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PLACING REFUGE AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF INDIGENOUS HINTERLANDS IN COLONIAL CALIFORNIA

Tsim D. Schneider

Indigenous negotiations of European colonialism in North America are more complex than models of domination and resistance reveal. Indigenous people—acting according to their own historically and culturally specific ways of knowing and being in the world—developed strategies for remaking their identities, material choices, and social configurations to survive one or multiple phases of colonization. Archaeologists are making strides in documenting the contingencies and consequences of these strategies, yet their focus is often skewed toward sites of contact and colonialism (e.g., missions and forts). This article examines places of refuge for native people navigating colonial programs in the San Francisco Bay area of California. I use a resistance-memory-refuge framework to reevaluate resistance to Spanish missions, including the possible reoccupation of landscapes by fugitive or furloughed Indians. Commemorative trips to shellmounds and other refuges support the concept of an indigenous hinterland, or landscapes that, in time, provided contexts for continuity and adjustment among Indian communities making social, material, and economic choices in the wake of missionization. By viewing colonialism from the outside in, this reoriented approach can potentially enhance connections between archaeological and Native American communities.

Las negociaciones entre los indígenas y las sistemas del colonialismo europeo en Norteamérica son más complejos que revelan los modelos de dominación y resistencia. Ni aquiescencia ni denegación total, los pueblos indígenas desarrollaron estrategias, basadas en sus propias culturas e historias, para rehacer sus identidades, selecciones de materiales, y configuraciones sociales para sobrevivir una o varias fases de la colonización. Los arqueólogos están progresando en la documentación de los riesgos y consecuencias de estas estrategias. Sin embargo, la mayoría de las investigaciones sobre estas prácticas aún se centran en los sitios de contacto y el colonialismo (por ejemplo, las misiones y fuertes). Este artículo examina los lugares de refugio para los nativos que navegan programas coloniales cerca de la Bahía de San Francisco, California. Yo uso un marco de resistencia-memoria-refugio para reevaluar la resistencia a las misiones españolas, incluida la reocupación posible de los paisajes por los indios fugitivos o excedencia. Viajes conmemorativos a concheros y otros refugios apoyan el concepto de una zona de influencia indígena. Con el tiempo, estos paisajes proporcionaban contextos para la continuidad y el ajuste entre las comunidades indígenas que hacen sociales, materiales y opciones económicas bajo la misionización. Al ver el colonialismo desde el exterior, este enfoque reorientado puede mejorar las conexiones entre los arqueólogos y las comunidades indígenas.

North American indigenous populations encountered different manifestations of European colonialism, including religious missions, settler outposts, and mercantile operations. Following the 1992 Columbian Quincentenary and the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990, a growing body of archaeological research has addressed the array of pluralistic social settings where the discovery of non-European materials, structures, foods, and burials indicates the presence of indigenous populations typically excluded

from mainstream histories. As Rubertone (2000: 435) warns, however, archaeology at places of contact and sites of colonization overshadows theoretical and methodological approaches for studying “native presence.” This includes documenting cultural resiliency, especially the creative ways that native people negotiated colonialism and the persistent connections that present-day tribes maintain to cultural landscapes.

Much needed attention is being given to indigenous people’s persistent and novel identities, materials, beliefs, and foodways. However, still

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more can be done to document the places where such resiliency and change took place, including places with which contemporary tribes often still identify. For California, all 21 Spanish missions have been investigated by archaeologists, while we know comparatively less about what took place in the broader indigenous landscapes around them (Panich and Schneider 2014). Inspired by post-colonial critiques, decolonizing methodologies, and indigenous archaeologies (e.g., Atalay 2006; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Oland et al. 2012; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Watkins 2000), recentring indigenous people within studies of colonialism gives rise to important collaborative partnerships and sophisticated theoretical and methodological engagements with archaeological and historical records, museum collections, and heritage management practices. By repositioning the archaeology of colonialism to evaluate places and landscapes around sites of contact and colonialism, researchers can also begin to better characterize the places that indigenous people continually engaged, abandoned, and reimaged.

By investigating the broader spatial and temporal dimensions of colonialism, this article foregrounds resilient and innovative connections between native people and cultural landscapes. I apply a resistance-memory-refuge framework for understanding the ways that indigenous Coast Miwok on the Marin Peninsula in the San Francisco Bay area of California maintained and created connections to salient places and landscapes during Spanish missionization (ca. A.D. 1776–1830s) and afterward. I use recent thinking on the concept of resistance (Liebmann 2012; Liebmann and Murphy 2010) as a starting point for considering Coast Miwok responses to colonialism as complex, historically, and culturally informed actions.

Social memory and culturally significant places—recast as “places of refuge” away from colonial establishments—were important forces in the lives and decision-making of Coast Miwok people contending with colonization, dispossession, and cultural oppression. In this case study, I examine artifacts collected from a cluster of three shellmounds and discuss how these objects may in fact reflect the persistence of ancient mounds as sites of historical importance for Indians engaging with Spanish missions. Drawing connections to research examining refuge among self-

emancipated communities in other regions, I suggest that seeking refuge promoted opportunities for hinterland Coast Miwok communities to develop novel social and economic strategies for surviving subsequent waves of colonization. Locating and documenting sites of refuge, I argue, has tremendous potential for strengthening links between archaeological and Native American communities and illuminating connections between tribes and the many places with which they still identify.

