimeters below the ground surface indicates that this is a unique, localized feature and/or deposit of highly resistive material, such as rock cobbles or a rocky soil. Unfortunately, due to time constraints we were unable to initiate any subsurface testing of this anomaly.

Survey Block 4

As with the previous block, Survey Block 4 consisted of an area 21.6 meters north-south and 5 meters east-west. The southwest corner of this block was located at 1.6N 0E. Though we knew from our earlier resistivity survey of Block 1 that the excavation of Operation 3 would create a large, highly resistive anomaly, we had hoped that this method would provide the least intrusive method for determining the extent and boundaries of the rock cobbles found therein. Analysis of the Z and Y slices of inverted resistivity showed a clear boundary between highly resistive topsoils and less resistive subsoils, which indicated an impenetrable layer of rock cobbles or rocky substrate (Figure 8.47). The depth of the transition between these soils generally occurred 50 to 80 centimeters below the ground surface, which corresponds with the information gathered through the excavation of unit 6S 3E as part of Operation 3. Of interest, the densest concentration of resistive anomalies occurred in an the area 4 to 10 meters south of the survey block datum, at a depth of 60 centimeters. Although resistive soils occur beyond 10 meters south of the site datum, these deposits are very shallow (30-40 centimeters) and there appears to be a more diffuse transition between topsoils and subsoils, indicating the lack of rock rubble between these deposits.

The horizontal extent of anomalies in this survey block was, indeed, obscured by the excavation of Operation 3. Even at a depth of 60 centimeters, the impact of this excavation block is clearly visible in the Z slice of inverted resistivity. The Y slice of inverted resistivity also shows clearly a highly resistive intrusive anomaly that closely corresponds to the location and depth of our excavations in 6S 2E and 6S3E. Unfortunately, the signature of these recent events precluded our ability to use this survey to determine either the eastern or western boundary of the rock cobble. Post-processing of data, however, indicated that the southern boundary of the rock foundations could be identified through subsurface testing, as there appeared to be a gradual transition between the highly resistive soils in the northern part of the survey block unit compared to those in its southern half.

Z Slices of Inverted Resistivity



Y Slices of Inverted Resistivity

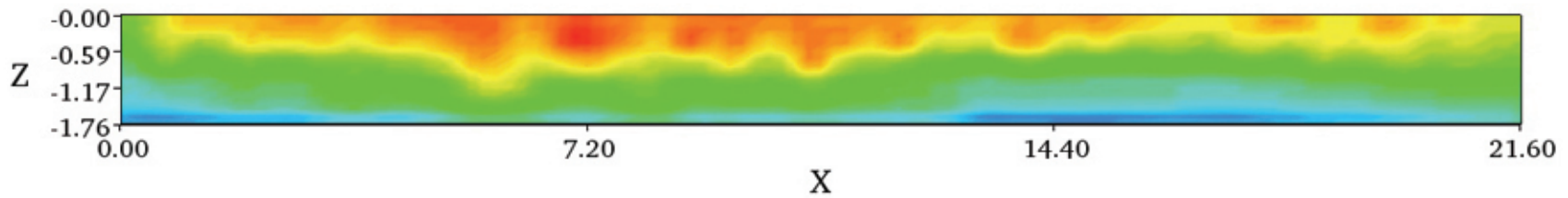


Figure 8.47 Resistivity Survey Block 4. Z slice of inverted resistivity is at a depth of 0.60 meters Y slice of inverted resistivity is a north south transect located at 2E.

2008 Geophysical Survey—Groundtruthing

On the basis of this evidence we chose to excavate a 1-by-1 meter test unit, 9S 3E. Due to time constraints, this unit was only excavated to a total depth of 40 centimeters. As with units excavated as part of Operation 3, soils in this area were consistent in texture to sandy loam and clay loam and were dark grayish brown (10yr 3/2) in color. The top 20 centimeters of excavated deposits consisted of mixed overburden after which a dense matrix of shell and artifacts was observed. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, we halted excavations before we could determine whether or not rock cobbles extended throughout the unit. Although a broad spectrum of artifact classes was represented within this unit (Table 8.11, 8.12, 8.13), 9S 3E exhibits the lowest density of artifacts recovered from this area of the site. (Table 8.12; Chart 8.2).

2008 Test Unit														
9S 3E														
L	BE	GL	HC	ME	WG	LF	LG	LO	WS	FA	CH	WO	O	Total
1	1	21	9	6	6	75	0	0	0	42	17	19	3	199
2	2	9	9	12	41	93	2	3	0	122	30	16	0	339
3	0	12	1	14	0	50	0	3	0	177	52	1	1	311
4	0	0	0	4	0	8	0	2	0	121	12	0	0	147
Total	3	42	19	36	47	226	2	8	0	462	111	36	4	996

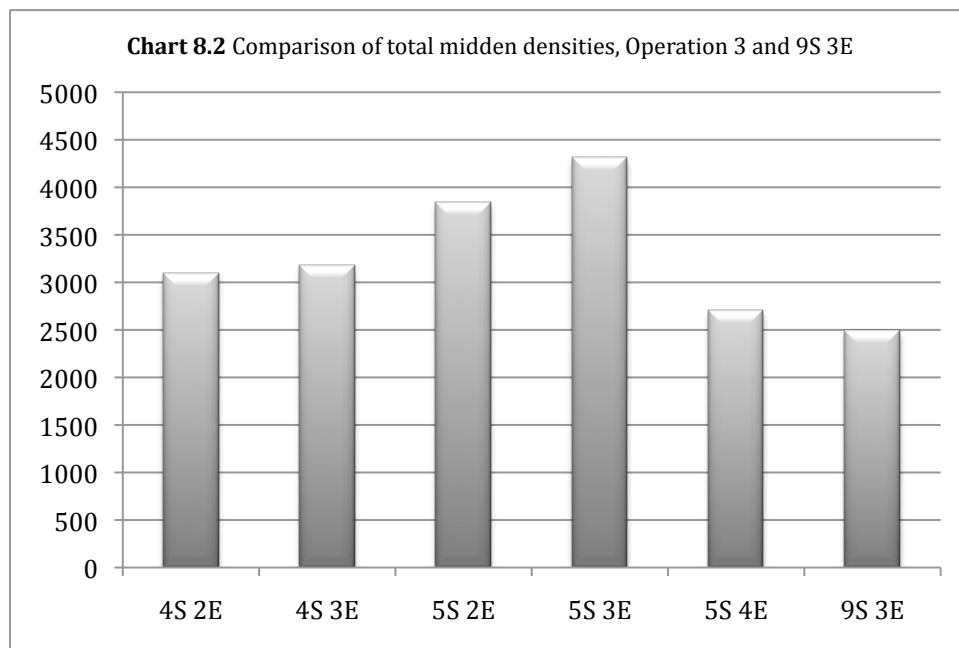
Table 8. 11 Counts of artifacts and faunal remains from Unit 9S 3E. Please refer to Table 8.1 for a description of the artifact codes.

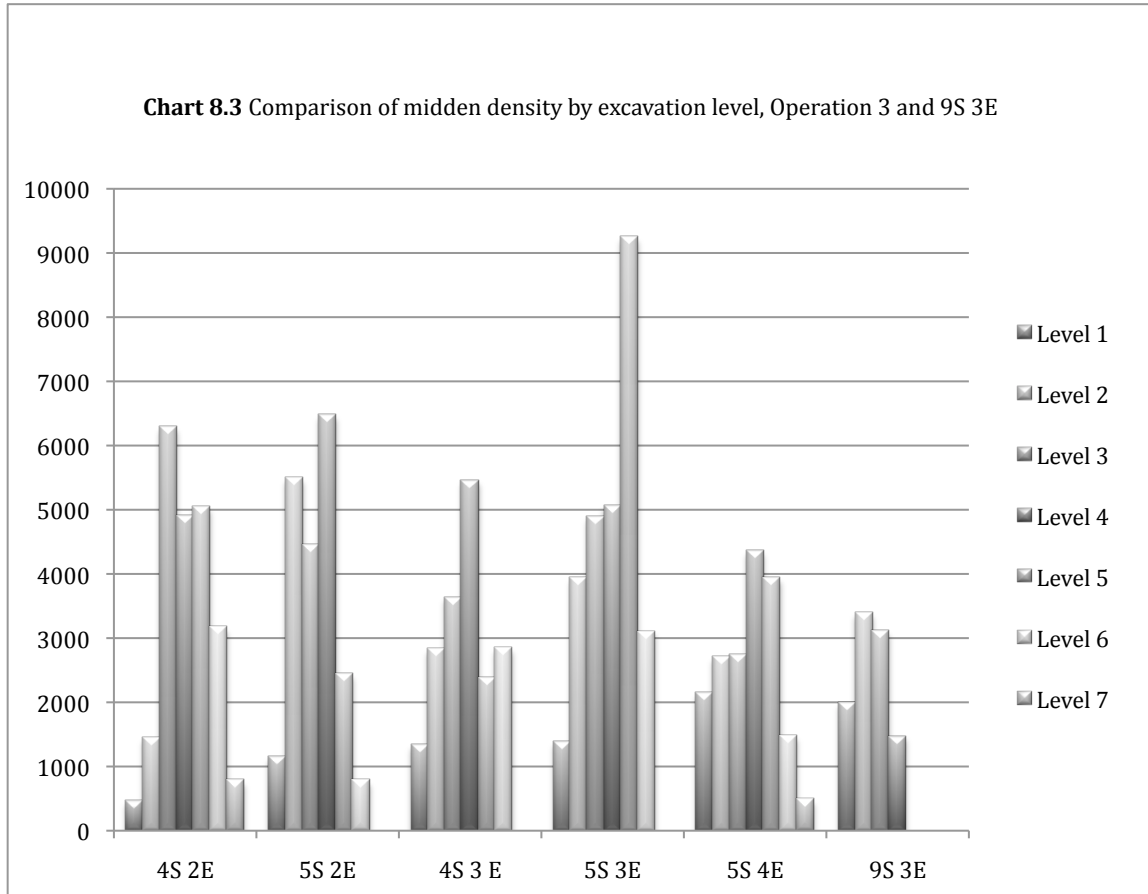
Unit	Total # Artifacts and Faunal Remains	Excavated Volume (m ³)	Midden Density (m ³)
4S 2E	1758	.55	3084
4S 3E	1585	.50	3170
5S 2E	1916	.50	3832
5S 3E	2155	.50	4310
5S 4E	1488	.55	2705
9S 3E	996	.44	2490

Table 8. 12 Total artifact density for units in Operation 3 and unit 9S 3E

L	Depth (below unit datum)	4S 2E		5S 2E		4S 3 E		5S 3E		5S 4E		9S 3E	
		#	m ³	#	m ³	#	m ³	#	m ³	#	m ³	#	m ³
1	0-10 cm	46	460	115	1150	133	1330	138	1380	214	2140	199	1990
2	10-20 cm	144	1440	549	5490	283	2830	394	3940	270	2700	339	3390
3	20-30 cm	629	6290	444	4440	363	3630	489	4890	273	2730	311	3110
4	30-40 cm	490	4900	647	6470	545	5450	506	5060	436	4360	147	1470
5	40-45 cm	252	5040	122	2440	119	2380	462	9240	197	3940	N/A	N/A
6	45-50 cm	158	3160	39	780	142	2840	166	3100	74	1480	N/A	N/A
7	50-55 cm	39	780	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	24	480	N/A	N/A

Table 8. 13 Midden density by excavation level, Operation 3 and 9S 3E





Even when we consider that this unit was only excavated to a depth of 40 centimeters, the density of artifacts and faunal remains within Level 1 through Level 4 differs considerably from the pattern observed for units excavated as part of Operation 3 (Chart 8.3). First, 9S 3E exhibits comparably high densities for Level 1 and Level 2. This stands in marked contrast to units in Operation 3, which tended to have relatively low midden densities from Levels 1 and 2 in comparison with those recorded for Levels 3 and 4. Second, in contrast to all units in Operation 3, Level 4 in 9S 3E exhibits the lowest midden density. When we consider that excavated Level 4 in Operation 3 corresponds to a deposit of compacted, rich matrix of shell midden and artifacts, the incredibly low density for Level 4 points to a material difference between the midden deposits observed in 9S 3E versus those encountered in Operation 3. We can reasonably conclude that this decline in artifact density correlates to the southern boundary of the midden deposits associated with the rock cobble foundations, which appear to be most concentrated in Operation 3 and diminish significantly in 9S 3E. This conclusion is further supported with the resistivity data, which indicate far shallower deposits in the area 10 to 20 meters south of the site datum.

2008 Subsurface Probing: Shovel Test Units

Due to the fact that we were unable to locate the eastern and western boundaries of the rock cobble foundations through the preceding resistivity survey, we implemented a targeted and limited shovel probe survey of the areas immediately to the east and west of Operation 3. This survey consisted of a single survey line of 25-by-25 centimeter Shovel Test Pits (STP) at 4 meters south of the datum and spaced at 1-meter intervals. In total, nine STPs were excavated: 4S 3W, 4S 2W, 4S 1W, 4S 7E, 4S 8E, 4S 9E, 4S 10E, and 4S 11E. Each STP was excavated using 20-centimeter arbitrary levels and all soils were screened using 1/8" mesh. No soil samples were collected from STPs as our express goal was to locate the boundary of the rock cobble foundations from Operation 3.

Rock cobbles were encountered in all STPs except 4S 9E and 4S 10E. We excavated both 4S 9E and 4S 10E to a depth of 50 centimeters, at which point we halted excavation and used a shovel probe to test each of the corners and center of the unit to determine if rocks lay below the surface. When no rocks were encountered, we expanded 4S 9E unit to 0.5-by-1 meter test unit (5S 9E). This expanded unit was excavated to a total depth of 60 centimeters. Again, we probed each corner of the unit, as well as its center, and encountered no evidence of rocks at least to a depth of 75 centimeters below the ground surface.

Few artifacts were recovered from this excavation and more significantly the dark grayish brown (10yr 3/2) clay loam soils exhibited no evidence of the rich shell midden and artifact matrix that was encountered in both Operation 3 and Operation 2. Lack of midden was also noted in the STPs immediately to the east (4S 10E and 4S 11E). We interpreted the lack of midden in this area as a boundary of this deposit. The fact that rock cobbles were not encountered in either 4S 9E/5S 9E or 4S 10E also indicates that this represents the eastern extent of the rock cobble foundations from Operation 3. The continuation of rocks into 4S 11E could indicate that this boundary is diffuse, or these rocks could be related to the rock cobble foundations exposed as part of Operation 2, which was located 2 meters north of this unit. Based upon this information Operation 2 and Operation 3 appear to contain unique, un-related rock cobble foundations from two different structures. Given the diffuse boundaries of rock it is likely that the original foundations were razed, resulting in the scattering of associated foundation cobbles. However, the excavation of these STPs indicated a sharp decline of shell midden deposits that are associated with these features, as limited quantities of shell and artifacts were recovered beyond 4S 8E, with no indication of this discrete deposit between 4S 9E to 4S 11E.

2008 Conclusions

The combined efforts from this field season allowed us to further explore the nature and extent of the rock cobble features first exposed during the 2007 field season. Using the combined methods of excavation, resistivity survey, and shovel probing, we were able to positively identify these features as building foundations, as well as identify the southern and eastern limits of foundations and associated shell midden deposits from Operation 3. Excavations within this operation also enabled us to date these foundations to the early to mid 19th century, indicating that these foundations and associated shell midden date to the early to mid Russian period.

Although the archaeological deposits in the North Wall Area are heavily bioturbated and disturbed as a result of multiple occupation periods, including the more recent historic development of the site, I was able to identify intact deposits related to this early historic period occupation of the site. This information provides valuable clues for understanding not only the complex occupation history of this site, but also the material differences between the North Wall Community and other residential spaces within the colony.

Discussion

In Chapter 6 I outlined four goals for our archaeological investigations at the North Wall Community. In the following discussion, I will examine how key sources of data have contributed to our resolution of these goals. While many of these were quite ambitious in scope, the fieldwork we conducted provides tantalizing material evidence for some of the stories that we can represent for future visitors to the North Wall Community.

1) Identify Russian-Period Remains for interpretation on the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail and 2) Define the Occupation History of this community

At the outset of this project, we noted the interpretive potential of the North Wall Community as a stop along the East Loop of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail. Existing documentary and visual evidence of this community created a unique opportunity for us to provide visitors with a tangible link to the archaeological residues of this residential space. Unfortunately, previous excavations of this area had yet to reveal any intact deposits relating to the households depicted by Duhaut-Cilly (1828) and Vozsensenskii (1841). Based upon the investigations conducted by Lightfoot (1999) we were, however, hopeful that such household remains could be discovered through a targeted study of this area.

As a result of our investigations we were able to locate and study two different Russian-era households at the North Wall Community. Scrubbing soils down to sterile deposits, residents or other company employees laid down a dense rock cobble foundation for these timber-framed structures, where sills were supported by these extensive foundations. These techniques were also used to build the households of the Native Alaskan Village and inside the stockade for the construction of the Old Fur Warehouse. These solid foundations provided adequate drainage on the coastal terrace, helping to protect the buildings and wooden sills and planks from rot. From what we know through company records and excavations inside the fort complex, this building technique was used only during the early

years of the colony; by the 1830s and 1840s buildings were built using a post-and-sill building technique in which the sills were placed upon large boulders while posts and exterior planks were sunk directly into the earth. Given the dire financial straits of the colony, this latter technique was likely less costly in both time and resources.

The sandstone cobbles that formed these foundations also exhibited a high degree of fire-alteration, leading us to believe that at some point in their life-history these households or their foundations were set on fire. In comparison to the rock cobble foundations at the Native Alaskan Village Site and the Old Fur Warehouse, the burned foundations also appear to have been razed, as they are slightly less compact and the stones have been somewhat scattered. Perhaps this event occurred as an accident, as a single conflagration, after which residents razed the foundations and built anew at the site. Or maybe it was purposeful, associated with the sale of the RAC's holdings in California, when many of the buildings inside and outside the stockade were dismantled and removed to John Sutter's settlement at *New Helvetia*.

Looking at the artifactual and faunal materials associated with these foundations, we can tease apart some of this history. For the structure located in Operation 2, we found a line of fence posts approximately 30 centimeters below the ground surface, which extended north-south through two of the units. The 1859 survey map of the fort and the Sturtevant photograph (1940) both depict a fence line (Figures 8.33, 8.34) that leads from the north wall of the stockade, out past the "Indian Rancheria," likely Metini Village. Based upon this evidence, it is highly likely that the fence posts we recovered in this operation are the remains of this historically documented fence line. This indicates that both the fire event and construction of the rock cobble foundations occurred prior to 1859. Although the midden materials directly above the rock cobble foundations were generally mixed in this excavation block, deposits located directly below the fence posts demonstrated a high degree of integrity. Artifacts within this matrix date to the early to mid-19th century, thus further supporting our interpretation that both the construction of the rock cobble foundations and fire event occurred prior around the mid-1800s, and possibly during the Russian period (1812-1841).