Resistance-Memory-Refuge: Native Responses to Colonialism

Reconsidering Resistance

Researchers have long viewed Native American responses to European colonialism through a rubric of domination and resistance. Archaeological explorations of native resistance in particular can often result in cataloging instances in which materials and spaces deviate from an assumed dominant colonial presence. Yet colonial encounters produced more than indigenous loss and European gain, and “resistance” does not adequately address the tensions and contingencies of colonialism, the various forms resistance can take (Scott 1990), and the creative role indigenous places played in the production and contestation of space.

As reassessments of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt show, uncritical views of this large-scale resistance movement diminish the motivations of native people to revolt, including decisions that may have been shaped by shifting alliances, charismatic leaders, internal tribal politics, and mobility options (Liebmann 2012; Wilcox 2009). Native people resisted colonialism for reasons other than to avoid disease and conflict. Resistance was spatially informed and consciously practiced to “preserve local authority, communally based status systems, and familial, clan, and religious identities” (Wilcox 2009:19). Moreover, complex outcomes—including revolt, reluctance, ambiguity, and other “profane appropriations” (Liebmann 2008, 2012)—can be glossed over when indigenous opposition is simply lumped under the umbrella of resistance.

Indians undoubtedly reacted with resistance when they encountered confined living quarters,

death and disease, food shortages, labor routines, punishment, and other hardships in Spanish missions in Alta (Upper) California between A.D. 1769 and the 1830s. Yet a focus on these and other negative aspects can reinforce the view that native people were in constant opposition to a dominant European force. There is also a tendency to cast missions as inflexible and inescapable, as well as to mask the creative ways that Indians and non-Indians alike challenged and created the circumstances of their encounters. The unanticipated result of labelling all indigenous responses as resistance is to obfuscate human agency within contexts of colonialism; it can also diminish the role of the non-native places where decision-making may have taken place.

Archaeological research at California missions, for instance, outweighs considerations of new and old places that intermeshed indigenous and non-native worlds beyond the immediate mission environment. Franciscan missionaries sought to collect, congregate, and convert indigenous people to the Roman Catholic faith and make them loyal subjects of the Crown. Yet recent views of missions as dynamic places focus on life beyond the walls, especially the places Indians continually visited (Panich and Schneider 2014). Missions established both social constraints and opportunities for native people and colonists alike, whose daily negotiations and resistances were conditioned by their own histories and cultural protocols (T. Schneider 2010). Illicit flight, intermittent furloughs (or *paseos*) granted by the padres, and options for extramural residence are some of the ways that California Indians resisted missions and remained in touch with relatives and homelands (Arkush 2011; Geiger and Meighan 1976; Johnson 1984:12; Lightfoot 2005:65–66; Newell 2009), and such practices should encourage continued efforts to document how missionization worked and where it unfolded. By going beyond thinking of resistance as simply a reaction to an inescapable and oppressive social situation, archaeologists can begin to disentangle indigenous histories from narratives of colonial domination and indigenous dependency and to recast some sites as places of ongoing commemoration and significance.

Memory and Mounded Landscapes

Archaeologists have made significant contributions

to the topic of social memory (Joyce 2003; Mills and Walker 2008; Van Dyke 2008; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Wallis 2008; Wilson 2010), in part because past daily practices entangle with the “lived history” of social memory (Halbwachs 1980:57). Halbwachs (1980:50–52) argued that individuals are participants in personal and collective memories. People carry their own personal remembrances, which are simultaneously enriched by a collective memory that evokes the remembrances of interest to a larger social group, or for “those who might agree on memory and its meaning” (Joyce 2003:122). Providing a link between memory and one’s physical surroundings, Halbwachs (1980:156–157) further observes that each social group “cuts up space in order to compose ... a fixed framework within which to enclose and retrieve its remembrances.”

Providing more than “cut up” spaces for embedding and extracting social memory, cultural landscapes are generative places of empowerment and venues of social reproduction (Basso 1996; Cruikshank 2005). Schlanger’s (1992) concept of “persistent places” is especially useful for considering the archaeology of repeated abandonments and reoccupations. Applying the concept to human land use in the American Southwest, the author argues that oversimplified accounts of site abandonment and occupation can underestimate the extent to which “persistent places” continue to structure the mobility of people across landscapes, even after residents move away from them (Schlanger 1992:92). The idea that places, even as they get “abandoned,” continue to hold value for people—and to structure their actions—is echoed in Ashmore’s (2002:1178) comments on “life histories of place.” This concept posits not only that some places “acquire histories” through people’s repeated visits and episodes of construction and modification, but also that these “material reiterations” and materialized remembrances accrue over time at sites and have profound significance for people returning to them.

“Memory stresses continuity in the landscape,” Knapp and Ashmore (1999:14) observe, and monumental earthworks like mounds invite reflection on the past. Continuity on the landscape, however, is not predicated on memory alone. In considering social memory at mounded sites, “continuity” can also entail contestations, strategic forgetting, and

the genesis of new memories and place associations (Hantman 1990; Luby and Gruber 1999; Mann 2005; Pauketat and Alt 2003; Rodning 2009; Wallis 2008; Wilson 2010). This is an important theme informing my analysis of refuge. People bridge the past and present at places in culturally and historically meaningful ways—through daily and commemorative practices and other mnemonic devices—but they also wield, forget, and reconfigure these place connections at different times, for specific purposes, and with diverse outcomes.

Pauketat and Alt (2003) explore this concept in their study of how Mississippi Valley mounds structured human action and how knowledge and memories were transmitted and contested as traditions across space and through time. Mounds were dynamic sites of compromise, rather than static monuments of intact cultural structures (Pauketat and Alt 2003:169), and each iteration of mound construction was temporally and locally unique, representing “multivocal” and inscriptive acts of memorialization as dynamic as the histories associated with them. Wilson (2010:4) too observes that Moundville people brandished memory as a political resource for negotiating social and economic conditions and through “careful and persistent claims to space.” Some kin-groups deliberately placed their dead within earlier residential groups to reaffirm social and spatial continuity (Wilson 2010:13–14). These examples illustrate the socially transformative nature of mounded landscapes for the people who memorialized and dwelled in them.

Like Midwest earthen mounds, many San Francisco Bay shellmounds show evidence of domestic and mortuary activities. The placement of the dead within discrete mounded spaces suggests deliberate inscribed practices of commemoration over time. Presumably kin visited or resided atop the mounds—and built them up—to reaffirm links to the past and claims to space for present and future generations. There has been research on earthen mounds and on issues of monumentality, identity, and ritual at shellmounds in areas outside of California (e.g., Claassen 1992; Pluckhahn et al. 2015; Sassaman and Randall 2012; Thompson and Andrus 2011). However, few studies have addressed the social dimensions of California shellmounds. One exception is the work of Luby and Gruber

(1999), who propose a model of mortuary feasting and social aggrandizement at some larger shellmounds containing upwards of 700 burials. Mounds such as these may have doubled as cemeteries and spaces for the living where aspiring individuals could enhance their status by offering feasts that recalled social obligations to ancestors and community. Shellmounds, Luby and Gruber (1999:102) add, were “layered with significances . . . and with symbolic meaning which enfolded them into a broad cosmology” (see also McNiven 2013).

It is uncertain how shellmounds and other sites were occupied or abandoned during the Late period Phase 2 (LP2) (A.D. 1500–1800), which includes the initial period of Spanish missionization in the region. In 1776, just prior to the establishment of Mission San Francisco, Father Pedro Font noted one Ohlone village with “a great pile of the shells of mussels, which [the Indians] get from the [San Francisco Bay] estuary, and for which one village often fights with another” (cited in Bolton 1930:327). Yet, most historical accounts do not usually divulge the types of places native people inhabited. Compounding biases in the historical record and narratives of cultural decline espoused by anthropologists (Wilcox 2009), cultural and natural disturbances obliterated entire shellmounds or sheared their upper, most recent deposits. Destructive processes amplify historical “silences” whereby native groups disappear from the landscapes and places they continuously inhabited. This silencing also pigeonholes native histories into colonial places and forecloses discussion of shellmounds as historically relevant for native groups engaging with colonial programs.

Rereads of older archaeological reports detailing mounds before their destruction reveal overlooked links between historical Indians and mounded landscapes. Nelson (1909:347), for example, describes items such as a brick “of Spanish make” from one mound and “a small brass medal bearing the date of 1768” collected from another mound. Nelson’s (1909:347, emphasis added) informants also testified: “some of the smaller sites *between San Rafael and Petaluma* . . . [were] occupied by the Indians as late as 1870.” Commemorative practices continued at still other shellmounds during and after the missions. Loud (1912) suspected a “general custom of burial on the mounds at the time of the Spanish arrival.” One

mound (CA-SCL-12/H) in particular that captured Loud's attention contained the grave of Lope Inigo, an Ohlone man who, before his death in 1864, asked to be buried in the mound. Baptized by Franciscan priests at Mission Santa Clara, Inigo petitioned for and received title to lands that included several shellmounds that likely contained the remains of deceased relatives (Shoup and Milliken 1999). Growing radiocarbon evidence (Table 1) further supports shellmound occupations extending into the late 1700s (e.g., Banks and Orlins 1981; Bieling 1998; DeGeorgey 2013; Finstad et al. 2013; Leventhal 1993:442; T. Schneider 2010; Von der Porten and DeGeorgey 2015).

Pasts are selectively remembered, reconstructed, and forgotten in the process of memory. The application of memory can be wielded by marginalized social groups in the service of resistance (Van Dyke 2008:278) and recalled tactically to transform the present and to shape hoped-for futures. Just as social memories are constructed at particular moments in time, repeated visits and site reuse are also imbued and rendered meaningful in objects and the places people occupy through time, and, in turn, summoned as powerful forces in effecting social action. People, meanings, and memories comprise the fabric of socially salient places like shellmounds. Acts of remembrance—a burial, the strategic placement or reuse of a house pit, harvesting and depositing shellfish at particular times of year—leave material traces, and even in the physical act of returning to places of refuge, native people transmitted cultural traditions, legitimated dynamic social orders, and remembered the past.

Places of Refuge

Examples of refugeism appear in many regions and time periods (e.g., Bernard 2008; Graham et al. 1989; Hammond 2004; Holly 2008; Kennedy and Brady 1997; McNiven 2000; O'Sullivan 2001; Seymour 2004). Seeking commonalities among such varied examples, I understand "places of refuge" to include familiar and unfamiliar places, such as villages and other landscape features, to which people return to evade and maintain physical separation from persecution. They do this through the maintenance and refashioning of social practices in relationship to these places as both meaningfully constituted by and constitutive

of social identity. As Bernard (2008:21) also observes, a refuge need not be occupied solely by indigenous populations, but may also include people from a variety of ethnic and cultural identities seeking separation from domination.

In the broadest sense, a place of refuge can refer to an entire continent. Diasporas and transnational movements of displaced human populations cast entire continents as "places of refuge" for those seeking new opportunities or fleeing religious persecution, political upheaval, war, or economic plight. Places of refuge also pertain to regions or specific environments such as swamps and mountain ranges comprised of multiple sites that are conducive to hiding out for short or long periods of time. Places of refuge can also include individual sites demonstrating single use or reuse, such as older places recast as new arenas of cultural preservation.