Excavation of Operation 3 and its associated foundation further clarified the life history of both this building and its overlying shell midden deposits. During the summer of 2008 we refined our excavation methodology, excavating the deposits directly above the rock cobble foundation in 5-centimeter increments. This effectively imposed finer stratigraphic control over deposits that were largely undifferentiated in soil texture, type, color, or other characteristics. All diagnostic artifacts within 5-centimeters above the foundation date to the late 1700s to mid 1800s.

Analysis of Feature 2 and its underlying deposits provide greater support for this conclusion, as the cooking and groundstone implements created an intact deposit of shell midden matrix, which was in direct association with the rock cobble foundation. Within this capped deposit all diagnostic artifacts indicate an early to mid 19th century date. In fact, many of the artifacts such as shell-edged pearlware, undecorated pearlwares, patinated flat glass manufactured into a projectile point, square cut nails, and black bottle

glass indicate that residents created this deposit sometime during the mid to late Russian period (1820s-1830s). Of the non-diagnostic artifacts—which include metal fragments, likely from nails and or other building hardware, patinated flat glass, and shellfish and mammal remains—all are consistent with the proposed date of this deposit.

Taken together, the evidence from Operation 3 suggests that there are at least three Russian-period events: first, the occupation and use of the structure represented by the rock cobble foundations; second, the burning event that may have destroyed this structure or was used to dismantle it; third, the filling in of these foundations with household, cooking, and work related refuse. This pattern is remarkably similar to that observed at the Native Alaskan Village site, where residents routinely dumped food and household waste into the abandoned foundations of former household structures (Lightfoot et al. 1998). In the case of that community, refuse deposits had a remarkable degree of integrity, so much so that excavators were able to identify individual dumping episodes. Unfortunately, we were not able to identify discrete episodes or deposits outside of two cases (Feature 1 and Feature 2) pattern refuse disposal in the same way. However, based upon our analysis of the foundations and their associated material remains we were able to securely associate these buildings and their subsequent midden deposits with the households depicted by Duhaut-Cilly (1828) and Voznesenkii (1841).

Furthermore, the deposits we investigated through geophysical survey, surface collection survey, and excavation point to subsequent occupations of this residential space. We have considerable evidence regarding all periods of use of this site, from ancient history to the Russian period and into both the Mexican and American periods. In the case of the former, deposits underlying the cobble foundations contain only traces of artifactual and faunal remains. This information is consistent with excavation data from both within and outside the fort, which allude to the periodic use of this coastal terrace as a gathering place; a place to collect resources from the nearby Fort Ross cove and Fort Ross creek; a place where families returned to throughout history. No evidence to date suggests that local Kashaya established a permanent village settlement, which Treganza (1954) originally proposed as the source of his “Indian Site No. 1.”

Although we focused our excavations on the Russian period remains located at the North Wall Community, the surface collection data and resistivity survey revealed considerable evidence for the occupation of this place into both the Mexican and American periods. In particular, the deposits located at the eastern edge of the site and directly north of the Russian chapel likely contain the remains of the household photographed by Sturtevant in 1934 and originally depicted on the 1892 Veasey Map as the Musset house (Figure 8.48). Testing of these deposits would yield greater information concerning the varied occupational and residential history of Fort Ross, from its originations up to the point that the Call Family deeded the property to the state of California.

3) Determine who was living at the North Wall Community

Although the census records clearly document the residents of *Selenie Ross* at two different periods in time, they do not tell us exactly where the company employees, their wives, or

single Native Californian women lived at the settlement. And while associated documents reveal the location of the Native Alaskan Village site and the Russian and Creole neighborhoods, none of these sources tell us exactly where individual households were located or who the individual occupants of those houses might have been. Further complicating matters, very little archaeological work has been done in order to locate the residences of the Russian and Creole employees and their partners, or of the households established by single Native Californian women.

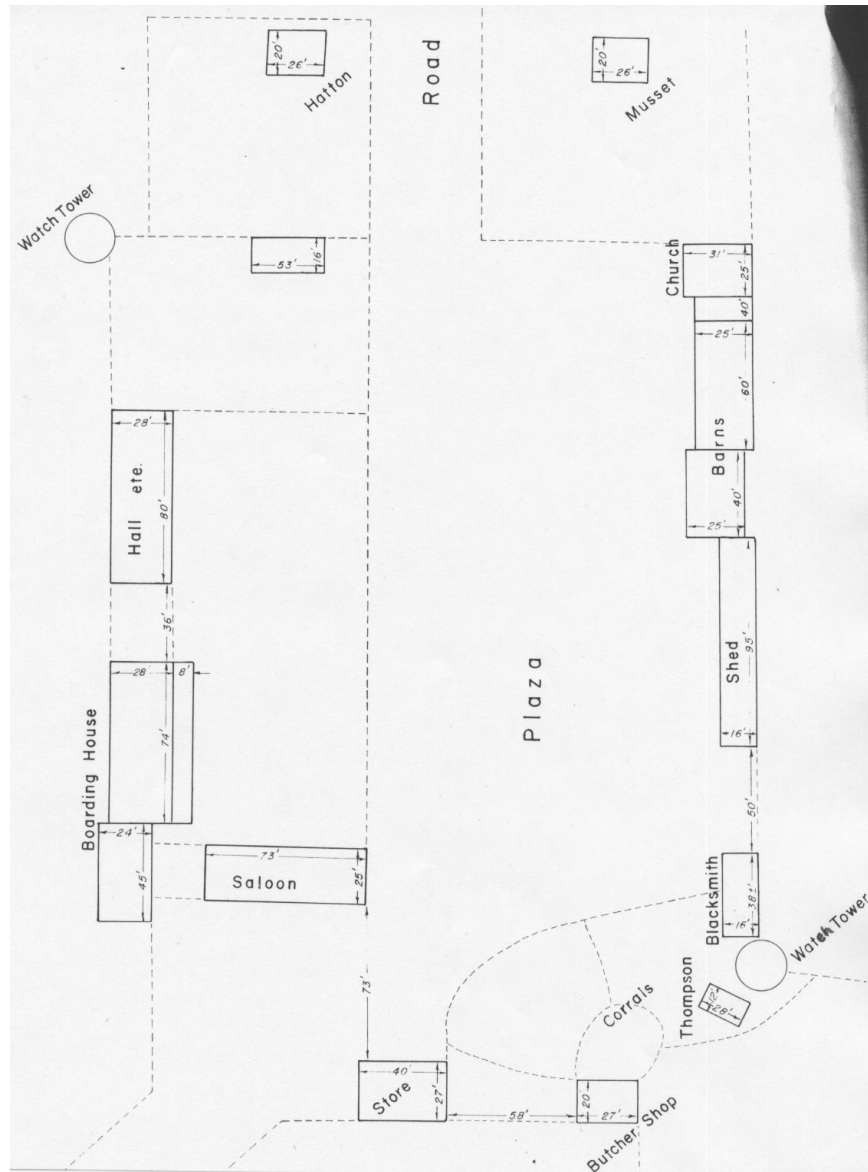


Figure 8.48 1892 "Veasey Map", Fort Ross Interpretive Association Library

Investigations of the North Wall Community thus presented an occasion for contributing to both our historical and archaeological understanding of these residential communities. Treganza (1954) originally asserted that all Native Californian remains along the north wall related to either a permanent, ancient occupation of the terrace or to a post-Russian occupation along the north wall that was related to Lukaria, a Kashaya woman who lived at the settlement as a child, and then later as an adult with her immediate family (see Farris 1989 for a description of Lukaria's life history and residence at Ross). Our investigations reveal a decidedly more complex occupational and residential history for the North Wall Community, one that suggests that Native Californians continued to reside along the north wall during, as well as after the Russian period.

In the beginning of this dissertation I warned against making a one-to-one correlation between material culture and ethnicity or cultural identification. I suggested that viewing materials as practices helps us better situate the ways in which material culture became meaningful in processes of identification and in the building of social relations at the colony. At the North Wall Community, we have clear indicators of a Native Californian presence in the form of materials consistently identified as part of their material practices: flaked stone, worked shell ornaments, a variety of shellfish remains, fire-cracked rock indicative of the use of earth ovens to prepare the aforementioned shellfish and other faunal remains; and artiodactyl astragali that are sometimes interpreted as "gaming pieces" (Koerper and Whitney-Desautels 1999). Although many of these items are also ubiquitous in the home communities of the Native Alaskan workers, there is a striking absence of materials specific to them such as ground slate artifacts, bone tools and their associated debitage, and, significantly, pinniped remains (at the Native Alaskan Village site, bones from seal flippers were particularly abundant, perhaps unsurprising given that pickled flippers were a traditional, Alaskan delicacy (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Wake 1997a, 1997b).

Likewise, there are very little Russian-identified material remains: no metal buttons or lead seals with embossed Cyrillic letters; no Russian crosses such as those recovered at the Russian Cemetery; no evidence of food remains that would indicate a traditional Russian diet. In fact, the only Russian-related artifacts consist of a couple ground Russian earthenware fragments, forged iron building materials, cut iron nails, and patinated flat glass like that used in the windows of the buildings at the settlement. None of these classes of materials is particularly indicative of a "Russian" or "Creole" presence, yet we cannot assume on the basis of materials alone that no Russians or Creoles lived in this community, especially since we have limited material evidence relating to any positively identified Russian and/or Creole households at Fort Ross.

Given the nature of supply for the colony—which mainly consisted of European, and specifically British, manufactured goods, especially after the Hudson's Bay Company took over the supply of the RAC colonies—it is perhaps unsurprising that the majority of "historic" materials are not "Russian." Furthermore, the contexts in which we do recover Russian-manufactured tablewares, clothing fasteners, glasswares, and jewelry occur within relatively high status or unique spaces such as the Fur Warehouse, Official's quarters, commander's houses, and Russian Cemetery. The paucity of Russian goods at the north

wall thus may be directly associated with both the lack of supply, as well as the status and rank of individual employees who may not have been able to obtain and/or purchase such materials. This situation is similar at a number of other mercantile outposts and colonial settlements, where limited access to familiar household and personal goods resulted in the adoption of local and/or foreign materials and material practices into the households and foodways of colonial residents (DiPaolo-Loren 2001; Farnsworth and Wilkie 2006; Loring and Cabak 2000; Sleeper-Smith 2001; Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999; Voss 2002, 2008).

It is important to note that in many of these cases, other classes of materials, embodied practices, and the organization of household and community space often became important tools for signifying difference and community belonging (e.g., DiPaolo-Loren 2001; Rothschild 2003; Voss 2005, 2008). Indeed, clothing at Fort Ross appears to have been a significant means of displaying ones colonial rank, status and community affiliation at the colony (Osborn 1997), one that was likely more important for Russian and Creole residents than their use of Russian-made building materials or ceramics. Unfortunately, our only evidence of clothing and personal adornment is scant and that which can be securely dated to the Russian period consists of plain glass beads, clam shell disc beads, and *Olivella* shell beads, items typically associated with Native Californian adornment and dress.

Returning to evidence of Native Californian occupation, it is important to note that the presence alone of “Native Californian” materials is not sufficient for interpreting how the residents of this space may have identified as such. In order to understand the occupation history of this community it is thus vital that we situate these materials within the broader spectrum and historical context of material practices at Metini. For example, just as we cannot assume that the lack of “Russian” goods mean no individuals of Russian or Creole heritage lived in this space, we also cannot assume that all European historic artifacts are only associated with the European or Creole residents at the colony. As Silliman (2009, 2010a) points out, many of these European manufactured items are, in fact, Native material culture and should be regarded as such.

At Fort Ross, we can see this appropriation of materials most clearly in the re-worked, ground, and re-purposed ceramic and glass artifacts. It is important to note again that the only Russian-manufactured ceramics recovered from this area were re-manufactured by Native residents, ground and fashioned into a circular disc and tear-drop shape. Several other ceramics—pearlwares, light blue transferprint decorated whitewares, brown transferprint decorated whitewares, and hand painted blue underglaze decorated whitewares—recovered have also been similarly ground into discs, ovoids, and tear-drop shapes (Figure 8.49), and several porcelain fragments exhibit characteristic edge-wear and retouch-related damage along their edges. No known function or traditional equivalent for the ground ceramic discs is known, though Crowell (*personal communication*, 2010) suggested that the discs could be related to a game played by residents of Kodiak Island and Prince William Sound. More widely, Russell’s (2008, *personal communication* 2010) analysis of remains associated with the 16th century *San Augustin* shipwreck in Marin County also reveal similar ground pendant and tear-drop shaped ceramics, as well as “flaked” porcelains. This suggests a rather long history of Coast Miwok, if not Southern

Pomo and Kashaya Pomo modification of trade ceramics for utilitarian, personal adornment, and other uses.

The ceramic assemblage as a whole also provides clues as to how these materials were integrated within the households along the north wall. This collection is highly fragmented. Out of a total of 177 ceramics, only 14 sherds could either be cross-mended or associated as coming from the same vessel or having the same decorative pattern. Similarly, I could only calculate vessel completeness percentages for only 30 sherds, none of which were 100% complete: 21 were 0-5% complete; five were 5-10% complete; one was 15-20% complete; one was 20-25% complete; one was 25-30% complete; and one was 50% complete. On only one sherd could I identify a specific decorative pattern (a shell-edged pearlware rim fragment found in association with the rock rubble in Operation 3); the remainder are unidentified, this despite comparison to the ceramic pattern catalogue produced by the National Park Service for the Castle Hill RAC colony excavations in Sitka, Alaska.

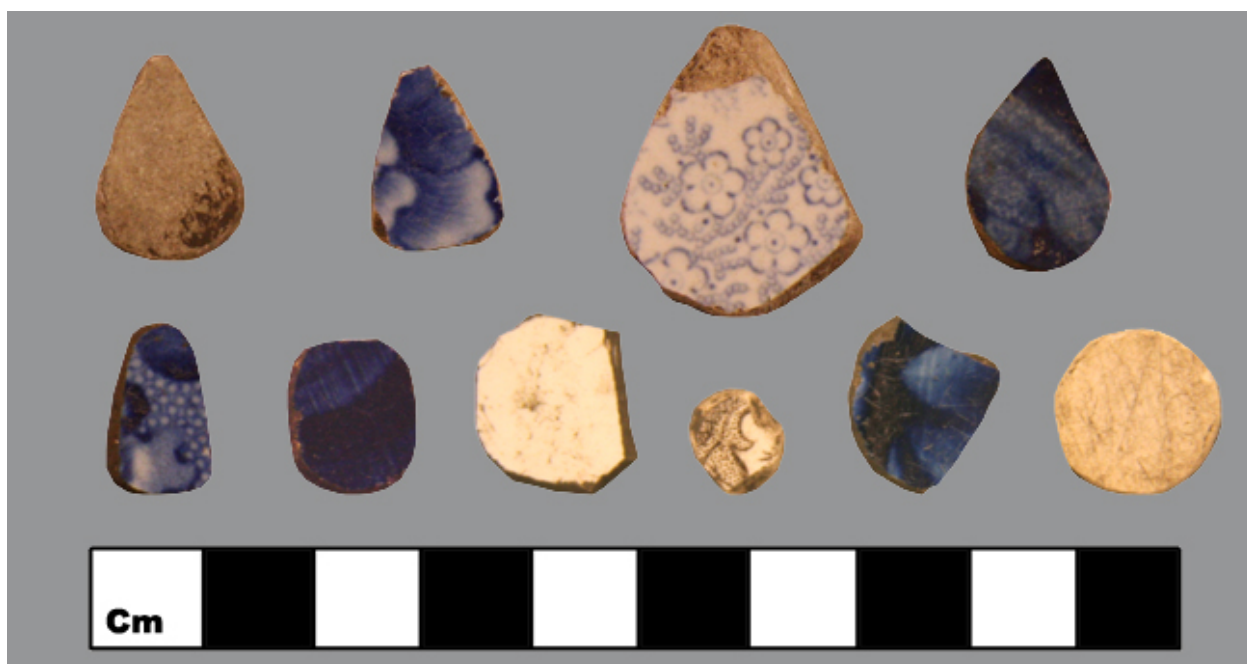
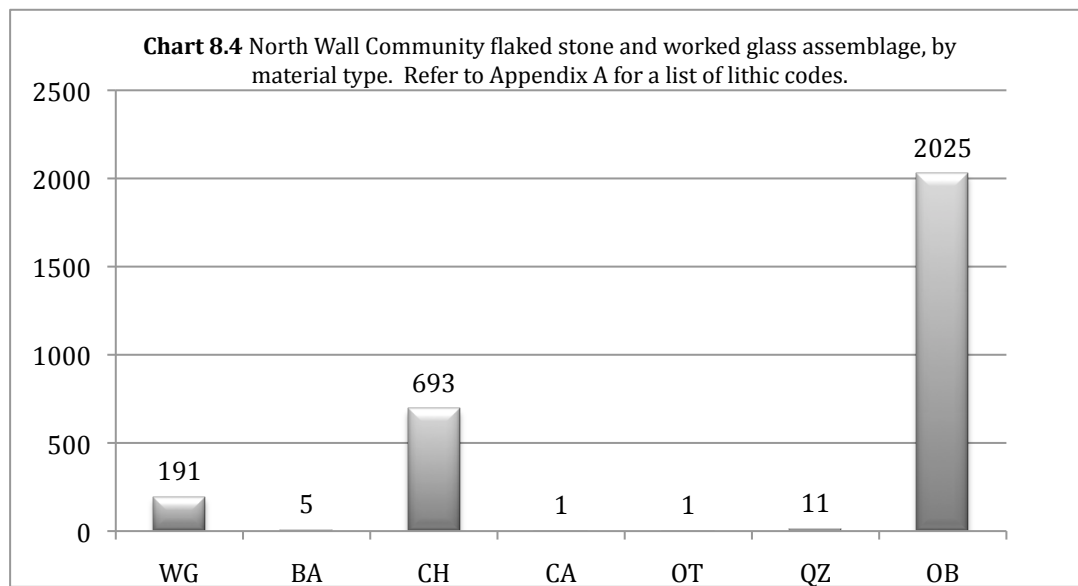


Figure 8.49 Ground ceramics from the North Wall Community

The nature of this ceramic assemblage could be due to a variety of factors including the impact of post-depositional processes, namely the continued development of the site and mixing of the deposits created through bioturbation, and/or it could point to how individuals and households procured these items. The latter possibility is particularly intriguing as the combination of worked and ground ceramics and a fragmentary collection may signify that residents of this community were recycling already used ceramics instead of purchasing them as parts of a complete table set. That the majority of ground ceramics prominently feature decorative patterns could further indicate a preference for the recycling of certain types or forms of ceramics over others. Re-analysis of the archaeological collections produced by previous investigators (Wood 1970; Ritter 1972;

Lightfoot 1999) could help elucidate between these procurement strategies and better determine the choices of residents in relation to ceramic types and decorative patterns.