The challenge of investigating refuge is not only to seek out instances of "resistance" but also to define the social networks, sanctuary options, identities, and traditions of mobility that motivated and informed how and when people returned to particular places on the landscape. Addressing this challenge, several researchers already question the utility of deeply engrained temporal sequences that parse sites and artifacts as "prehistoric" and "historic" (Lightfoot 1995; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; Silliman 2010, 2012). This research and the study below can encourage further thinking on when and where colonial encounters can be studied. Critically reexamining artifact assemblages and processes of site reuse and blurring tidy temporal frameworks are important exercises, especially when documenting refuge. No longer the express domain of prehistorians, shellmounds are sites of historical significance for Indians engaging with colonial enterprises.

From the perspective of a resistance-memory-refuge framework, three key points are made about refuge. First, a critical mass of archaeologists examining colonialism is converging upon a common theme: a wider world existed beyond the relatively small missions, forts, and outposts established by European colonizers. I examine indigenous hinterlands as spaces that encapsulated and intersected the colonial imprint and simultaneously served as centers of indigenous power. These hinterlands were not simply a distant fron-

Table 1. Radiocarbon Assays from Late/Historic Period San Francisco Bay Shellmounds.

Shellmound	Sample No. (material)	¹⁴ C Age (B.P.)	2σ (95.4%) Cal Age Ranges	Reference
CA-ALA-329	WSU-3367 (bone collagen)	250 ± 50		Leventhal 1993
CA-ALA-329	WSU-3369 (bone collagen)	300 ± 60		Leventhal 1993
CA-CCO-290	CAMS-149367 (shell) ^a	895 ± 30	cal A.D. 1624–1862 (cal B.P. 326–88)	Finstad et al. 2013
CA-CCO-290	CAMS-149368 (shell) ^a	925 ± 30	cal A.D. 1563–1813 (cal B.P. 387–137)	Finstad et al. 2013
CA-CCO-290	CAMS-149386 (shell) ^a	875 ± 30	cal A.D. 1650–1878 (cal B.P. 300–72)	Finstad et al. 2013
CA-CCO-295	CAMS-116848 (charcoal)	240 ± 35	cal A.D. 1523–1572, 1630–1683, 1735–1805, 1930–1950 (cal B.P. 427–378, 320–267, 215–145, 20–1)	Finstad et al. 2013
CA-CCO-297	UCR-1147 (ash)	250 ± 100		Banks and Orlins 1981
CA-CCO-297	UCR-1150A (charcoal)	215 ± 80		Banks and Orlins 1981
CA-CCO-297	UCR-1153 (charcoal)	150 ± 0		Banks and Orlins 1981
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324199 (shell) ^b	480 ± 30	cal A.D. 1650–1710 (cal B.P. 300–240)	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324201 (shell) ^b	350 ± 30	cal A.D. 1700–1900 (cal B.P. 250–50) cal A.D. 1940–1940 (cal B.P. 10–0)	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324203 (shell) ^b	460 ± 30	cal A.D. 1640–1700 (cal B.P. 310–250)	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324204 (shell) ^b	520 ± 30	cal A.D. 1530–1680 (cal B.P. 420–280)	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324205 (shell) ^b	470 ± 30	cal A.D. 1650–1710 (cal B.P. 300–240)	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324206 (shell) ^b	450 ± 30	cal A.D. 1650–1710 (cal B.P. 300–240)	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324207 (shell) ^b	380 ± 30	cal A.D. 1680–1830 (cal B.P. 270–120)/ cal A.D. post 1950	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-CCO-297	Beta-324208 (shell) ^b	360 ± 30	cal A.D. 1690–1870 (cal B.P. 260–80)/ cal A.D. post 1950	DeGeorgey 2013
CA-MRN-114	Beta-254228 (shell) ^c	510 ± 40	cal A.D. 1650–1880 (cal B.P. 300–70)	Schneider 2010
CA-MRN-115	Beta-250547 (charcoal)	280 ± 40	cal A.D. 1490–1670, 1780–1790 (cal B.P. 460–280, 160–160)	Schneider 2010
CA-MRN-115	Beta-250548 (charcoal)	210 ± 40	cal A.D. 1520–1590, 1620–1670, 1770–1800, 1940–1950 (cal B.P. 430–360, 330–280, 180–150, 10–0)	Schneider 2010
CA-MRN-254	Beta-128754 (charcoal)	240 ± 120		Bieling 1998 ^d

^aΔR value of 375 ± 35 years.

^bΔR value of 225 ± 35 years.

^cΔR value of 300 ± 35 years.

^dTwo glass beads were also collected from this mound (Bieling 1998:98).

tier of colonial control, but, rather, they contained places of refuge and other spaces that native people sometimes strategically reinhabited because of their proximity to colonial sites. Native people returned to these places for seclusion, social and

ceremonial gatherings, and other reasons. Through these places, native people retained connections to the past and also remade themselves in relationship to those places as both meaningfully constructed by and creative of identity.

Second, seeking refuge may have been purposeful, rather than simply a “flight-or-fight” response to an oppressive social situation. Places of refuge were significant forces in guiding the course of culture change and persistence. Thus, when possible, it is critical to situate refuge within a longer historical trajectory of mobility and landscape use before and after colonial occupation. To do otherwise can lend weight to a dominance-resistance mentality whereby the agency of native people (i.e., flight and seeking refuge) is precluded by European initiative.