In terms of the continuity of ancient and historic material practices, and in the procurement of lithic and glass raw resources for tool manufacture is particularly noteworthy (Chart 8.4). In addition to finding a full range of lithic debitage and tool types, we also recovered worked glass debitage, bifaces, and flake tools, which point to the material extension of lithic practices during the Russian period and after. Although it lies outside the scope of the dissertation to provide a full report of the tool and debitage analysis for this site, the majority of lithics were classified as debitage, indicating a relatively expedient form of tool manufacture (Charts 8.5, 8.6). Comparing obsidian and chert lithics to worked glass, there is also a broad similarity in the numbers and ratios of tool types and debitage classes (Chart 8.7).



Discrepancies between observed numbers of specific debitage classes may, in fact, be a result of the system we used to classify worked glass and lithic debitage. For example, the comparatively low numbers of worked glass identified as flake shatter is likely a result of the classificatory requirements used to identify worked glass, as in many cases flake shatter resulting from trampling or other post-depositional processes could not be distinguished from that purposefully manufactured during the process of core (bottle) reduction. Generally, worked glass flake shatter and angular shatter was only classified if there was the presence of other worked glass classes within the excavated level and if the color of glass was black or dark olive. The use of color became a critical defining characteristic of identifying worked glass with no edge modification, as the vast majority of flake tools were made out of black or olive bottle glass.

Chart 8.5 Obsidian tools and debitage classes. Refer to Appendix A for a list of lithic codes.

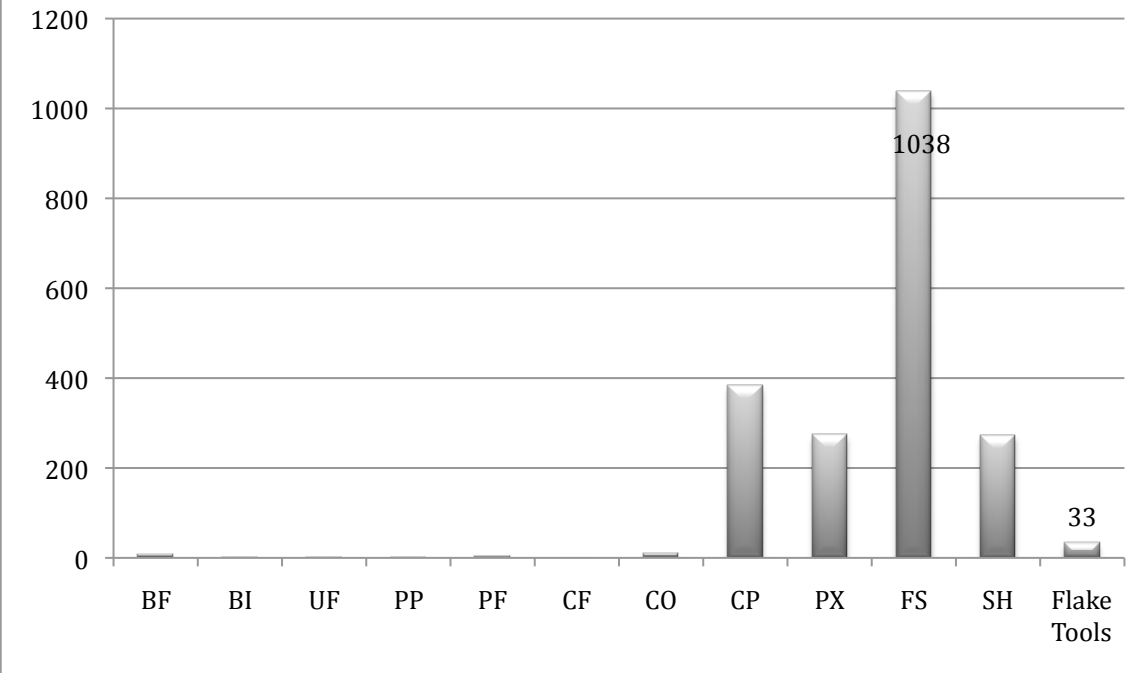
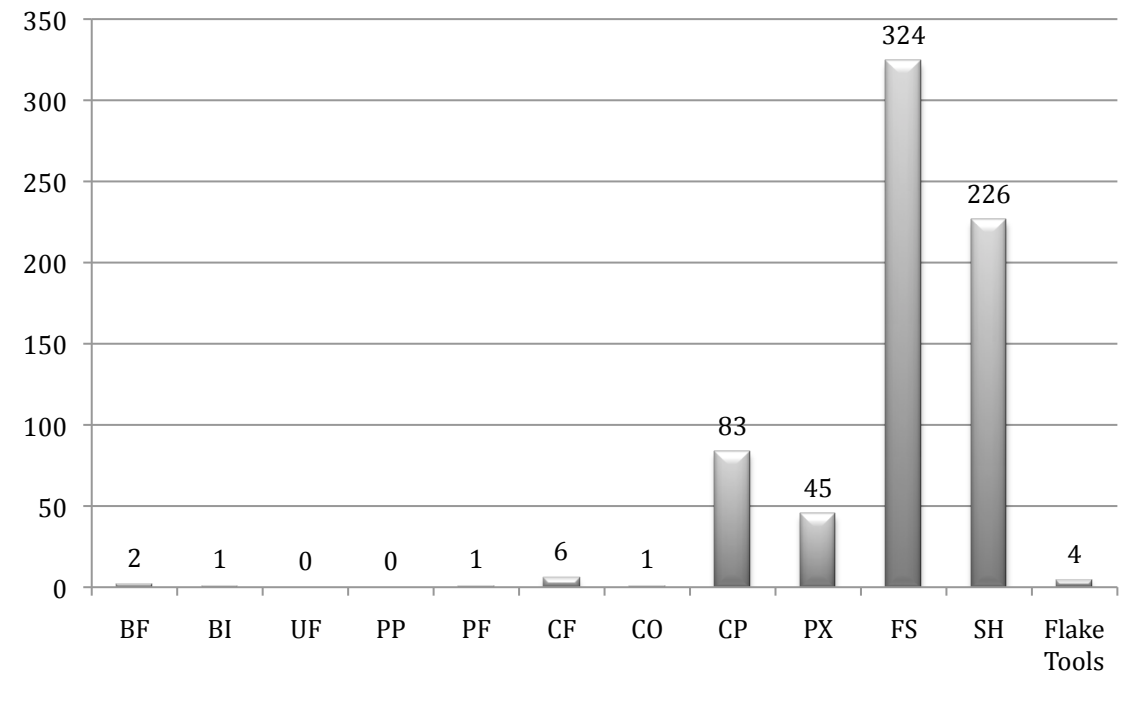
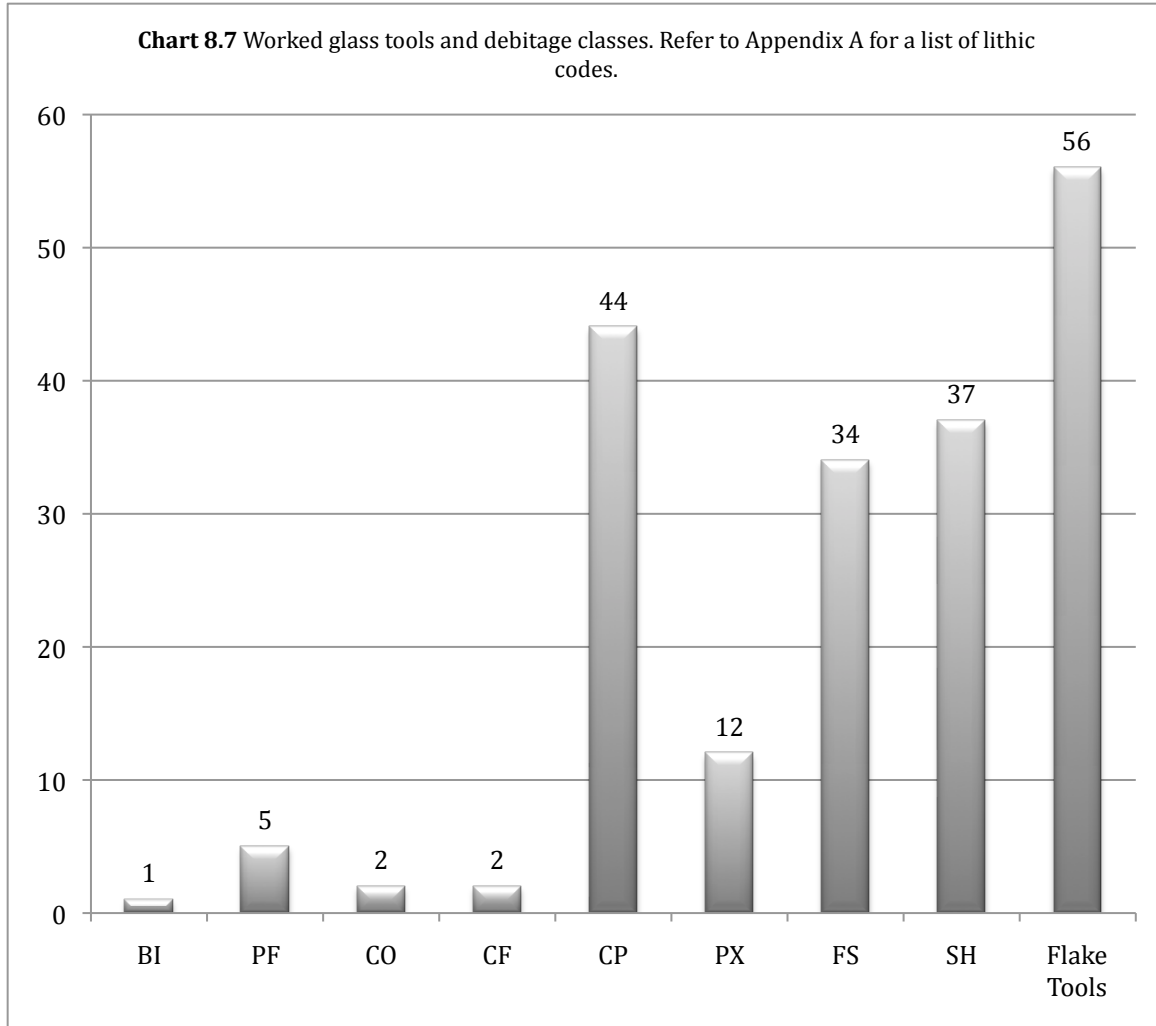


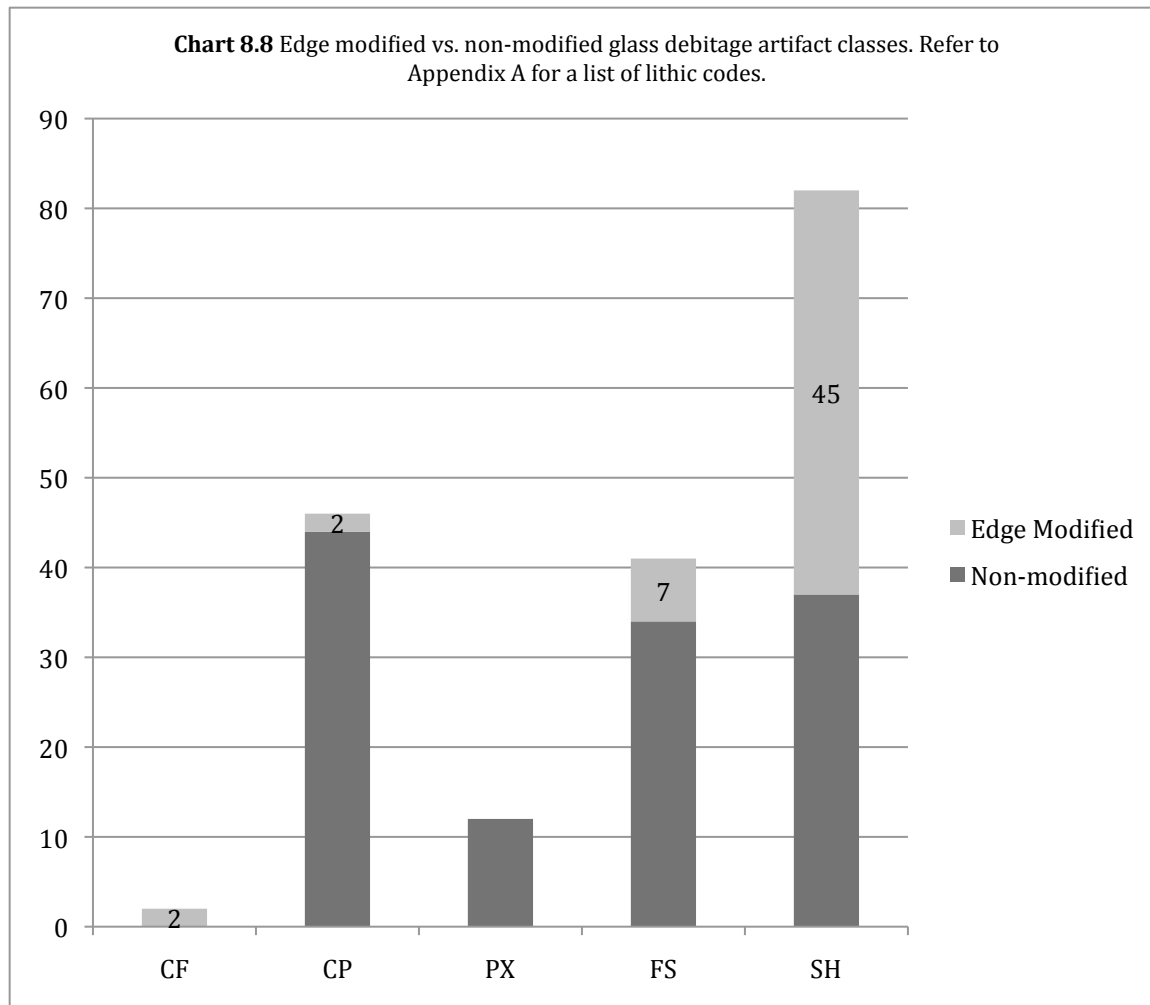
Chart 8.6 Chert tools and debitage classes. Refer to Appendix A for a list of lithic codes.





Similarly, higher numbers of obsidian artifacts classified as flake shatter is probably due to the nature of the raw material and its fine-grained, glassy structure, which makes it comparatively easy to identify flake characteristics even without the presence of a striking platform or bulb of percussion.

In terms of the higher numbers of edge-modified worked glass debitage (also classed as flake tools) this is also likely the result of our classificatory requirements, as observed patterns of use-wear and edge damage were the main criteria used to distinguish naturally fractured glass from intentionally worked glass (Chart 8.8). Several researchers have noted the relative lack of access to obsidian source materials during the historic period, as traditional exchange networks were disrupted by patterns of voluntary and forced relocation as a result of the Spanish, Mexican and Russian settlements in California (Lightfoot et al. 1997; Silliman 2005b). Thus, the high proportion of edge-modified glass could also be the result of a greater dependency upon glass as a source of expedient flake tools during the historic period.



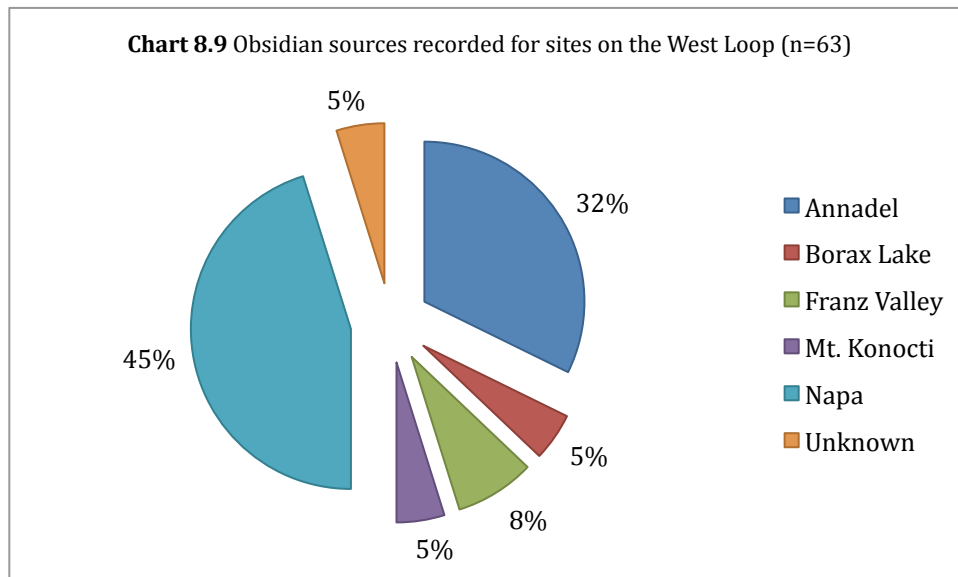
In order to tease apart the causes for these observed differences between lithic and worked glass manufacturing patterns, I submitted a total of 308 obsidian samples collected from the North Wall Community and a total of 63 obsidian samples collected from seven ancient and prehistoric sites from FRSHP for XRF analysis. The Berkeley Archaeological NSF XRF Lab at the University of California, Berkeley processed all samples (Appendix C). A total of six sources were identified using this method, including Annadel, Mt. Konocti, Franz Valley, Borax Lake, Napa Glass Mt. and nine specimens with unidentified sources (Charts 8.9, 8.10; Table 8.14). The unidentified sources are likely the result of samples that were too small and/or thin for elemental analysis.

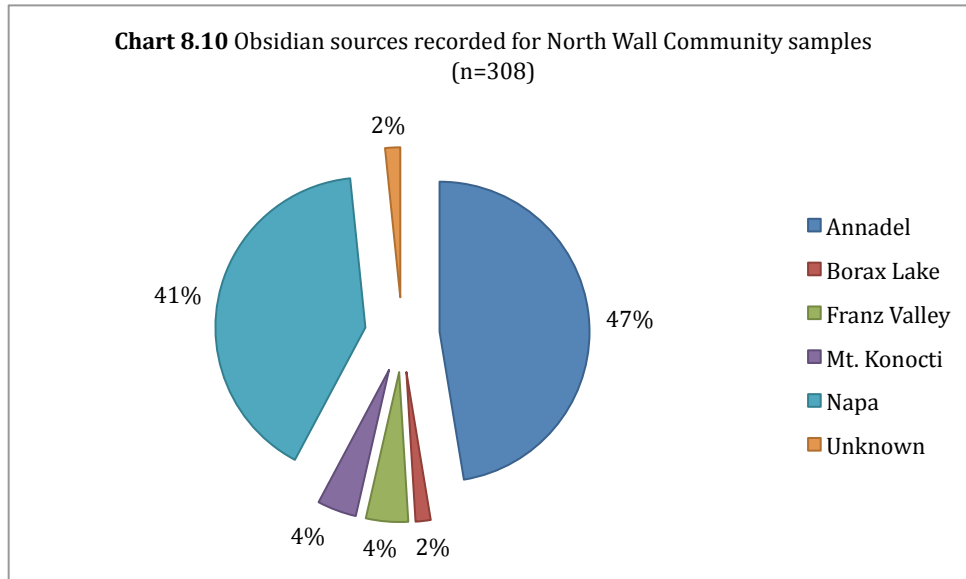
Although it has been proposed that access to Annadel obsidian was restricted during the historic period, resulting in a greater reliance upon alternate sources such as Napa or Franz Valley obsidian, this trend does not bear out in this case. Based upon the associated dates for the deposits at the north wall (which range in range from early historic c. 1812 to the present) and sites located on the coastal terrace of the West Loop (where sites range in age from 6,000-8,000 B.P. to 200 years ago), we would expect to see an increased reliance upon Napa, Franz Valley and/or other as yet unidentified sources. In fact, this pattern is reversed at the North Wall as Annadel obsidian is found in greater abundance and Franz

Valley and Napa obsidian in less abundance compared to the West Loop archaeological sites. This pattern could be explained by the smaller sample size of sites on the coastal terrace or by the fact that these samples were obtained differentially (excavation vs. surface collected).

North Wall		West Loop	
Source	N	Source	N
Annadel	146	Annadel	20
Borax Lake	5	Borax Lake	3
Franz Valley	14	Franz Valley	5
Mt. Konocti	13	Mt. Konocti	3
Napa	125	Napa	28
Unknown	5	Unknown	4
Total	308	Total	63

Table 8.14 Obsidian sources recorded for the North Wall Community and West Loop





A larger sample of obsidian submitted for XRF from a greater number of sites on the coastal terrace might resolve these potential sampling biases. Likewise, coupling XRF with obsidian hydration analysis for the North Wall and West Loop sites could help us to delineate between obsidian that has been recycled and re-used during the historic period (e.g., Silliman 2005b). It is hoped in the future that we can submit obsidian for such testing, as currently we believe that the relatively high percentage of Annadel obsidian might be a result of local recycling of obsidian from ancient sites surrounding the Russian stockade complex.

I think it is interesting in the case of observed patterns of lithic and glass procurement and manufacture to question whether the de-emphasis in lithic technology is the result of a strategy of recycling used to negotiate the lack of access to obsidian sources and/or the result of the history of Native Californian occupation of the coastal terrace. Whereas the whole terrace was occupied throughout prehistory, this occupation appears to be relatively impermanent and associated with the use of shellfish and plant processing resource sites. As has been postulated for the Native Alaskan Village site (Lightfoot and Silliman 1997), the preponderance of documented native women as well as a high proportion of edge modified flakes suggests that residents, most likely women, were making expedient tools from locally obtainable material; namely lithics from the traces of these past occupations

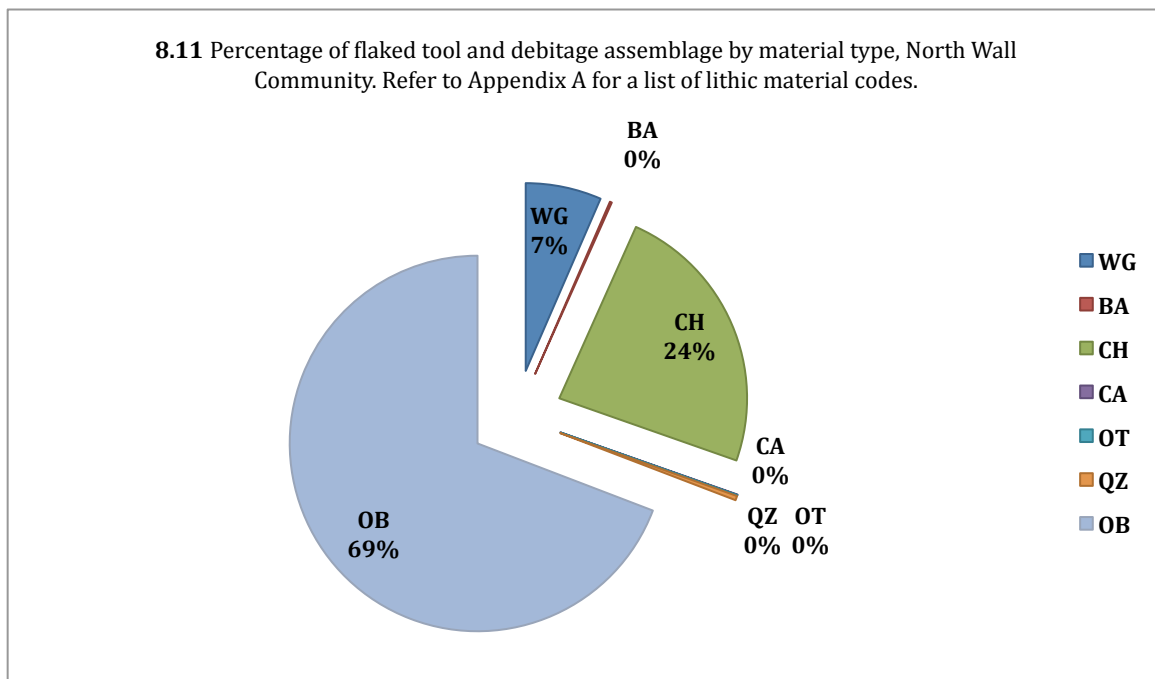
Although we cannot say for certain who was living in the households along the north wall—single Native Californian women, Native Californian women living with Russian or Creole domestic partners, single male Native Californian laborers who worked at the colony during the 1830s, or even Native Californian couples—the patterns of acquisition, manufacture, use, and recycling of goods, both ancient and colonial support the conclusion that Native Californians lived alongside the north wall of the stockade during the Russian period and throughout the Mexican and American periods.

4) Resolve Inter-site relationships

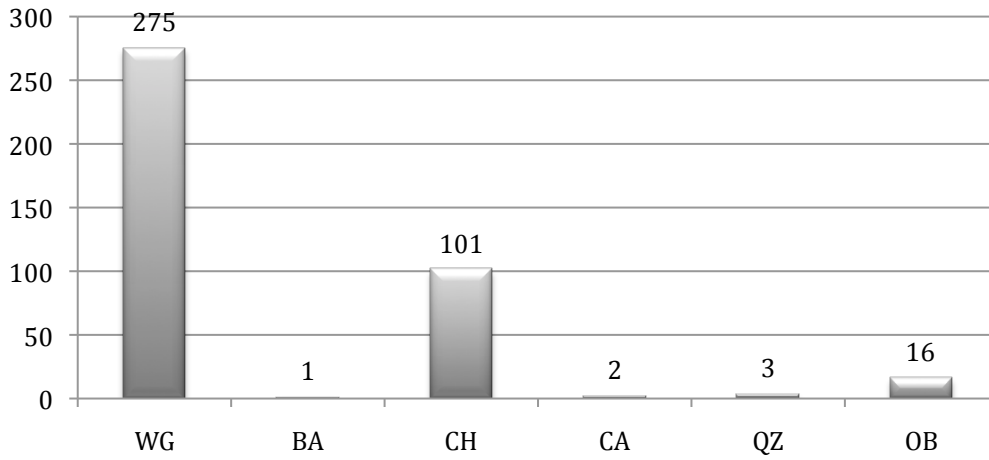
Although census records document Native Californian women living at Ross, these records are incomplete, as they only list women living in close proximity to the Fort. Those women—not to mention men, children, and families—living at Metini Village were not officially recognized as living at the settlement despite the fact that this community was only 170 meters north of the stockade complex. This omission of the residents of Metini Village was compounded by our lack of knowledge about the extent of Native Californian settlement at the North Wall Community. Martinez (1997, 1998) and Lightfoot's (Lightfoot and Gonzalez *forthcoming*) work at Kashaya villages in the hinterland and at Metini Village, respectively, have shed new light on the wider settlement patterns and community practices of Native Californians living in the immediate region surrounding *Selenie Ross*.

Building upon this research, our investigations at the North Wall Community were initiated in order to better understand the nature of settlement at the North Wall Community and to define its relationship to Metini Village. We have tantalizing material hints that suggest the North Wall Community was a distinct residential space and not simply an extension of Native Californian settlement at Metini Village. In fact, the sharp material differences between Metini Village and the North Wall indicate a rather delineated boundary between these places, perhaps signifying the residents of these communities differential access to resources at the colonial settlement.

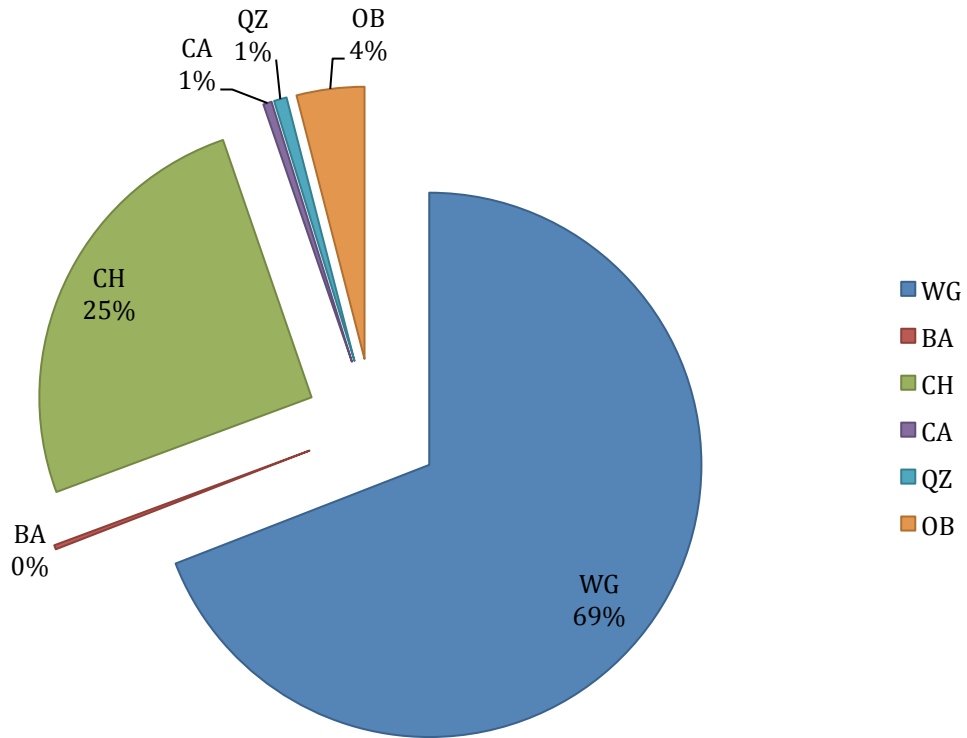
For example, comparing the lithic and worked glass assemblages between the North Wall Community (Charts 8.4, 8.11) and Metini Village (Charts 8.12, 8.13) there appears to be a significant difference in the types of raw materials used to make tools. This is most

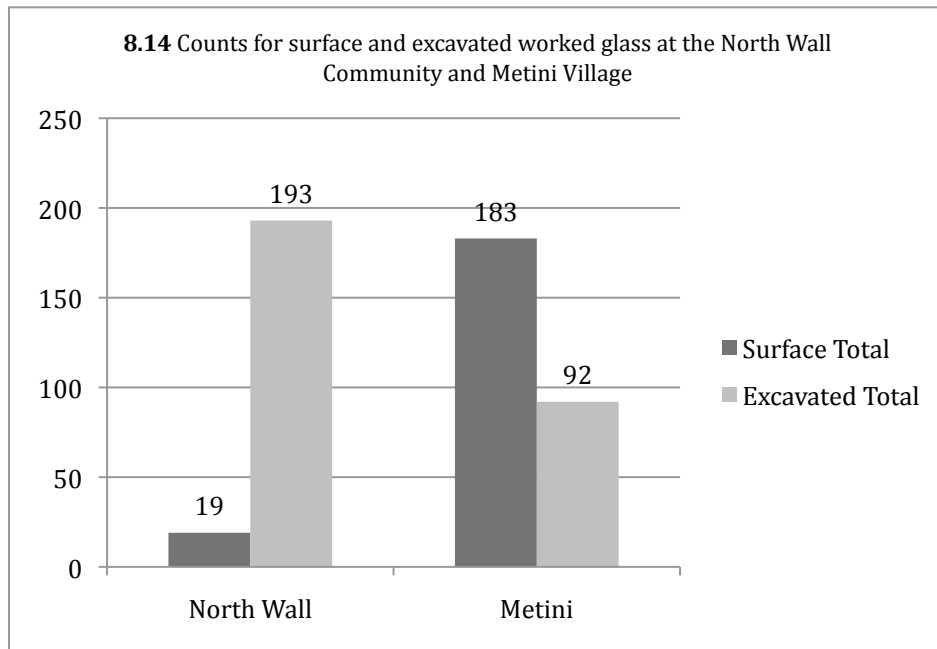


8.12 Flaked tool and debitage assemblage by material type, Metini Village. Refer to Appendix A for a list of lithic material codes.



8.13 Percentage of flaked tool and debitage assemblage by material type, Metini Village. Refer to Appendix A for a list of lithic material codes.





North Wall Community			Metini Village		
<i>n</i>	Excavated volume (m ³)	Density (n/m ³)	<i>n</i>	Excavated volume (m ³)	Density (n/m ³)
193	8.45	22.84	92	1.3	70.76

Table 8.15 Counts and density of excavated worked glass from the North Wall Community and Metini Village

markedly observed in the proportion of worked glass to flaked obsidian, where there is almost a perfect reversal between the North Wall Community (69% obsidian: 7% worked glass) and Metini Village (3% obsidian: 70% worked glass). Although the majority of worked glass recovered from Metini Village are surface collected items (Chart 8.14), when we compare the materials from excavated contexts, total density of worked glass is still considerably higher at Metini Village than at the North Wall Community (Table 8.15). When we compare the density of obsidian and chert artifacts from the North Wall Community and Metini Village again we see a similar discrepancy between the density of these material types from excavated contexts (Tables 8.16, 8.17). The small quantity of obsidian artifacts recovered from Metini Village is particularly striking, as is the greater density of chert artifacts from this community.

Overall, I think that these discrepancies are not an accident, but rather reflect differential access to sources for flaked tool technologies. For whatever reason, residents at Metini Village relied upon glass and chert, whereas residents at the North Wall Community overwhelmingly relied upon traditional obsidian sources and chert for their tool kits. The higher incidence of worked glass at Metini Village could be interpreted several ways. First, perhaps residents of this community enjoyed less mobility and access to resources than those living along the north wall. This could be a result of differential status within the colony, such as the higher status of the women living with Russian and Creole men or those who actively participated in the Russian Orthodox Church community. Perhaps these female residents could more freely move about the colonial space and acquire obsidian and chert resources from the extensive lithic scatters surrounding Ross. Or maybe, when they were allowed to return to their home communities (as the census records and other documents indicate that they were), they procured obsidian and possibly chert resources and brought them back to their new homes. Perhaps the residents of Metini Village, likely agricultural laborers who were forcibly drawn into the colony in order to work the farms at Fort Ross, could not similarly acquire obsidian through their kin or other social networks. Instead, these residents would have turned to other locally available, and abundant resources—discarded and/or broken window and vessel glass—in order to manufacture tools for their households and tool kits.

North Wall Community			Metini Village		
<i>n</i>	Excavated volume (m ³)	Density (n/m ³)	<i>n</i>	Excavated volume (m ³)	Density (n/m ³)
2025	8.45	239.64	6	1.3	4.62

Table 8.16 Counts and density of excavated obsidian artifacts from the North Wall Community and Metini Village

North Wall Community			Metini Village		
<i>n</i>	Excavated volume (m ³)	Density (n/m ³)	<i>n</i>	Excavated volume (m ³)	Density (n/m ³)
693	8.45	82.01	44	1.3	33.84

Table 8.17 Counts and density of excavated chert artifacts from the North Wall Community and Metini Village

While it is clear that the residents of both communities commonly recycled and repurposed colonial ceramic and glass wares, this practice is more pronounced at Metini Village than at the North Wall Community. In the latter residential space residents did indeed manufacture tools out of glass and ceramics, however, they also relied extensively upon obsidian resources. That this community appeared to have consistent access to the

same types of raw material available prior to the Russian settlement suggests that the motivation for recycling glass was not solely an issue of supply, but also perhaps associated with personal preference and greater social mobility within the colonial space. This interpretation is further supported by the presence of ground ceramics at the north wall, but which are entirely absent at Metini Village. These items may have been used as items of personal adornment, tokens for a game introduced by other colonial residents, used for display, or other purposes. It is intriguing, given the amount of recycling of materials at Metini Village that we have no record of these items. Though this material difference could be explained as a result of the smaller scale of excavations, it is still noteworthy.

An entirely different scenario, and one supported by other lines of evidence, is that these drastic differences in raw material acquisition and use relates to the different occupation histories of these communities. While we have secure evidence relating to a Russian-period Native Californian occupation along the north wall, existing ceramic and bead data suggest that the deposits at Metini Village date to the late Russian period, and likely later. Obviously, limited excavation at the site restricts our ability to securely date Metini Village through such diagnostic materials, but the majority of the Metini Village ceramic assemblage consists of non-vitrified white earthenwares (including both plain white wares and transferprinted whitewares) and semi-vitrified white earthenwares (ironstones). The former tablewares were in use from the early 1800s through to the late 1800s, while the latter wares were more common manufactured and used in the latter half of the 19th century (1840-1885) (Miller 1980). This would suggest that the deposits at Metini Village date to the mid to late 1800s. This interpretation is supported by the analysis of beads between these communities, where the proportion of green heart to white heart (Cornaline d'Aleppo) beads at Metini Village suggests a mid- to late-1840s or later date (Appendix B).

If Metini Village was, indeed, settled at a later date, the material differences between this community and that at the north wall may simply attest to the cumulative impact of Russian and Mexican settlement upon local kin, social, and exchange networks. In this case, what we are observing between these Native Californian settlements—and occupation periods—is the gradual disruption of these aforementioned networks. What caused these changes is still up for debate, as Russian colonial policies concerning these residential spaces and the relative social and physical mobility of residents could still have played significant roles in altering the acquisition and use of materials for flint (and glass) knapping.