Third, by focusing on refuge and hinterlands, archaeologists may further decenter studies of colonialism. As Hauser and Armstrong (2012:329) observe, there is a sense of irony involved in questioning “the centrality of colonization during a time of colonialism.” Still, this shift in thinking is essential to further decouple indigenous histories from a historically specific epistemology that defines colonization and how it should behave in the archaeological record. It is also critical to this reorientation to better link ancient histories with recent histories (Ferris 2009). Within indigenous hinterlands, there are places inhabited more recently in time. These sites can serve to bridge an often abstracted archaeological past and the real-life conditions of Indian communities, as well as to elicit memories and materials that may still be familiar to contemporary populations. Therefore, the time is right to pursue an archaeology of colonial traces in largely indigenous places.

Placing Refuge in Colonial California

I employ theories of resistance, social memory, and refuge to address the larger field of relationships that existed beyond the relatively small confines of European colonies in North America. I begin by addressing some of the challenges involved in finding and studying places of refuge. I then present a case study examining mission-era Native American refuges in San Francisco Bay.

First, there is a problem of scale involved in locating and connecting small sites across comparatively large and rugged spaces. Places of refuge can encompass broad regions or environmental zones that, in turn, consist of multiple refuges. Several regions of California illustrate this point. Phillips (2004), for instance, discusses the remote

canyons of the Tehachapi Mountains in Southern California as destinations for Indians fleeing coastal missions and, later, Indians moving away from the missions after their closure. Here, several closely knit settlements forged a common *Tejoneño* identity, established their own governing authority, practiced irrigation farming, hunted and gathered, wove baskets, and hosted feasts before the United States government evicted them in the 1850s. The once-vast tule marshes of the Central Valley were also refuge destinations (Heizer 1941; Phillips 1993). Historical accounts from several Spanish expeditions journeying east from San Francisco relate encounters with communities of furloughed and fugitive Indians living, dancing, and subsisting in marshy hideouts (Cook 1960, 1962).

Second, occupational sequences at refuges might reflect reuse over long time spans, relatively short durations, or group coalescence punctuated by periodic dispersal. In the San Emigdio Mountains of South Central California, rockshelters served as “points of refuge” for Indians absconding from Santa Barbara Channel missions (Bernard 2008; Bernard et al. 2014; Robinson 2013). This research offers important insights on Spanish missions and refuge, as well as on the nature of hinterland encounters with runaways seeking safe harbor among established interior groups. Excavations at the site of *Tashlipun* (CA-KER-188H), for instance, encountered extensive deposits dating from as early as A.D. 1150 to later than A.D. 1850 (Bernard 2008). Whereas artifacts from *Tashlipun* suggest a more local existence, a smaller site nearby (CA-KER-6789) could be a runaway encampment based on findings of glass beads and iron-needle-drilled *Olivella* wall beads, as well as exotic lithic materials and faunal remains from species found in both coastal and interior environments (Bernard et al. 2014:159–161). Two additional sites under investigation include Pinwheel Cave (CA-KER-5836), a rockshelter with pictographs, and the Santiago site (CA-KER-5841), a sandstone boulder with pictographs. Excavations at both sites yielded mixtures of glass beads and iron-needle-drilled *Olivella* shell beads (Bernard et al. 2014) and raised questions about the reuse of ancient sites by historical Indians. Robinson (2013:315) theorizes that such reinvestments in prehistoric sites and landscapes recast these places as “polyvalent

arenas” where novel material practices and iconography reflect shifting patterns of wealth and status among outlying communities.

Another challenge is identifying artifacts, features, and spatial patterns relating to refuge. This might include artifacts and feature layouts more akin to precolonial practices; metal, ceramics, and glass artifacts introduced by colonists; mixtures of precolonial and introduced items, such as in the San Emigdio region (see also Breschini and Haversat 2002); hybridized objects such as chipped glass projectile points or chipped stone crosses; or even the absence of artifacts and features altogether as a way to avoid detection. Still other disciplinary hurdles are posed by methodologies and theoretical frameworks ill equipped to systematically detect and analyze such ephemeral and unobtrusive deposits associated with highly mobile groups (Seymour 2010). Many shellmounds are heavily damaged and carry their own taphonomic challenges, which compound the general problem of finding and studying examples of mission-era Native American refuge at “pre-historic” mounds. As part of my work, I expose the intellectual barriers and physical obstacles preventing some archaeologists from seeing the value of shellmounds for more recent native groups.

Shellmounds and Refuge

CA-MRN-114, CA-MRN-115, and CA-MRN-328 are shellmounds on the Marin Peninsula north of San Francisco (Figure 1). CA-MRN-114 and CA-MRN-115 were first surveyed in the early 1900s. CA-MRN-328 was identified in 1949, the same year CA-MRN-115 was first excavated (Meighan 1953). Initial investigations at the largest of the three mounds, CA-MRN-115, involved excavation of one of 12 house pits recorded on top of the mound. The house pit contained the charred remains of baskets found underneath collapsed wood planks, a “tanged” projectile point, and a “five-sided” abalone ornament. The diagnostic point type and shell ornament led Meighan (1953:5) to conclude that people abandoned the site by about A.D. 1800, at which point the occupants may have been “taken to one of the Spanish missions.”

Testing this hypothesis, I obtained AMS radiocarbon assays for the three shellmounds, including four determinations from CA-MRN-114, two determinations from CA-MRN-115, and two

dates from CA-MRN-328 (T. Schneider 2010). Focusing on CA-MRN-115, I dated charred basketry (Beta-250547) and a wood plank fragment (Beta-250548) collected in 1949 from the house pit floor (Table 1). Importantly, the house pit does not represent the latest occupation at CA-MRN-115. Excavating down to the house floor, Meighan (1953:4) observed “at least 12 inches” of refuse containing an undisturbed shell lens above the floor “that cannot all be attributed to fill from the raised margins of the [house] pit” and could, in fact, reflect reuse of the house later in time (see also Seymour 2010:172–173).