Conclusion

Moving forward from the work we have conducted at the North Wall Community, we still have significant questions. Could we perhaps identify the gender and/or occupation of the residents of this community? What evidence, if any, exists relating to Mexican and American period Native Californian households in this area? And, how can we better delineate the boundaries and occupation history of Metini Village and the North Wall Community.

In terms of our material remains, it is exceedingly difficult to state with certainty who exactly was recycling all of those lithic and glass materials along the north wall. Clearly, further research of historical documents from the colony might shed more light on the personages of the North Wall Community residents. We can perhaps relate these practices, though, to the same practices observed at the Native Alaskan Village where it is assumed that the female partners of Native Alaskan men were responsible for bringing their own tool traditions into this community and their households.

As for identifying American period households, our resistivity survey identified anomalies in roughly the same location as the projected location of the 19th century household documented by the Sturtevant (1934) photograph. Surface collection in this area demonstrated a dense assortment of late 19th century and early 20th century remains. Subsurface testing of this area could prove particularly fruitful, as there is a high likelihood that deposits or structural elements of this building remain as features below the ground.

In relation to the last question, further research is needed in order to tease apart the history of Native Californian communities at Fort Ross State Historic Park. As our preliminary comparisons of the North Wall Community to Metini Village suggest, there is great potential to elucidate the commonality and differences of Native Californian residential, community, and social relationships, as well as the strategies individual community members used to negotiate their colonial worlds. Re-analysis of the collections from the north wall—in particular, those generated through Ritter's (1972) mitigation of the re-routing of Old Highway 1—would be valuable here for two reasons. First, these excavations were largely centered in the “in between” space between the North Wall Community and Metini Village. They thus would enhance our perspective on the spatial extent and relationship of these communities. Second, analysis of these collections is perhaps the least impactful method we have of furthering our understanding of the North Wall Community and Metini Village. Currently, these collections are curated by the California Department of Parks and Recreation and no formal report has been completed regarding the specialized analysis of material remains. Study and reporting of these remains would thus considerably improve the value of these collections and represent an alternative means of collecting more data concerning daily lifeways in the Native Californian Neighborhood.

In order to tease apart the causes for the material disparities for these communities, further sampling of obsidian for XRF analysis, in combination with obsidian hydration, could also significantly advance our understanding of the temporal changes in the acquisition of obsidian resources. It is my intention that the analysis of obsidian from the North Wall and Kashaya ancestral sites serves as a basis for developing a comprehensive understanding of lithic practices within Metini. I am currently preparing to analyze another batch of obsidian samples from the North Wall Community and in the near future hope to submit samples from the other collections from the North Wall and previously collected sites from the Fort Ross coastal terrace and nearby coastal ridges.

In summary, there remains considerable interpretive potential for the North Wall Community. Through our investigations we were able to positively identify a Native

Californian Russian-period presence and occupation. This a significant finding given the reluctance of Treganza (1954) and even other researchers to acknowledge this community as a Native Californian residential space. Likewise, Wood (1970) suggested that the deposits along the north wall lacked value due to the history of development at the site; Despite this, we were able to positively identify intact Russian-period deposits and household foundations, demonstrating the continued archaeological and interpretive value of these deposits and community space. As KPITP begins to coalesce these findings and integrate them into the East Loop of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail, we will continue to examine and question how the combined efforts of collaboration with the Kashia tribal community, archaeological reconnaissance, and historical research can contribute to our understandings of the diversity of indigenous experiences at Fort Ross.

PART IV:
AN ARCHAEOLOGY THAT MATTERS

Imprints: Past, Present, and Future

I can still remember the moment that I first told my parents I wanted to become an archaeologist. It was dinnertime, the dead of summer in Sacramento, sometime after my first year in college. My father took the news calmly; he was, after all, the person who showed me how to build a proper campfire (it's all about proper ventilation), took me on hikes so we could investigate geological formations, and told me about his own childhood in Germany, prowling around old Medieval castles with the bow and arrow his own father had made him. My mother reacted as I thought she might, "OK but what are you *ever* going to do with that?" She had hoped her youngest child would choose a more useful career path, but satisfied herself with the thought that I still had three more years to change my mind.

A different summer, five years into my graduate degree, my mother cooked another meal. We were at Archy Camp, with my father, and the students I was training. "It really is rather interesting, Al. The things they bring back. You should see them out there." Immersed in my field, my mother had come around (or as nearly as one can when your child is an archaeologist). She got to experience the thrill of new discoveries, the laughs and jokes and stories around the campfire, the pride of seeing her "kids" well fed after a hard day's work. She also listened to the other stories in camp. I remember a discussion with Nick Tipon about his work as a tribal monitor for the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, my mother learning, for the first time about repatriation and the legalities of excavating the remains of ancestors. Sharing family recipes and stories with Walter Antone and Reno Franklin, she'd tell me later how she couldn't believe how bad some archaeology (and archaeologists) could be. "It just doesn't make sense." Seeing a student pour himself a drink, which we strongly discouraged when tribal elders were in camp, she quietly pulled him aside. "You know the importance of what you're doing here? This is a privilege."

From my father I came to love all things historical, from my mother a sense of justice and fairness. Perhaps I should have been a lawyer, but as my mother acknowledged, "This really is important work. It's not at all what I expected."

Chapter IX

Conclusion: An Archaeology that Matters

In the introduction to this dissertation I asserted the value of decolonizing archaeological practice. Decolonization, in short, is a process for thinking about the ways that our research can and does matter, not just to us, or our colleagues, but also to the wider public. It involves thinking through the wider implications of your work, examining how the process of interpreting and representing the past is both deeply meaningful and a powerful resource. It also entails a willingness to think beyond the traditional scope of research, focusing not solely on the products—the results—of archaeology, but also on how the process of collaboration and negotiation can be used to empower, benefit, and serve the broader community. What results from asking that basic question—*How can I make my research matter?*—is something that is quite transformative. For when we highlight issues such as our accountability to both the discipline and community we fundamentally change what we think the goal of science is and should be: a tool for increasing knowledge and understanding and ultimately empowering people and communities through that knowledge.

Indigenous Archaeologies: Pushing the Boundaries of Practice

As a project concerned with implementing archaeological outreach and collaboration at multiple levels, KPITP contributes to a growing field of what are referred to as community or indigenous archaeologies. These approaches often combine community collaboration with public outreach initiatives, which are designed to incorporate community perspectives into archaeology and other heritage representations. Such collaboration is viewed as valuable in two regards. First, it presents an opportunity for communities to work with archaeologists in order to recover their heritage. Second, the integration of this research into a public format presents an opportunity for the community, as well as the public, to engage with that heritage through the medium of archaeology. Indigenous and other forms of community archaeology also provide ample inspiration and resources for thinking about the relationship of archaeology to descendant and other interested communities. Together, their advocacy for developing more accountable research relationships has led to discipline-wide shifts in how we think about issues such as professional ethics, accountability and the processes of representing cultural heritage.

Some have specifically critiqued indigenous archaeology for its perceived privileging of indigenous perspectives over scientific, archaeological approaches to the past. Most notably, McGhee (2008:583) argues that such collaboration is based upon essentialist notions of indigenous societies, which grant them privilege based upon their “having access to a superior understanding of the past than that offered by the Western historical tradition and Western scientific methods.” Although I agree with McGhee’s (2008:583) assertion that collaboration with indigenous communities cannot alone be viewed as an inherently more ethical form of archaeological practice, he is incorrect in his assumption that the sole

impetus behind collaboration is “based on [a] belief in the persistence of ancient and unchanged societies.” First, collaboration as referred to in indigenous archaeologies emerged within the context of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, legislation that many regard as a significant form of human rights legislation (e.g., Thomas 2000; Watkins 2000), as well as in response to indigenous critiques of anthropology. The right of indigenous communities to participate in archaeology derives not from their status as “Aborigines”, but from the “time-specific historical legacies of colonialism, present social injustices, and the inherent politics of scientific inquiry” (Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). Collaboration, and indigenous archaeologies thus became an instrumental part of redressing the ethical, moral, and historical inequities of the practice of North American archaeology.

Second, while many indigenous archaeologies do acknowledge the cultural continuity of the communities that they work with (e.g., Croes 2010, Silliman 2008b)—indeed it is difficult to ignore that these contemporary communities do have a connection to their pasts—they also reject essentialized notions of identity, which would force these communities to remain culturally static in order for them to be perceived as legitimate communities today (e.g., Liebmann 2008; Panich 2009; Rubertone 1996, 2000; Silliman 2009, 2010a; Sleeper-Smith 2001; Voss 2008). Archaeologies of colonialism, in particular, have been instrumental in altering our understanding of indigenous identities as constructed and relational to specific social, political, economic, and historical contexts. Many of these works (e.g., Harrison 2002; Hemming 2005; Lightfoot 2005b; Lightfoot et al. 1993; Lightfoot et al. 1997; Lightfoot et al. 2006; Martinez 1998; Rothschild 2003; Rubertone 2001; Silliman 2004; Sleeper-Smith 2001, 2009a, 2009b) document the persistence of Native communities depended upon their ability to transform and adapt to their changing social and material circumstances. Certainly, the flexibility of identity was not unique to the colonial period, but relevant to earlier periods of Native history as well. For archaeologists to ignore these communities simply upon the basis that they have changed would do a great disservice to our understandings of Native history, especially as it relates to the long-term impacts of colonialism upon both indigenous and European societies.

Furthermore, his implication that oral histories and oral traditions have no definable value in archaeology because they are 1) not substantially different from other historical mores of thought and 2) do not help us recover knowledge from the distant past because indigenous cultures have changed through time overlooks the fact that these epistemologies are nonetheless vital sources of knowledge. As Basso’s (1996) work with the Western Apache has documented, oral histories and oral traditions provide unique knowledge concerning contemporary—as well as ancient—constructions of place, time, and memory.

With indigenous archaeologies, the goal of using indigenous epistemologies is to generate a more critical understanding of the past in all its multiple perspectives: archaeological, indigenous, historical, environmental, and so on. While it is true that in many cases archaeological lines of evidence may contradict or conflict with indigenous epistemologies, to do indigenous archaeology does not—and should not—require archaeologists to ignore

these discrepancies or abandon their commitment to academic integrity and honesty. As Collwell-Chanthaphonh et al. (2010:233) state:

Sharing authority merely asks people to recognize the impact that the practice of archaeology has had on descendant groups and the implications of perceiving Western science as the only “real” way to explain things. Giving *equal consideration* is categorically different from giving *equal weight* to Indigenous views, concerns, and needs.

In fact, sources of tension between indigenous and archaeological perspectives can be used productively, to test the limits of both archaeological and indigenous approaches to the past and in so doing engage in constructive dialogues about epistemology (Collwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Ferguson and Collwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Silliman 2010a; Silliman and Ferguson 2010; Wylie 2008).

In the ten years or so since indigenous archaeology first emerged (Watkins 2000) there now exists a wide variety of practical case studies that attest to the value of collaboration with communities. These projects variously demonstrate both the intellectual benefits and social value of widening our theoretical perspectives and philosophical commitments (e.g., Atalay 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008; Bruchac et al. 2010; Clarke 2008; Croes 2010; Dowdall and Parrish 2003; Gonzalez et al. 2006; Ferguson and Collwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Foster 2007; Hansen 2007; Hoobler 2006; Lippert 2006; Nicholas 1997, 2006; Silliman 2008a; Smith and Jackson 2006; Smith and Wobst 2005; Two Bears 2006; Warner and Baldwin 2004). These examples also document how collaboration itself provides the basis for constructing interpretations of the past and archaeology that are rigorous and empirically grounded, and based upon both western science and tribal cultural approaches.

What Difference does Decolonization Make?

Decolonization provides a systematic framework for thinking through the political, social, and historical contexts of archaeological practice. Notably, this framework privileges collaboration and epistemic diversity not on the basis of indigenous claims to an unchanging past, but on the basis of resolving structural inequalities in how archaeologists and communities interpret cultural heritage. As stated above, decolonization does not mean the total abandonment of scientific objectivity, rather it entails the recognition that communities have a basic human right to negotiate and help determine the process of research on and about them. This does not mean that archaeology loses its value to contribute to our understandings of the past—indeed it is a valuable tool for understanding the material implications of colonial entanglements—but rather that when we do use archaeology, we should do so with a greater understanding of how our praxis—how archaeology theorizes and practices research—impacts the communities that we research. Collaboration and the integration of indigenous perspectives thus becomes part of a decolonizing process wherein we work towards a practice of archaeology that transcends its colonial and imperial history.

Perhaps one of the most notable developments in indigenous archeology has been its application and comparison to other contexts of archaeological practice (e.g., Atalay 2007, 2008, 2010; Clark 2010; Little and Zimmerman 2010). This is where using decolonization to frame indigenous and other community archaeologies becomes valuable; it *Connects* (Smith 1999) these individual and local-level projects together, linking them to a larger practice and goal: that of creating a socially just archaeological practice. In this sense, an indigenous and decolonizing archaeology is part of a wider tradition that envisions archaeology as both an intellectual and social practice that is relevant to the entire discipline.

Decolonization provides a way for us to push past the boundaries of feminist, indigenous, Marxist, critical, African-American and other community archaeologies. Individually, each of these approaches to archaeology provides a powerful medium for thinking about the connection between our theories and practices; however, we must also consider the degree to which ignoring the intersectionality of these positions contributes to the further marginalization of their perspectives within our wider discipline. When we explore the intersections of these archaeologies we begin to see multiple, converging strategies and perspectives that can be used collectively in order to transform discipline and practice. Exploring these overlapping ideas—as well as the spaces in between—is also a critical part of questioning and identifying our own potentially limited viewpoints. The intersectionality of these “sites of radical possibility” (hooks 1990) is thus one powerful tool that we can use to bring these margins into the mainstream.

Decolonizing Archaeology at Fort Ross State Historic Park

Within the context of this dissertation, decolonization has not followed a simple trajectory. The Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project was not originally designed or even thought of as a decolonizing project. As collaboration on the project developed, however, we recognized the value of using this framework to describe our approach to collaboration, public outreach and the archaeology of colonialism. While these facets of the project could—and still can—be described as a form of indigenous or community archaeology, decolonization links our local project to a larger project: the struggle of indigenous communities for social justice. Although archaeology might not resolve larger social inequities, changing how we research, write about and represent indigenous heritage does make a positive contribution to communities who have often been displaced from or dispossessed of their cultural heritage.

Decolonizing archaeology at Fort Ross began with a simple question: how and in what ways can an archaeology of colonialism matter to the Kashia Band of Pomo Indians? From this starting point the project identified three areas it could contribute to both tribal and archaeological goals. First, an archaeology of colonialism represents a powerful tool for recovering rich knowledge about the long-term impacts of indigenous and European colonial encounters at Fort Ross. As archaeologists continue to investigate the nature of colonial encounters, it is essential that we broaden our scope so that we might consider how these entanglements differed both within and across individual settlements. Research at the North Wall Community was thus designed to expand our understanding of the

indigenous experiences of and responses to Russian colonialism at Ross. Our purpose in focusing on this community was also to provide an additional lens with which to view the long-term history and heritage of the Kashaya Pomo Tribe within their ancestral homeland.

From census data we know that the majority of women living at the colony were originally from Native Californian communities and identified as Kashaya Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Southern Pomo. These women were documented as residing in households with Native Alaskan, Russian, and Creole men, though in the later years of the colony they also formed their own independent households. Previous archaeological research confirmed the presence of the interethnic Californian and Alaskan households at the Native Alaskan Village—located on the coastal terrace directly south of the stockade. Similarly, archaeological investigations at Metini Village documented the Native Californian settlement locate a short distance away from the stockade complex. Yet, neither historical documents nor previous archaeological research have identified the location of the single Native Californian and Russian/Creole/Californian interethnic households. Given that the former women are documented on the census—unlike their counterparts who resided at Metini Village—it is likely that these households were in close proximity to the fort.

Throughout formal consultations we had hoped to learn of stories associated with the North Wall Community or the single women living at the fort. While many stories told of the general treatment of women at the colony (Oswalt 1963; Violet Parrish Chappell and Vivian Wilder Parrish, 2004, *personal communication*) or related to the settlement and roundhouse at Metini Village, no stories were told about the North Wall Community. Many of our consultants were interested to learn that Kashaya might have also lived in this area of the settlement. That we could potentially reveal new information concerning this history was one of the primary factors behind the approval of our archaeological investigations at this community space. New archaeological investigations of the North Wall Community thus presented us with the opportunity to perhaps identify these documented, but undiscovered Native Californian households.

In undertaking our archaeological work, we documented rock foundations that appear to be the remains of Russian period structures. Directly associated with these foundations was a dense concentration of artifacts, shellfish and other faunal remains, including a variety of late 18th and early 19th century glass and ceramic tablewares; Russian-period building materials; modified (ground and flaked) ceramics and glass; chert, obsidian, chalcedony, basalt and quartz flaked tools and debitage; glass beads; shell beads; deer astragali gaming pieces; millingstones; pestles; net weights; porcelain buttons; charcoal; fragments of wood and fire-cracked rock. The intact portions of this rich shell midden matrix revealed that this assortment of materials was not a product of continued bioturbation or development of the site throughout the Mexican and American periods, but rather the result of a Russian period, Native Californian occupation at the North Wall Community.

Given the lack of any identifiable Russian-manufactured material remains other than building materials it is intriguing to think that the households along the North Wall might have belonged to those single female households documented by Veniaminov in 1836 and

1838. However, the lack of “Russian” manufactured remains could also be attributed to larger supply patterns at the Ross Settlement in which British-manufactured trade ceramics and glass-wares were predominantly distributed and used at the colony. This pattern could thus also be indicative of interethnic Russian/Creole and Native Californian households, whose material remains and material practices might not reflect the ethnic affiliation of all of its residents.

Unfortunately, the nature of the archaeological deposits is such that we cannot tell for certain who the residents of these households were, though we do have sufficient evidence to prove that Native Californians were living in and/or using this residential space throughout the Russian period and into the subsequent Mexican and American periods. This finding is significant in that it challenges Treganza’s (1954) hypothesis that the Native Californian deposits along the north wall were solely related to the ancient habitation of this coastal terrace. Rather, our findings indicate that the settlement of Ross did not displace an earlier Kashaya Pomo village, but that the remains we—and Treganza (1954) observed—were related to the historic occupation of this area by members of Kashaya, Coast Miwok, Southern Pomo communities. In fact, comparison to Metini Village, the deposits along the North Wall appear to be the first sustained Native Californian community or village on the coastal terrace. Future investigations of these deposits through additional geophysical survey and the re-analysis of previous excavation collections will likely help us tease apart the complex history of occupations at both Metini Village and the North Wall Community.

Second, integrating the results of our archaeological research and collaboration with the Kashia tribal community offered a powerful medium for changing the represented landscape at FRSHP so that it more fully included Kashaya perspectives on their homeland. Such public outreach initiatives are core components of many decolonizing and community-based projects precisely because they have a definable impact upon the ways in which the public views indigenous histories, not to mention archaeology. One of the main contributions of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail is that it has created a conduit for reconnecting tribal members with their heritage and homeland. The opportunity to come together and share stories provided a context within which the Kashia tribal community remembered, shared and connected. As a result of this sharing we were able to develop rich interpretations of the coastal terrace and its associated ancestral sites. Alone, the archaeological sites contained valuable information concerning the foodways and patterns of land tenure, however, combined with Kashaya oral histories and traditions that told of the ways in which the community continued to return to this area to gather abalone and basketry materials and to teach children about their history we were able to envision and interpret this space as a humanized, lived landscape. The fact that the results of our sharing and connecting will be used to educate the public means that we have an important opportunity to change how future school children, future visitors, and future Kashaya will imagine and remember Fort Ross:Metini.

Third, collaboration with the tribe on both of these projects was used to develop an indigenous-centered approach to archaeological heritage management at FRSHP. Development of our low-impact archaeological methodology created the foundation for all

collaboration and was the principal way that KPITP was able to limit both the physical and spiritual impacts of archaeology. This involved using Kashaya cultural values and laws to structure our daily practices so that when we conducted archaeology we did so in a manner consistent with Kashaya beliefs about the sacredness of ancestral sites. It also meant that we explored alternative, low-impact and non-destructive archaeological techniques in our investigations. From an archaeological standpoint, using these methods is a critical part of limiting our own impact upon cultural resources, which we have an ethical responsibility to protect and conserve for future generations. It is from this common ground—our collective concern over protecting sites—that we developed the innovative “catch and release” surface collection strategy. Certainly, surface collection has been an important part of multi-staged field strategies, but through “catch and release” we hope to demonstrate the archaeological viability of returning surface collected artifacts back to their original sites and unit provenience. This relates not only to limiting our overall impact upon the sites that we study, but integrating indigenous perspectives on heritage management into the ways in which we recover and curate data.

As each these projects move forward, we continue to think about the ways in which we can make archaeology useful for the community. At present, we are formulating a development plan for the East Loop of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail and beginning work on companion curricular to be offered through the website. During the summer of 2011 we will also initiate the “release” part of our surface collection strategy and will return artifacts back to the 12 sites that we previously surveyed in 2004. We are particularly interested here in initiating a long-term study on the impact of this strategy upon the integrity of archaeological sites. Our long range plan includes adopting this strategy in our future work with the tribe at sites outside of FRSHP. Finally, we are exploring the further potential of digital media for documenting and preserving Kashaya heritage. In collaboration with the Kashia THPO, I will be assembling a database of Kashaya archaeological sites that UC Berkeley researchers have worked at, including primary site records and associated data such as photographs, maps, and relevant historical documents. It is hoped that this database will contribute to the capacity of the tribe to manage its heritage resources.

Taken together, these three facets of our work demonstrate the value of decolonizing archaeology. As it has been applied in this case study, decolonization and the resulting collaborative relationships it enables does not simply provide a more ethical framework for conducting research, but it also forces us to think through the social implications of our research. For a field of research such as the archaeology of colonialism, where we are attempting to recover indigenous experiences of and responses to colonialism, decolonization helps us to connect these academic concerns with the contemporary repercussions of colonialism. In the case of this dissertation, this process has benefitted the tribal community, local state park community, as well as disciplinary community.

Archaeology and the Community

I began this dissertation with a memory of Fort Ross State Historic Park. I have so many rich stories of archaeology from my public school education in California and Nevada that

it's hard to isolate only one as defining my future career. Of course, the overnight, experiential field trip at Fort Ross makes a neat and direct connection between my current research and my past, but I'm also fairly certain that the 4th grade field trip to Hidden Cave in Nevada also sparked my interest in archaeology. I vividly remember the smell of the cave and walking along the wooden plank ways; the darkness that we were plunged into when our guide demonstrated how dark it would have been thousands of years ago. If I wasn't impressed at seeing arrow shafts poling out of the deep stratigraphy that was pock-marked with all of those little circular white tags, I certainly was on the bus-ride home when I saw a red-tailed hawk swoop down into the sage brush, coming up with a snake clutched in its talons.

If archaeology hadn't captured my fascination then it certainly did in Mrs. Sheldon's 6th grade class where we turned our room into one huge Egyptian archaeological site, plastering our walls in murals of Gods and stories translated into hieroglyphics. I still have one of the small scarab charms she bought for each of her students when she travelled down the Nile. I also owe thanks to Mrs. Lord and her Introduction to Anthropology class at Mira Loma High School; I simply can't count how many of her former students are now professional anthropologists and archaeologists.

The point of these reminiscences isn't to hypothesize the origins of my career choice but to highlight what a difference it makes when we engage the public with cultural heritage, with archaeology, and with anthropology. To have these kinds of experiences is to learn a different way of thinking about the past, one that many of us try to convey in our classrooms, public lectures and outreach initiatives. As the interpretive trail continues in its development I can only hope that the work I have completed here will help new students experience archaeology and cultural heritage in ways that illuminate for them how the past matters in their own contemporary lives.

Making it Matter: An Archaeology for the Seventh Generation

To me, the story of the interpretive trail project isn't as much about the recovery of archaeological data, as it is about the process of getting to this point. It has been about the social relationships and friendships that have enabled this research and, which have contributed to what I think is a very unique kind of archaeology; one which is changing how we view our relationship to the communities whose heritage we study and even transforming our practice as archaeologists. As the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Project has implemented it, an archaeology of colonialism takes a socially conscious and holistic approach to studying colonial encounters, recognizing the importance of engaging communities such as the Kashaya in the study and representation of their heritage. That this project uses the venue of public outreach to develop collaborative representations of Kashaya heritage is particularly significant both for the quality of interpretation offered on the interpretive trail and the wider impact of this project on the tribal community.

The involvement of undergraduate students in the project has been especially beneficial in this regard as we are able to help provide training for the next generation of archaeologists. I'd like to think that their time on the project will not only influence how they, themselves

work as archaeologists, but also influence the students they themselves train, the students that these students train, and so on. Though the interpretive trail may not alter the Kashia Band of Pomo Indian's other needs and challenges, we are doing our part to create an archaeology for the seventh generation; one that is designed to *work for* the tribal community and that contributes to their capacity to manage, represent, and make sense of their own heritage and homeland now and into the future.

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APPENDIX A:
Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail Artifact Cataloguing System and Codes

Basic Group: Lithics (LI)

Material Category:

LF: lithic, flaked stone

Artifact Class:

1. CORE: **CO** = core; **CF** = core fragment
2. SHATTER (Angular Debris/non-flake shatter): **SH**
3. FLAKE:
CP = Complete Flake
PX = Proximal Flake
FS = Flake Shatter
4. FORMAL CHIPPED STONE TOOLS:
UN = uniface; **UF** = uniface fragment
BI = biface **BF** = Biface fragment
PP = Projectile Point; **PF** = Projectile Point Fragment
5. OTHER
TN = obsidian prisms, angular – also called “tinklers”

LG: lithic, ground stone (ground, pecked, polished, battered)

Artifact Class:

6. MILLING IMPLEMENTS
BM = Basin Milling Stone (Metate); **BMF** = Fragment
SM = Slab Milling Stone (Metate); **SMF** = Fragment
MH = Milling Handstone (Mano); [unifacial or bifacial worked surfaces?]
MHS = Fragment
MO = Mortar; [Bowl or Hopper]; **MOF** = Fragment
PE = Pestle [shape, use wear?]; **PEF** = Fragment
7. **AS:** Anvil Stone (cobble with dimple or cup on one or both sides)
8. **CS:** Charmstone (plummet or phallic shape, etc); **CSF** = Fragment
9. **BE:** Bead
10. **PN:** Pendant
11. **BC:** Battered Cobble; **BCF:** Fragment
12. **HA** = Hammerstone
13. **NW:** Net Weight (cobble with grooves on opposite sides)
14. **FCG:** Fire-cracked Groundstone

LO: lithic, other

Artifact Class:

15. **UM:** Unmodified Cobble (no evidence of grinding, polishing, pecking, battering)
16. **CR:** Crystal
17. **FCR:** Fire-cracked rock (unmodified cobble with evidence of heat/burning)
18. **OT:** Other (can't place into specific lithic artifact class)

Basic Group: Lithics (LI)

A. Raw Material Species:

BA: Basalt
CA: Calcedony
CH: Chert
GR: Granite
OB: Obsidian
PU: Pumice
QZ: Quartz **SA** = Sandstone
SC: Schist
SL: Slate
ST: Steatite
OT: Other

B. Edge-Modified

- Check for secondary modification of lateral edge**
- evidence of use, retouch**
- If Yes, then note as EM**

Basic Group: Faunal Remains (FA)

Material Categories:

MO: Mollusk

RAW Material Species:

Mussel=MU
Chiton = CH;
Barnacles = BA;
Limpets = LI;
Abalone = AB;
Snails = SN;
Clams = CL
Olivella = OL
Whelk = WH
Periwinkle = PE
Gumboot Chiton=GC
Unidentifiable = UN

Element Codes:

Umbos (UM), Fragments (FG)
Plates (PL), Fragments (FG)
Fragments (FG)
Caps (CA); Fragments (FG)
Whorls (WO); Fragments (FG)
Columellae (CO); Apertures (AP), Fragments (FG)
Umbos (UM); Fragments (FG)
Columellae (CO); Apertures (AP), Fragments (FG)
Columellae (CO); Apertures (AP), Fragments (FG)
Columellae (CO); Apertures (AP), Fragments (FG)
Plate (PL), Fragments (FG)

FI: Fish

RAW Material Species:

None defined

Element Codes:

Scale (SC); Vertebrae (VB)

MA: Mammal

RAW Material Species:

None defined

Element Codes:

BI: Bird

RAW Material Species:

None defined

Element Codes:

OF: Other Faunal

RAW Material Species:

Sea Urchin=UR

Element Codes:

Spine (SP), Skeleton (SK)

Basic Group: Worked Bone, Antler, Shell (BAS)

Material Category:

WB: worked bone

WA: worked antler

WS: worked shell

Artifact Class:

1. SINGLE END WORKED: Distal End worked into Point (Bone/Antler)

TP = Thin pointed artifact; often mammal long bone; bone shaped and narrowed to a sharp point at distal end; bone may be split into two; note if perforated (Traditionally defined as awls, pins, daggers)

BP = Broad pointed artifact; often mammal long bone, scapula, rib; artifact tends **not** to be tapered to a sharp point at distal end; rather width of point is about the same width as rest of long bone shaft; often blunt or rounded nose; bone may be split into two; perforated? (trad. defined as chisel, wedge, spatula, shoehorn)

TI = Tine (often of antler), shaped and narrowed, but to blunt point (Often defined as antler tine for pressure flaking)

PP = Projectile point or harpoon point – most likely used as arrow or dart point

2. BOTH ENDS WORKED (BIPOINT): Distal and Proximal ends worked into Point

BI = Bipoint when both ends worked to points or modified; describe whether thin point or broad point for either end; note if perforated (small bipoins traditionally defined as fishing Gorge)

3. BONE SHAFT MODIFIED: dorsal or ventral edge of bone/antler shaft or column is worked (smoothed or serrated)

SM = Smooth Edged artifact; often mammal long bone that has been split or mammal rib bone; side of shaft smoothed (traditional defined as scraper); distal end may be worked to a point or could be bipoint; note if perforated

SE = Serrated Edged artifact; often mammal long bone that has been split or mammal rib bone; side of shaft serrated; distal end may be worked to a point or could be bipoint; note if perforated

4. BONE/ANTLER/SHELL ORNAMENT

BE = Bead (conical or biconical perforation)

PN = Pendant (conical or biconical perforation)

Basic Group: Worked Bone, Antler, Shell (BAS)

TU = Tube
OO = Other Ornament

5. OTHER ARTIFACTS

WH = Whistle, defined as bone tube with large hole carved into tube

CF = Circular Fish Hook

OT = Other worked bone, antler or mollusk artifact

UF = Unidentifiable Fragment (broken tool, debitage from manufacture)

Raw Material/Species (be as specific as possible in defining taxon):

MA = Mammal Bone (or specific genus/species)

FI = Fish Bone

BI = Bird Bone

MU = Mussel Shell

CL = Clam Shell

AB = Abalone Shell (*Haliotis*)

OL = *Olivella* Shell

OT = Other

Element:

Note if applicable

NOTES IN COMMENTS:

- any decoration (incising, engraving, etc.)
- any perforations (conical, biconical)
- if whole artifact or fragments
- evidence of burning
- evidence of use wear

Basic Groups: European-Asian Manufactured Artifacts (EA)

Material Categories:

HC: Historic Ceramics

Artifact Class:

VS: vessel—describe in comments

BE: beads

PI: pipe

OT: worked ceramic

Artifact Group:

KA: kaolin (in reference to pipes)

YW: yellow ware

SW: stone ware

NV: non-vitrified white earthenware

Ware Type:

CW: creamware

PW: pearlware

WW: whiteware

SV: semi-vitrified white earthenware (ironstone)

VW: vitrified white earthenware (hotelware)

PO: porcelain

GL: Glass

Artifact Class:

VG: vessel glass

FG: flat glass

LG: lamp glass

BE: beads

WG: Worked Glass

Artifact Class:

use flaked stone categories

BR: Brick

Artifact Class:

RU: Russian

AM: American

Me: Metal

Artifact Class:

Describe in comments

Basic Group: Ethnobotanical Materials (EB)

Material Categories:

WO: wood

CH: charcoal

OE: other ethnobotanical

Basic Group: Other Materials (OT)

Material Categories:

SO: soil

CL: clay/daub

PL: plastic

UN: Unidentified

APPENDIX B:

Report on Glass Beads Recovered from the North Wall Site at Fort Ross

Report on Glass Beads Recovered from the North Wall Site at Fort Ross

Report prepared by
Elliot Blair
for
Sara Gonzalez, Ph.D. Candidate
UC Berkeley

Introduction

This brief report describes and discusses the glass beads recovered during surface collections and excavations at the North Wall Site at Fort Ross. Table 1 provides the individual attributes of the beads in the assemblage. Method of manufacture, construction, shape, diameter, length, color, and diaphaneity were recorded for each specimen—following standard bead analysis protocols and terminology (e.g., Beck 1928; Pendleton and Francis 2009; van der Sleen 1973). Previously published overviews of European made glass beads and discussions of the sources for North American trade beads have been comprehensive and thorough (e.g., Blair, et al. 2009; Francis 2002; 2008; 1986a; 1986b; 1988; 1992; Karklins 1985; 1983; 1993; Orchard 1929; Spector 1976; Sprague 1985; van der Made 1976; van der Sleen 1963; 1973); these summaries will not be reiterated or synthesized here. Reports that are particularly relevant to this study, specifically considering glass trade bead assemblages from Fort Ross, California, and the Western United States, include Meighan (n.d.), Motz (Motz et al. 1986; 1979), Crowell (1997), Atchley (1990), Ballard (1995), Ross (1990; 1997; 1998), and Burgess and Dussubieux (2007). These, however, will not be synthesized here; this is merely a descriptive report of the beads recovered from the North Wall site, supplemented with some brief observations. More detailed and comprehensive analyses are forthcoming (Blair in prep.).

The Assemblage

Forty-eight glass beads were recovered from the Fort Ross North Wall Site. Of these 6 are wound beads (12.5% of the assemblage) and the remainder (n = 42; 87.5%) are of drawn manufacture. The collection is heavily dominated by white beads (n = 32; 66.7%), which is consistent with other Pomo bead assemblages that have been studied (e.g., Atchley 1990; Ross 1998). The assemblage also includes 2 green beads, 2 blue beads, 1 purple bead, 1 yellow bead, 8 red beads (all of compound construction), and 2 black beads (1 of complex construction). Motz (1979) notes that black beads are particularly rare on Native Californian sites.

Table 2: Bead Color Summary Table

Bead Color	Count	Percent
White	32	66.7%
Red	8	16.7%
Blue	2	4.2%
Green	2	4.2%
Black	2	4.2%

Yellow	1	2.1%
Purple	1	2.1%

Table 3: Bead Manufacture, Construction, Color Summary Table

Manufacture	Construction	Color		
Wound (n=6)	Simple(n=6)	White (n=5)		
		Blue (n=1)		
Drawn	Simple (n=21)	White (n=15)		
		Green (n=2)		
		Blue (n=1)		
		Yellow (n=1)		
		Black (n=1)		
		Purple (n=1)		
		Compound	Compound	White over white (n= 11)
				Red over green (n=7)
Red over white (n=1)				
White over blue-grey				
	Complex (n=1)	Black with white stripes		

Wound Beads: Six of the beads recovered from the site are of wound manufacture. Five of these are opaque-white oblates (Kidd and Kidd Type W1b2; Ross Type W/MSU) (Kidd and Kidd 1970; Ross 1990; 1997), while the final wound bead (specimen #1549; similar to Kidd and Kidd Type W1d3) is a very heavily weathered opaque-blue sub-oblate. The bead is so heavily weathered and devitrified that it appears almost white.

Drawn Beads: The remaining 42 beads (87.5% of the assemblage) are all of drawn manufacture. Of these, 21 are of simple construction (43.8% of the assemblage and 50% of the drawn beads). Fifteen of the drawn beads of simple construction are opaque white oblates or suboblates (Kidd and Kidd Type I1a13) while the remaining 6 include a variety of colors and diaphanaities.

Twenty beads in the collection (41.67%, 47.6% of the drawn beads) are of compound manufacture (two or more layers of glass). Eleven of these are comprised of two layers of opaque white glass (Kidd and Kidd Type I1a13), 7 are Green Heart Beads (red-on-green; Kidd and Kidd IVa6), and 1 is a Cornaline d’Aleppo¹ bead (red-on-white, Kidd and Kidd Type IVa2). The final bead of compound construction appears to have a layer of white

¹ Many bead researchers use the term Cornaline d’Aleppo to refer to all compound beads with a red exterior (e.g., green hearts, yellow hearts, black hearts). This is incorrect usage and the term should only refer to red-on-white (white hearts) beads.

glass over very light/pale blue-grey glass. It is unclear, however, if the white layer is actually a distinct layer of glass or is merely a fairly uniform layer of leached salts/devitrified glass. The white layer also has several linear gouges that allow the pale blue-grey layer to peak through and look superficially like stripes.

The final bead in the assemblage is a fragment of a complex black (dark purple) barrel shaped bead with white stripes. This specimen most closely matches Kidd and Kidd Type IIb13 and appears to be an exact match of two beads recovered at Fort Vancouver (1829-1860)—Variety IIb-op/tpl-1 (Ross 1990:table 4, fig. 5, Plate 1Y). The specimens from Fort Vancouver each had 26 stripes; because the North Wall bead is fragmented it is unclear how many stripes the intact specimen possessed.