The AMS data support Meighan’s (1953) hypothesis regarding occupation of CA-MRN-115 during the LP2 (A.D. 1500–1800), a transitional time period in Central California archaeology that spanned late prehistoric times and the first two decades of Spanish colonization. Discrete components associated with Indian apostates are difficult to pinpoint on the basis of the AMS radiocarbon assays alone. Yet considering the opportunities I discussed for native people to dwell beyond the mission walls, the radiocarbon data are within the realm of possibility for mission-era occupations and cannot be dismissed outright. Furthermore, these data provide instructive scaffolding for further interrogation of artifacts that span prehistoric and colonial time periods.

The “tanged” obsidian projectile point from CA-MRN-115 is a Rattlesnake corner-notched point made between A.D. 1200 and 1800 (Justice 2002:403). Two obsidian Stockton series projectile points were also collected from the surface and upper 20 cm of CA-MRN-328. This point type occurs in late prehistoric and historic times (Justice 2002:353–359), and they are the only two points from the three shellmounds produced from Annadel obsidian (T. Schneider 2010:131), which appears in higher frequencies at Late-period Coast Miwok sites in western Marin Peninsula (Jackson 1986:80). Three points and six bifaces—all Napa Glass Mountain obsidian—were collected from CA-MRN-115, which is more commonly found at Coast Miwok sites in the eastern Marin Peninsula (Jackson 1986). As colonial Russia collided with Spanish-held lands on the Marin Peninsula after A.D. 1800 (Lightfoot 2005), new missions and increased recruitment of Coast Miwoks from villages at Tomales Bay and Bodega Bay buffered the Spanish

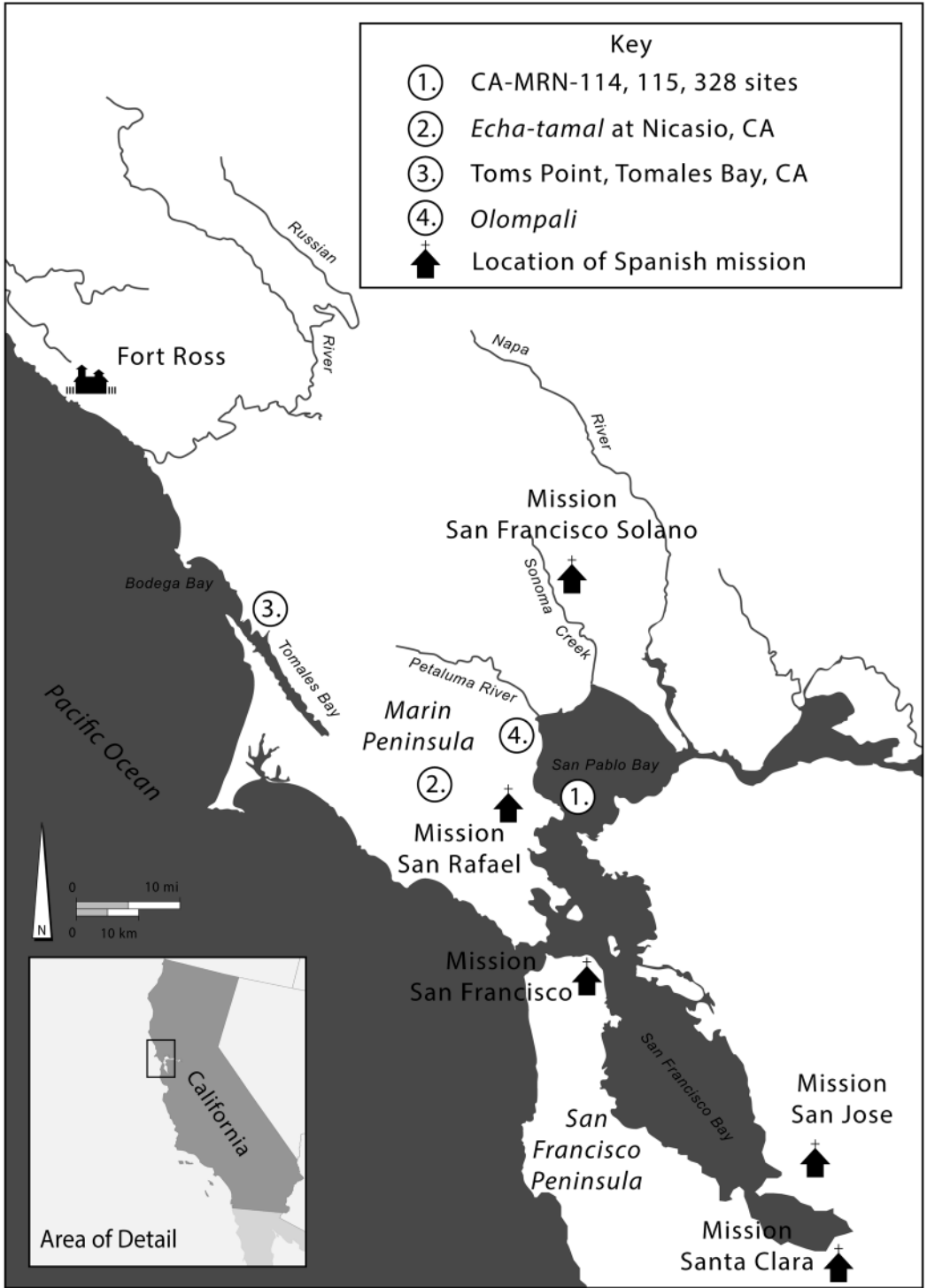


Figure 1. The San Francisco Bay region of California.