Sources

All beads recovered from the North Wall Site at Fort Ross appear to be of likely Venetian manufacture; none have physical or chemical attributes that would suggest a Bohemian, Chinese, Russian, or other non-Venetian source (Brackett et al. 2008; Burgess and Dussubieux 2007; Bychkov 1997; Farris 1992; Francis 2002; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 1979).

Chronology

Only one bead excavated from the North Wall Site at Fort Ross is chronologically diagnostic: Specimen #1727—the single Cornaline d’Aleppo (White Heart) bead. Many researchers have noted that this bead type does not appear on California sites until after 1841 (Atchley 1990; Meighan n.d.; Motz 1979; Ross 1990; 1998). More recently, Billeck (2008) has conducted an extensive study reviewing the dates when Cornaline d’Aleppo (White Heart) beads first appear in historical documents, trade ledgers, ethnographic beaded objects, and archaeological sites in the Plains region. His synthesis of these multiple lines of evidence indicates that this bead type is rare during the mid-1830’s and only becomes common by the mid-1840’s. Atchley (1990:47-48) suggests that sites containing Green Heart beads, but lacking Cornaline d’Aleppo beads date prior to 1844. The ratio of Green Hearts to Cornaline d’Aleppo beads at the North Wall Site (7:1) suggests that the assemblage likely dates earlier than the mid- to late-1840’s.

Also of the note here is the complete absence of the erroneously named “Russian” beads (Kidd and Kidd types If and IIIf). Meighan (n.d.) suggests that these bead types date to the 1847-1867 period, while Ross (1997) states that they are certainly post-1820’s types—being primarily associated with the Hudson’s Bay Company trade.

Chemical Analysis

Eight beads from the North Wall site were analyzed using a Thermo Scientific QuantX energy-dispersive x-ray fluorescence spectrometer at the Berkeley Archaeological XRF Lab. The beads analyzed were all “large” opaque white specimen—selected for analysis as part of an on-going study of chronological changes in white glass opacifiers. For the QuantX benchtop analysis, semi-quantitative data were acquired, utilizing a modified fundamental parameters calibration—modified by incorporating Glass Reference Samples B, C, and D certified by the Corning Museum of Glass in Corning, NY (Brill 1999a; 1999b) and international rock standards into the fundamental parameters settings to refine the conversion of trace element intensities into concentration estimates. The spectrometer is

equipped with an electronically cooled Cu x-ray target with a 125 micron Be window, an x-ray generator that operates from 4-50 kV/0.02-2.0 mA at 0.02 increments, using an IBM PC based microprocessor and WinTraceTM reduction software. The x-ray tube was operated using four different conditions: Low Za, Mid Zb, High Zb, and Low Zb. Low Za was operated at 6 kV, Auto Current, using no beam filter at 100 seconds livetime. Mid Zb operated at 32 kV, Auto Current, using a medium Pd primary beam filter at 100 seconds. The High Zb was operated at 50 kV, Auto Current, using a thick Cu primary beam filter at 100 seconds. Finally, Low Zb was operated at 8kV, Auto Current, using a cellulose primary beam filter at 100 seconds. Additionally, all analyses were conducted in a vacuum to enhance the ability to detect low-Z elements. These four settings were selected to maximize the number of elements detected. Detected elements included: Na, Mg, Al, Si, P, Cl, K, Ca, Ti, V, Cr, Mn, Fe, Cu, Zn, As, Rb, Sr, Y, Zr, Nb, Ag, Cd, Sn, Sb, Ba, Pb, Bi, and Thorium. Table 4 reports the elemental concentrations obtained in the analysis (these are reported as weight % and as either elemental or oxide concentration). These reported values, however, must be viewed with considerable caution. I have little confidence in the calibration used (in fact blind tests of the Corning Glass Standards did not return results sufficiently close to the published values) and I am still in the process of developing a better calibration using this machine. The reported values, however, are not without some utility. They may be utilized for comparison amongst the samples.

The beads chosen for elemental analysis were selected prior to typological analysis, so all opaque white varieties were not analyzed; nevertheless, two different types were analyzed: four Kidd and Kidd Type IVa13's and four Kidd and Kidd Type W1b2's. Table 4 provides the data for the analyzed beads. Opaque white beads were selected for analysis because of known temporal changes in the use of opacifying agents (Hancock, et al. 1997; 1999; Moreau, et al. 2002; Sempowski, et al. 2000). To briefly summarize, prior to the mid- to late-17th century opaque white glass beads were opacified with a lead-tin mixture, from the mid- to late- 17th through the early 19th century, while beads opacified with a lead-arsenic mixture first seem to appear during the late 18th century. For the North Wall assemblage 7 of the 8 beads analyzed were opacified with lead-arsenic while one (Specimen # 1504) bead has a Sb-rich composition. However, the chronological utility of this analysis is questionable. More recent work on the bead assemblage recovered from the Metini site, suggests that different opacifiers might reflect typological differences rather than temporal changes. Preliminary analysis of the Metini beads suggests that simple drawn opaque white beads (e.g., Type IIa13) were opacified with a calcium-antimony oxide while wound (e.g., Type W1b2) and compound drawn (e.g., type IVa13) opaque white beads were opacified with a lead-arsenic compound (Blair in prep.). While it is certainly possible that compositional differences in opacifiers might simultaneously reflect temporal, typological, and manufacturing source changes, more research is necessary.

Comparisons to Metini

While my analysis of the bead assemblage recovered from Metini is ongoing, there are several striking differences between it and the North Wall assemblage. The first concerns the ratio of green hearts to Cornaline d'Aleppo beads. As mentioned previously, the ratio at the North Wall is 7:1 (green:white), while at Metini the ratio is 1:3. Secondly, five specimens of the drawn faceted Bohemian beads (often erroneously called "Russian"; e.g., Kidd and Kidd Types If3 and IIIf1) were recovered from Metini, while none were

recovered from the North Wall. While these are both small assemblages (Metini, n = 46), this is still a striking, and perhaps important difference. Similarly, Motz (1979) reports a complete absence of these Bohemian types from Pomo sites, and Ross (1997) reports only 3 beads of these types amongst the much larger assemblage (n = 564) recovered from the Native Alaskan Neighborhood. These differences suggest that the North Wall assemblage likely dates prior to the mid- to late- 1840's and almost certainly predates the Metini assemblage.

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APPENDIX C:
XRF Analysis of Obsidian Artifacts from the West Loop
and
XRF Results from the North Wall Community

BERKELEY ARCHAEOLOGICAL



XRF LAB



University of California, Berkeley

Steven Shackley, Ph.D.

Director

Source Provenance of Obsidian Artifacts From West Loop at Fort Ross, State Historic Park, California

By
Connie Spearing
Freddie Santistevan
Jaime al-Faro

Report prepared for
Sara Gonzalez
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Anthropology
University of California, Berkeley

May 6, 2009

Laboratory Sampling, Analysis and Instrumentation

This assemblage was analyzed on a Spectrace/Thermo QuanX energy-dispersive x-ray spectrometer at the Archaeological XRF Laboratory, Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley. All samples were analyzed whole with little or no formal preparation. The results presented here are quantitative in that they are derived from “filtered” intensity values ratioed to the appropriate x-ray continuum regions through a least squares fitting formula rather than plotting the proportions of the net intensities in a ternary system (McCarthy and Schamber 1981; Schamber 1977). Or more essentially, these data through the analysis of international rock standards, allow for inter-instrument comparison with a predictable degree of certainty (Hampel 1984).

The spectrometer is equipped with an electronically cooled Cu x-ray target with a 125 micron Be Window, an X-ray generator that operates from 4-50 kV/0.02-2.0 mA at 0.02 increments, using an IBM PC based microprocessor and WinTrace™ reduction software. The X-ray tube is operated at 30 kV, 0.14 mA, using a 0.05 mm (medium) Pd primary beam filter in an air path at 200 seconds livetime to generate x-ray intensity $K\alpha$ -line data for the elements titanium (Ti), manganese (Mn), iron (Fe), rubidium (Rb), strontium (Sr), yttrium (Y), zirconium (Zr), and Niobium (Nb). Weight percent iron ($Fe_2O_3^T$) can be derived by multiplying ppm estimates by 1.4297(10⁻⁴). Trace element intensities were converted to concentration estimates by employing a least-squares calibration line established for each element from the analysis of international rock standards certified by the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST), the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), Canadian Centre for Mineral and Energy Technology, and the Centre de Recherches Petrographiques et Geochimiques in France (Govindaraju 1994).

Specific standards used for the best fit regression calibration for elements Ti through Nb include G-2 (basalt), AGV-1 (andesite), GSP-1, SY-2 (syenite), BHVO-1 (hawaiite), STM-1 (syenite), QLO-1 (quartz latite), RGM-1 (obsidian), W-2 (diabase), BIR-1 (basalt), SDC-1 (mica schist), TLM-1 (tonalite), SCO-1 (shale), all U.S. Geological Survey standards, and BR-N (basalt) from the Centre de Recherches Petrographiques et Geochimiques in France, and JR-1 and JR-2 obsidian standards from the Japan Geological Survey (Govindaraju 1994). In addition to the reported values here, Ni, Cu, Zn, Th, and Ga were measured, but these are rarely useful in discriminating glass sources and are not generally reported.

The data from both systems were translated directly into Excel™ for Windows software for manipulation and on into SPSS™ for Windows for statistical analyses. In order to evaluate these quantitative determinations, machine data were compared to measurements of known standards during each run. An analysis of RGM-1 analyzed during each run is included in Table 1. Source nomenclature follows Shackley (1988, 1995, 1998, 2005). Further information on the laboratory instrumentation can be found at: <http://www.vv.swxrtlab.net/>. Trace element data exhibited in Table 1 are reported in parts per million (ppm), a quantitative measure by weight.

Further details concerning the petrological choice of the incompatible elements, particularly Sr, Rb, and Zr, in California obsidians is available in Jackson (1989; and Silliman 2005 ; see also Shackley 1992, 1995, and 2003). Sr-Rb (Chart 2) and Sr-Zr (Chart 1) bivariate plots were used to clarify the results of the XRF analysis.

Discussion

For the 63 artifacts in this study, five sources were identified. Napa Glass Mountain, Annadel and Franz Valley from the Sonoma Volcanic field with Mt. Konocti and Borax Lake in the Clear Lake Volcanic area. These provenances are in Sonoma and Lake Counties of the North Coast Range of Northern California and are Well-known sources in California lithic studies.

Napa Glass Mountain is near present day St. Helena. According to Jackson (1989), four prehistoric quarry sites have been identified here, but they are chemically indistinguishable. Material is also found in alluvial deposits along the Napa River (Silliman 2005). They are all found in what Jackson (1989) calls the upper or younger member of the Sonoma field which is dated to an age of ca. 2.9 million years ago. This is the best represented source in the assemblage with 45% of the assemblage. The artifact quality obsidian is found in small pieces (≤ 30 cm). The matrix of tuff and perlite is typical of this younger flow. "Obsidian from this source is typically very dense black, glossy to vitreous in luster, and opaque in all but the thinnest fragments. The glass is a very high quality for knapping and generally free of inclusions and visicles" (Jackson 1989). An additional chemically distinctive source in the upper member is identified as Franz Valley and is represented by five artifacts or 8% of this assemblage (Jackson 1989).

The Annadel quarry is in the lower or older member of the Sonoma volcanic field which is estimated to be more than 5.5 million years old. It is an archaeologically significant area that is now protected to some extent as part of Annadel State Park, near Santa Rosa in Sonoma County. "It is certainly true that distinct lithic reduction areas are still visible at the site" (Jackson 1989). Obsidian occurs in small pieces Within a perlite matrix, but larger cobbles "as much as 30 cm in diameter can be found in more recent alluvial deposits in nearby Santa Rosa Creek" (Jackson 1989, Silliman 2005). Annadel obsidian displays a matte luster and a grey-black color sometimes tinged With brown, although the occasional piece can be a dense black color with a vitreous luster. It is usually opaque (Jackson 1989). 32% of the artifacts analyzed come from Annadel.

While only six samples in this assemblage come from the Clear Lake area, their inclusion may be archaeologically significant. The Clear Lake volcanic flows are younger than the Sonoma area and are generally dated less than two million years ago. Obsidian occurs as "massive flows, domes and brecciated tuffs on the south side of Mt. Konocti" (Jackson 1989). Jackson describes Mt. Konocti obsidian as "generally inferior, [but] blocks of obsidian more than 1 meter in greatest dimension have been observed" (Jackson 1989). Borax Lake to the east of Clear Lake was isolated by an olivine dacite flow with a rhyolite obsidian cap (Jackson 1989). Borax Lake obsidian varies greatly in quality from dense black glass to "frothy" grey material exhibiting gas voids (Jackson 1989).

Observations

While it is not possible to be certain Whether the analyzed artifacts came from one of the identified prehistoric quarry sources or from a secondary alluvial or fluvial deposition, they do appear to come from provenances in nearby Sonoma and Lake Counties. Only one projectile point was found in this assemblage and many of the flakes Were quite small. One was so small that the analysis, While attempted, was not accurate. That sample, #321a, appears as an outlier

on the charts. The large quantity of small debitage pieces may indicate re-cycling of scarce materials. Three samples, #'s 743, 556, and 124, are listed as "source Unknown" and could benefit from further study. They are either from outside the area or from an as yet undiscovered source. Further analysis of these samples may be required.

Strontium & Zirconium Scatter Plot

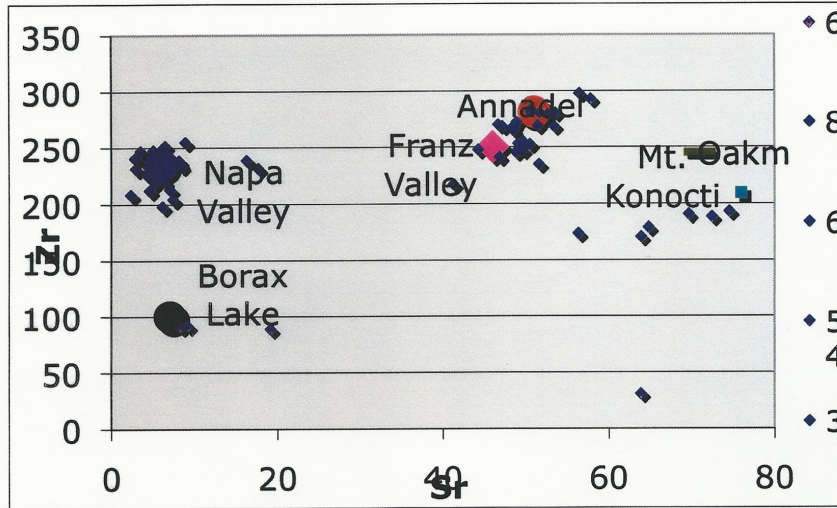


Figure 1 Strontium and Zirconium bivariate plot

Strontium & Rubidium Scatter Plot

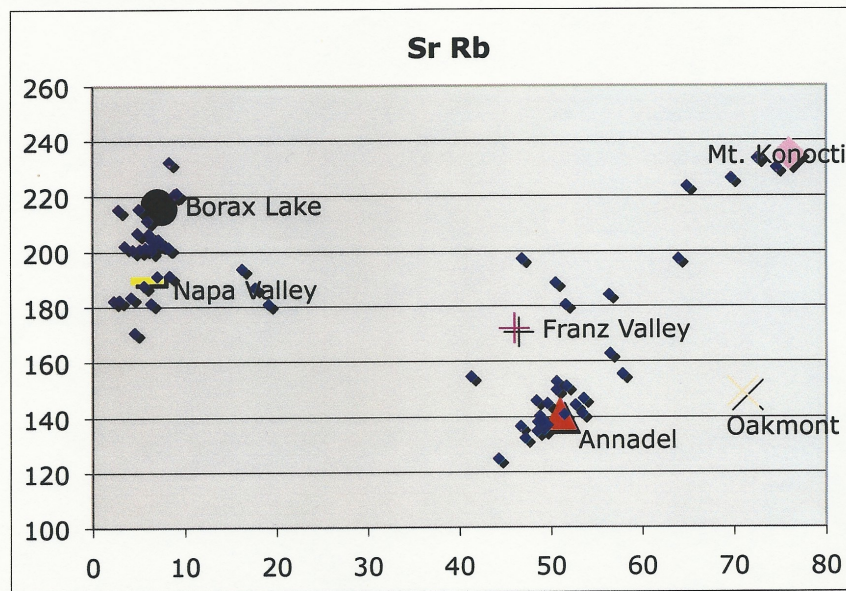


Figure 2 Strontium and Rubidium bivariate plot

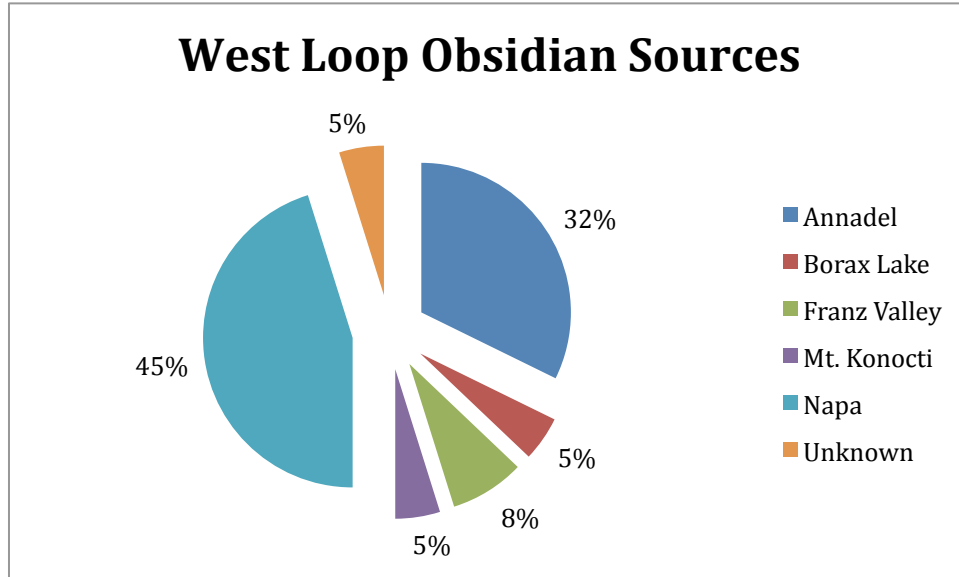


Chart 1 Obsidian sources by percentage

Table 1 West Loop Results

Sample #	Sr (ppm)	Rb (ppm)	Zr (ppm)	Source
6	54	280	147	ANNADEL
314a	48	265	135	ANNADEL
321b	51	281	153	ANNADEL
254	47	270	137	ANNADEL
316	49	268	138	ANNADEL
329	51	283	150	ANNADEL
416	47	268	132	ANNADEL
421	51	269	141	ANNADEL
455	48	267	146	ANNADEL
461	49	252	135	ANNADEL
467a	49	245	140	ANNADEL
554a	49	253	139	ANNADEL
554b	50	247	145	ANNADEL
568	58	293	155	ANNADEL
599	50	255	137	ANNADEL
748	53	279	144	ANNADEL
751	53	268	141	ANNADEL
757	49	272	138	ANNADEL
758	52	280	151	ANNADEL