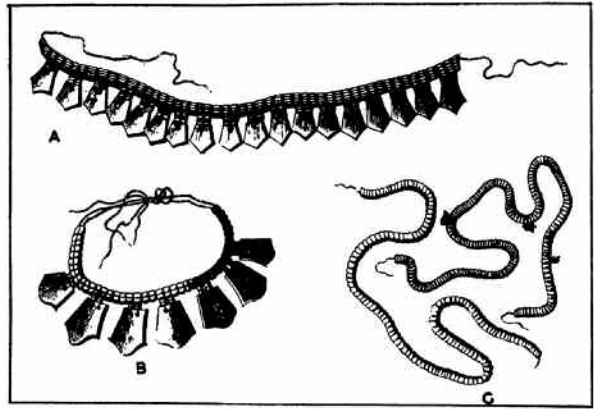


FIG. 13.—Shell bead and ornament types from San Jose, 1806. (After Von Langsdorff.) A, necklace of clamshell disk beads and single-holed *Haliotis* pendants; B, same, with two-holed pendants; C, two strings of clamshell disk beads, one with feather tufts. Compare with pendant types in Fig. 12.

Figure 2. Historic clamshell beads. Left: clamshell disk beads from CA-MRN-114 (top) and CA-MRN-328 (bottom). Right: Shell bead and ornament types from [Mission] San Jose, 1806 (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from Heizer [1941:111]). Note clam beads and “single-holed” pentagonal abalone ornaments attached to necklace (A).

frontier (Milliken 1995:176–179, 201–203). It is tempting to infer that the mixture of obsidian artifacts documented outside the mission walls could mirror the diverse social, political, and economic affiliations of Coast Miwok residing inside.

Two clamshell disk beads collected from the surface of CA-MRN-328 and one collected from the surface of CA-MRN-114 are diagnostic of earlier and later portions of the LP2 (Bennyhoff and Fredrickson 1967:36–37; Milliken et al. 2007; Figure 2). One pentagonal abalone (*Haliotis* spp.) ornament collected in 1953 from the floor of the excavated house pit at CA-MRN-115 may have once adorned a necklace, basket, or other item (Figure 3). Unlike clamshell beads, abalone ornaments were manufactured for millennia and are routinely discovered in ancient mortuary contexts (Moratto 1984). However, the pentagonal, or “keystone,” form of abalone ornament appears to be associated more with the LP2 and Historic period. European visitors to California illustrated five-sided abalone ornaments among the possessions of native residents at Mission San José (Heizer 1941:110–111; Figure 3), and the ornament type adorns baskets and dance regalia documented many years later by anthropologists (Gifford 1947:123; see also Yates 1975:5–6).

Materials typically collected from Spanish colonial sites—glass beads, metal artifacts, and

pottery—are absent from the three shellmounds (see also Von der Porten and DeGeorgey 2015), but apostates seeking to avoid detection at hinterland refuges may not have carried such items. Furthermore, considering native flight and furlough from missions and given archaeological and historical evidence for the persistence of traditional structures, technologies, foodways, and burial rites at missions, the presence of mission-introduced materials may not be the best indicator of colonialism in indigenous hinterland contexts.

Doled out as gifts to Indians and passed along far-reaching exchange networks, glass beads circulated widely throughout western North America (Arkush 1993; Hull 2009); yet at many places, including missions, glass beads coincide with marine shell beads continually produced by native bead makers (Panich 2014; Robinson 2013). North of San Francisco, clamshell bead manufacture actually accelerated throughout the LP2 (Milliken et al. 2007:117). Spanish missionaries or their intermediaries may have filtered some glass beads into hinterland communities, but many native people still chose—often vehemently (Heizer 1975)—to continue making and exchanging shell beads. Clam beads, described as “our money” by Coast Miwok ethnographic informant Tom Smith at Bodega Bay in the early 1900s (Collier and Therman 1996:196), maintained a prominent role in

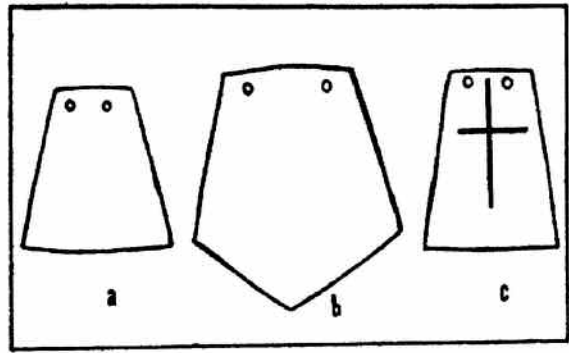


FIG. 12.—Full historic period *Haliotis* shell ornaments.

Figure 3. Historic abalone ornaments. Left: pentagonal abalone ornament from CA-MRN-115. Right: Full historic period *Haliotis* shell ornaments (reproduced by permission of the Society for American Archaeology from Heizer [1941:110]).

the lives of Coast Miwok well after the missions had closed in the 1830s (see also Gamble and Zepeda 2002).

Archaeologists need to critically examine the broader landscapes of colonialism. Applying a resistance-memory-refuge framework, I argue that visits to persistent places continued even as missions operated. Seeking separation from colonial institutions, Indians found safe harbor at places of refuge, which included familiar places and entirely new ones. At shellmounds, seclusion may have provided commemorative opportunities. Deposits of shell beads, shell ornaments, and other Late-period artifacts reflect reinvestments in older traditions of mound building, specifically the slow and incremental disposal of cultural materials carried over through social memory.