123a	56	298	163	ANNADEL
212	9	91	221	BORAX LAKE
753	19	90	181	BORAX LAKE
762	8	91	232	BORAX LAKE
322	41	217	155	FRANZ VALLEY
348a	51	252	189	FRANZ VALLEY
363a	52	234	181	FRANZ VALLEY
438c	44	247	125	FRANZ VALLEY
755	47	241	197	FRANZ VALLEY
405	75	193	230	MT. KONOCTI
612	73	188	233	MT. KONOCTI
620	70	190	226	MT. KONOCTI
1	6	231	200	NAPA
2	8	238	202	NAPA
5	6	248	211	NAPA
9	3	240	215	NAPA
10	18	231	187	NAPA
28	6	231	205	NAPA
68	7	213	191	NAPA
238	8	235	202	NAPA
299a	5	212	171	NAPA
333	8	283	191	NAPA
348b	5	219	201	NAPA
363b	6	228	188	NAPA
452	3	231	183	NAPA
466	2	208	182	NAPA
530	16	238	194	NAPA
544a	5	235	207	NAPA
576	6	230	204	NAPA
631	6	198	207	NAPA
742	6	220	181	NAPA
749	4	247	202	NAPA
754	5	247	216	NAPA
756	4	226	184	NAPA
759	6	239	201	NAPA
760	6	251	202	NAPA
761	4	233	201	NAPA
123b	9	255	221	NAPA
438a	7	241	205	NAPA

438b	7	204	203	NAPA
321a	64	31	15	SMALL
124	65	179	223	Unknown
556	64	170	197	Unknown
743	56	173	184	Unknown

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XRF Results for the North Wall Community

Table 2 North Wall Community obsidian source values

Sample #	Sr (ppm)	Rb (ppm)	Zr (ppm)	Source
1218F	43	118	239	ANNADEL
759C	50	119	227	ANNADEL
1436C	48	122	248	ANNADEL
1491c	47	124	240	ANNADEL
386B	47	126	245	ANNADEL
298a	45	126	245	ANNADEL
232	48	128	259	ANNADEL
201b	52	129	262	ANNADEL
510B	43	130	252	ANNADEL
1024a	51	130	255	ANNADEL
609a	48	131	261	ANNADEL
512B	50	131	259	ANNADEL
1024b	49	132	260	ANNADEL
74A	50	132	261	ANNADEL
1331a	51	132	272	ANNADEL
316a	47	132	267	ANNADEL
918A	49	133	264	ANNADEL
512A	52	133	267	ANNADEL
761A	54	133	267	ANNADEL
353C	47	133	258	ANNADEL
295	52	133	263	ANNADEL
946D	51	134	244	ANNADEL
1063F	47	134	270	ANNADEL
512C	48	134	256	ANNADEL
509A	47	134	257	ANNADEL
294c	46	134	249	ANNADEL
1179C	48	135	253	ANNADEL
104	51	135	267	ANNADEL
105i	50	135	269	ANNADEL
294b	53	135	255	ANNADEL
432	50	136	276	ANNADEL
381D	51	136	252	ANNADEL
298c	51	136	265	ANNADEL
74B	53	136	265	ANNADEL
759E	53	136	267	ANNADEL
731B	50	136	268	ANNADEL
1061a	54	136	260	ANNADEL
74D	52	136	266	ANNADEL
1063d	53	137	266	ANNADEL
1179A	55	137	272	ANNADEL
1300	51	137	273	ANNADEL
74G	56	137	273	ANNADEL
407b	52	137	274	ANNADEL
1332c	48	138	271	ANNADEL
840C	51	138	266	ANNADEL
298b	54	138	268	ANNADEL
1128A	48	138	276	ANNADEL
840B	53	139	263	ANNADEL

835C	54	139	271	ANNADEL
971A	53	139	259	ANNADEL
732C	52	139	268	ANNADEL
105d	52	139	268	ANNADEL
1297a	51	140	277	ANNADEL
546D	50	140	256	ANNADEL
734	53	140	277	ANNADEL
1436B	50	140	270	ANNADEL
840A	55	140	273	ANNADEL
583C	54	140	274	ANNADEL
294f	60	140	264	ANNADEL
946B	53	141	270	ANNADEL
1022c	55	141	266	ANNADEL
40	49	141	273	ANNADEL
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406a	50	141	274	ANNADEL
1365b	49	142	272	ANNADEL
1435B	51	142	260	ANNADEL
548	52	142	268	ANNADEL
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1182A	56	142	271	ANNADEL
838B	56	142	273	ANNADEL
948B	51	142	253	ANNADEL
1332d	54	142	274	ANNADEL
583A	52	143	279	ANNADEL
917C	54	143	274	ANNADEL
433a	52	143	277	ANNADEL
170a	50	143	277	ANNADEL
1364a	51	144	273	ANNADEL
840D	54	144	275	ANNADEL
314a	53	144	281	ANNADEL
1491a	52	144	273	ANNADEL
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22b	48	145	272	ANNADEL
732D	55	146	270	ANNADEL
351c	54	146	269	ANNADEL
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1332a	53	146	272	ANNADEL
655B	53	146	269	ANNADEL
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250a	55	146	266	ANNADEL
353E	53	146	282	ANNADEL
835F	53	146	272	ANNADEL
1298	52	146	276	ANNADEL
1435A	52	147	276	ANNADEL
972	58	147	282	ANNADEL
433b	53	147	278	ANNADEL
1218C	54	147	274	ANNADEL

510A	53	147	280	ANNADEL
351F	51	147	274	ANNADEL
876A	57	147	272	ANNADEL
381A	51	147	267	ANNADEL
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230b	50	148	276	ANNADEL
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732E	63	148	274	ANNADEL
509C	53	148	273	ANNADEL
1022d	52	148	280	ANNADEL
434a	53	148	279	ANNADEL
759B	53	148	263	ANNADEL
292c	51	148	258	ANNADEL
1218G	52	148	277	ANNADEL
692B	58	148	277	ANNADEL
1365f	54	149	282	ANNADEL
835G	54	149	278	ANNADEL
1063c	51	149	280	ANNADEL
835E	62	149	275	ANNADEL
1218A	54	150	279	ANNADEL
407a	54	150	270	ANNADEL
201a	52	150	285	ANNADEL
1219C	56	150	265	ANNADEL
351b	51	150	274	ANNADEL
918B	51	151	265	ANNADEL
547B	56	151	267	ANNADEL
472A	53	151	270	ANNADEL
510D	54	151	274	ANNADEL
692E	60	151	280	ANNADEL
917A	58	152	286	ANNADEL
294d	51	153	259	ANNADEL
915	57	153	281	ANNADEL
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1488a	56	153	279	ANNADEL
1506c	58	153	283	ANNADEL
1365e	57	154	279	ANNADEL
1331c	53	155	283	ANNADEL
637a	54	155	280	ANNADEL
1218B	63	156	275	ANNADEL
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547A	52	157	263	ANNADEL
408b	54	160	271	ANNADEL
74H	64	164	284	ANNADEL
512D	56	161	152	ANNADEL
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1301	15	223	95	BORAX LAKE
167	11	228	94	BORAX LAKE
585c	15	238	90	BORAX LAKE
692C	16	243	96	BORAX LAKE
408c	44	164	225	FRANZ VALLEY

732A	46	164	238	FRANZ VALLEY
477B	43	166	224	FRANZ VALLEY
609	49	171	229	FRANZ VALLEY
1365a	48	172	236	FRANZ VALLEY
353D	46	172	238	FRANZ VALLEY
946A	45	178	233	FRANZ VALLEY
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1365g	45	178	243	FRANZ VALLEY
546C	47	179	243	FRANZ VALLEY
1179E	46	182	243	FRANZ VALLEY
351E	47	183	250	FRANZ VALLEY
37a	50	187	257	FRANZ VALLEY
1179D	49	191	253	FRANZ VALLEY
1128b	67	207	186	MT. KONOCTI
946C	78	208	190	MT. KONOCTI
583D	70	209	174	MT. KONOCTI
1363a	70	213	189	MT. KONOCTI
386A	71	213	179	MT. KONOCTI
1363b	69	216	189	MT. KONOCTI
37b	69	219	183	MT. KONOCTI
381C	81	219	199	MT. KONOCTI
1332b	68	219	188	MT. KONOCTI
832A	67	220	188	MT. KONOCTI
1365c	68	222	193	MT. KONOCTI
1489d	72	226	190	MT. KONOCTI
294a	76	237	192	MT. KONOCTI
1438A	6	173	207	NAPA
1491b	6	175	210	NAPA
581	6	175	222	NAPA
74E	10	176	222	NAPA
580	8	177	216	NAPA
250b	13	178	220	NAPA
510E	6	179	212	NAPA
878B	8	180	213	NAPA
692A	6	180	232	NAPA
250d	14	180	206	NAPA
201c	5	181	223	NAPA
1024c	5	181	210	NAPA
351a	4	181	211	NAPA
914	7	182	217	NAPA
835D	5	183	222	NAPA
1436A	6	184	224	NAPA
353A	11	184	235	NAPA
584	8	184	223	NAPA
230d	4	184	226	NAPA
229a	5	184	236	NAPA
169	7	185	219	NAPA
1401b	7	185	224	NAPA
877B	6	185	218	NAPA
383A	4	185	219	NAPA
1218H	6	185	225	NAPA
1434	8	186	232	NAPA

1060	7	187	224	NAPA
1401a	4	187	222	NAPA
950B	9	187	222	NAPA
878A	5	188	215	NAPA
1218I	9	188	225	NAPA
73	5	188	217	NAPA
732B	7	188	224	NAPA
1435C	5	189	236	NAPA
21	17	189	235	NAPA
105g	3	189	217	NAPA
919A	7	189	225	NAPA
382	9	190	232	NAPA
877A	7	190	219	NAPA
546B	4	191	211	NAPA
920	15	191	228	NAPA
582A	4	191	230	NAPA
1303a	6	191	222	NAPA
692D	8	192	237	NAPA
636	5	192	229	NAPA
229d	4	192	212	NAPA
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1466a	5	193	222	NAPA
381B	8	193	225	NAPA
692F	8	193	228	NAPA
229b	6	193	207	NAPA
1063b	7	193	237	NAPA
74C	6	193	228	NAPA
838A	10	193	238	NAPA
103A	6	193	212	NAPA
383B	9	194	212	NAPA
1489b	10	194	232	NAPA
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38	9	195	246	NAPA
686A	4	195	221	NAPA
1299b	6	195	221	NAPA
1331f	5	195	224	NAPA
477A	6	195	235	NAPA
835A	9	196	230	NAPA
510C	5	196	221	NAPA
353B	6	196	240	NAPA
105a	6	196	228	NAPA
168b	7	196	237	NAPA
201e	6	196	234	NAPA
546A	7	196	232	NAPA
74F	8	197	232	NAPA
385	6	197	235	NAPA
832B	10	197	234	NAPA
168a	6	197	224	NAPA
1466b	7	197	240	NAPA
971D	6	197	239	NAPA

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105h	4	198	227	NAPA
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1063E	7	198	234	NAPA
1177	7	199	243	NAPA
759A	18	199	229	NAPA
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408a	5	201	220	NAPA
475A	6	201	214	NAPA
1331e	5	201	232	NAPA
250c	5	201	226	NAPA
1402	5	202	238	NAPA
1022b	8	202	245	NAPA
583E	3	203	239	NAPA
1437A	5	203	230	NAPA
1127a	16	203	237	NAPA
351G	6	203	227	NAPA
201d	5	204	232	NAPA
585a	7	205	218	NAPA
1331d	4	205	239	NAPA
971B	10	205	219	NAPA
22a	5	206	229	NAPA
690A	8	206	236	NAPA
509B	5	206	224	NAPA
294e	4	206	233	NAPA
635a	9	206	229	NAPA
1218D	4	207	228	NAPA
1179B	8	207	236	NAPA
1299c	5	208	229	NAPA
835B	8	209	227	NAPA
230c	7	209	238	NAPA
686B	7	209	223	NAPA
229c	4	210	219	NAPA
434a2	6	210	232	NAPA
1219B	6	211	234	NAPA
585b	10	213	233	NAPA
1506d	8	214	239	NAPA
1489c	8	215	239	NAPA
105c	6	217	241	NAPA
249a	8	217	236	NAPA
917B	7	221	239	NAPA
1437B	8	221	240	NAPA
971C	7	221	243	NAPA
433c	5	222	228	NAPA
296a	4	227	238	NAPA
406b	10	169	220	Napa?
1438B	36	2	168	Unknown
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105f	74	154	203	Unknown
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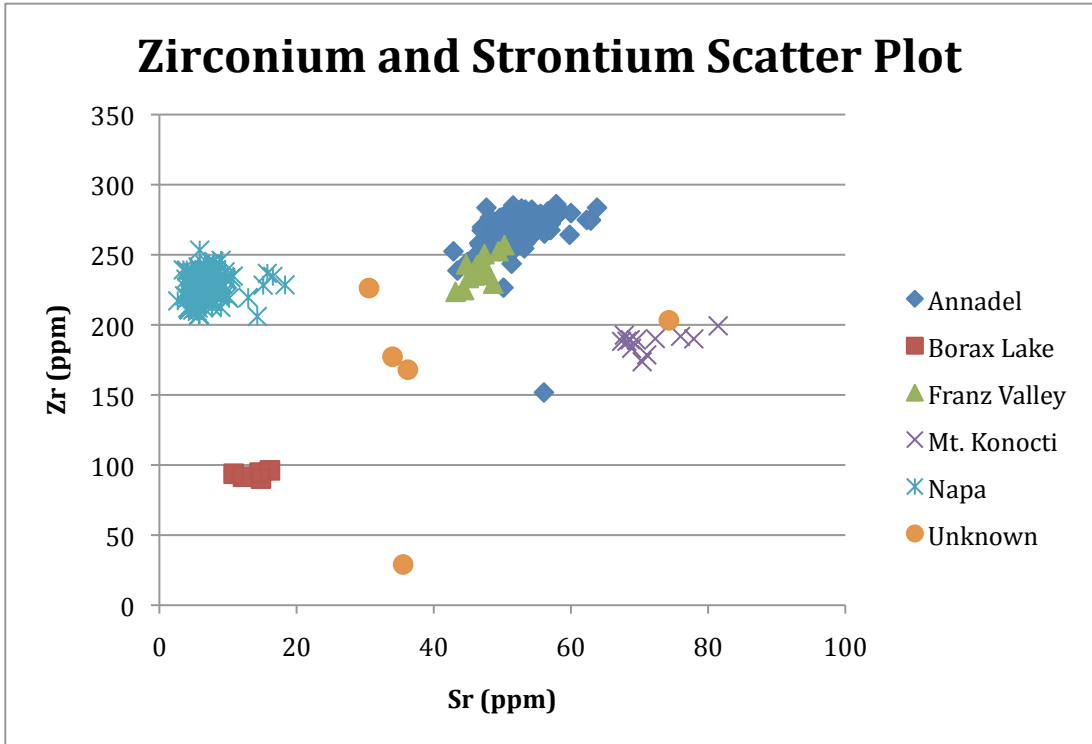


Chart 1 Zirconium and Strontium bivariate plot, North Wall Community

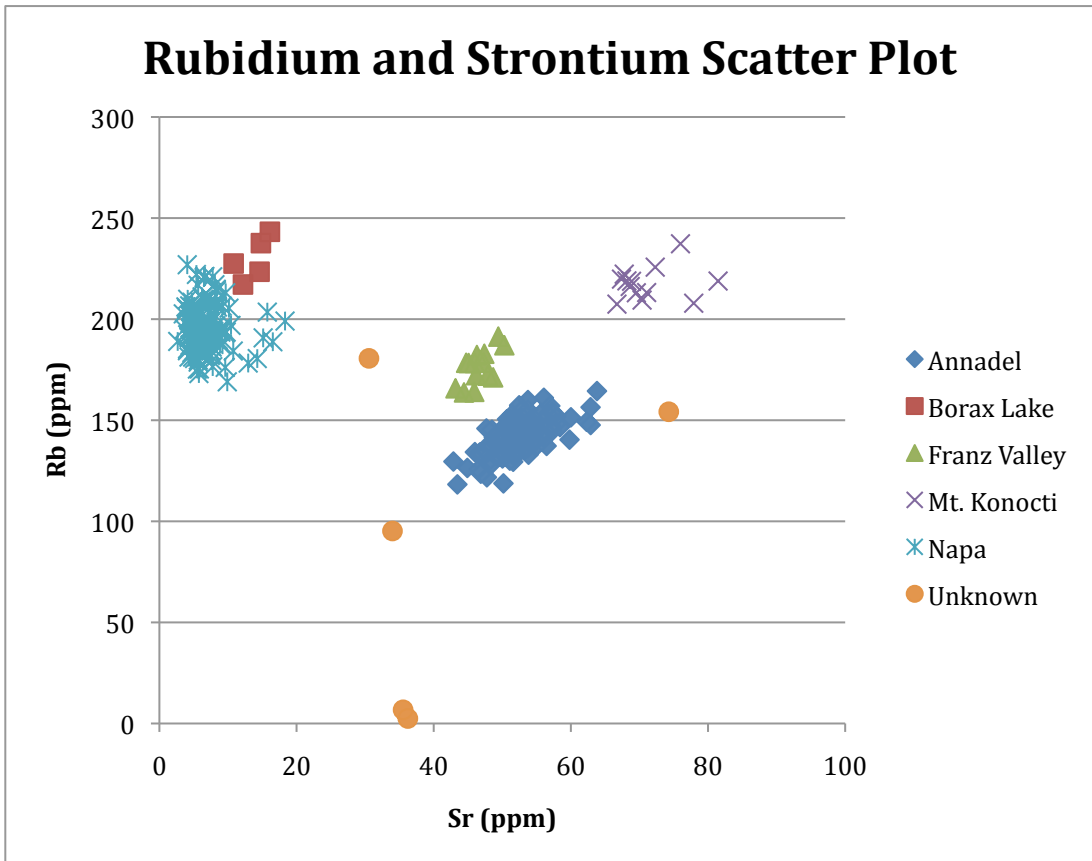


Chart 2 Rubidium and Strontium bivariate plot, North Wall Community