Discussion

In reevaluating colonial landscapes in North America, places of refuge and other contemporaneous sites used by native people supported and were sustained by an *indigenous hinterland*. Like frontiers and borderlands (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995), an indigenous hinterland acknowledges the dynamic, socially charged, cross-cultural landscapes where people intermingled and negotiated the conditions and outcomes of their meetings.

Hinterland contexts are also places of tension and innovation, as well as liminal spaces that allow people to disappear and reappear when needed. By prioritizing indigenous spaces and power instead of marginality at the limits of colonial influence, I argue that indigenous hinterlands were landscapes where native people upheld deep-seated traditions of mobility, affirmed a sense of place, and enacted creative responses to external threats as they had done long before the arrival of Europeans.

One could argue that this point of view repackages an outdated colonial-indigenous dichotomy. If one recognizes indigenous spaces, all else becomes the domain of colonial authority, thereby essentializing landscapes along tidy and racialized boundaries and undoing years of scholarship complicating this very division. The aim, of course, is not to rehash predefined spatial and temporal orders that can restrict efforts to define continuities in place-making, site use, and material practices during this transitional time; rather, it is to draw attention to four main points.

First, a multitude of places existed in the hinterland beyond Spanish missions where Indians remained, revisited, and resisted colonialism largely on their terms. Investigating the outcomes of native entanglements with missions, Lightfoot (2005:202) argues that native relocation, dissolved

political affiliations, and high mortality contributed to the implosion of some tribal communities, new social amalgamations, and “pan-mission” social identities. At this time, Lightfoot (2005:202) summarizes, “old distinctions based on ancestral homelands, native polities, or language became less relevant to neophytes who grew up in the missions. The only ‘homelands’ many second- and third-generation neophytes had ever really known were the mission estates.” The crippling effect of missionization on indigenous groups cannot be stressed enough, and I would agree that missions were fluid sites of shifting identities and affiliations. Yet my examination of the Marin hinterland shows that missions were not the only sites for culture change, and Coast Miwok did not always forfeit connections to salient places.

Seeking refuge and moving across the landscape for sustenance, shelter, or social events reinforced native people’s attachments to place in a recursive act of “reviving and revising” old times (Basso 1996:6; see also Voss 2008:147–149). During the mission period, decisions made by Franciscan missionaries supported periodic furloughs and nuanced residency options. Bancroft (1886:718) described Christian communities of Coast Miwok at Tomales Bay led by José Talis, “Captain of the Tamales ... [who] is permitted to leave [Mission San] Rafael with those of his tribe, on condition of sending a few men occasionally to hear mass, if any mass should be celebrated.” Mixed communities of Christian and unbaptized Coast Miwok also thrived in the Marin hinterlands at places like Nicasio and Olompali (Carlson and Parkman 1986:241; Dietz 1976:17; Lightfoot 2005:155–156). Additionally, rampant apostasy from missions led to reconnections with home territories. Latent archaeological views allude to West Marin—including the Point Reyes Peninsula, Tomales Bay, and Bodega Bay—as a “refuge area for Indians unwilling to be converted” at Spanish missions and, later, a region where “survivors, or those who returned when the mission period ended, continued to live in modified aboriginal fashion” (Beardsley 1954:19).

Second, the places where Indians chose to remain or revisit offer opportunities to document the varied conditions and strategies that supported options for post-mission cultural resiliency. Some Coast Miwok departing a secularized Mission San

Rafael, for example, ventured north to work in the fields and orchards of the Russian colony of Fort Ross until its closure in 1841 (Lightfoot 2005:141). Some people reconfigured patterns of seasonal mobility by interspersing trips to familiar villages and food gathering areas with part-time labor at Mexican ranches (Silliman 2004:30). Still other Coast Miwok petitioned the Mexican government in 1835 and received titles for ex-mission lands at Nicasio, the location of the precontact and ethnographic village of *Echa-tamal* (see also Shoup and Milliken 1999). During the mission period, Coast Miwok at Nicasio raised livestock and provisioned grain for local missions (Dietz 1976). Afterward, “Nicasio Indians” were still seen travelling to a “small knoll” near ex-Mission San Rafael where they “pitched their wigwams ... hauled their clams and held their pow wows during the autumn and Indian summer” (Lauff 2009:12). A site of reverence and social memory, clearly this place—most likely a shellmound (Figure 4)—and *Echa-tamal* persisted in the minds of historical Indians as multifaceted hubs for social gatherings involving meals, residency, seasonal dances, and mortuary rites.

Tomales Bay represents another important refuge area for Coast Miwok during and after the missions (T. Schneider 2010:173–175). “It is in the secluded coves of Tomales Bay,” Beardsley (1954:19) commented, “that beachcomber shacks of various Indians or part-Indians exist in the present day, adding their quota of refuse to the shellmound accumulations on which the shacks are built.” At Toms Point during the 1840s and 1850s, an American entrepreneur nicknamed “Tom Vaquero” hired Coast Miwok to collect hides, tallow, grain, and abalone shells, which were then sold to merchant ships anchored nearby (Munro-Fraser 1880:123). Eyewitness accounts indicate that, while participating in international commerce, Miwok also continued traditional dances, hunting and gathering methods, and other cultural practices. Lauff (2009:45–46) recalled that Indians at Toms Point could also “talk English fairly well, thanks to the missionaries. Among them were carpenters, cobblers, cooks and black-smiths.” From the 1870s onward, Coast Miwok further integrated into the local economy as fishermen, clam diggers, housekeepers, and day laborers at local dairies and farms (Avery 2009:111–117; Schneider 2007:59).



Figure 4. Austin and Whitney's 1873 map showing a "mound" in downtown San Rafael. Courtesy of the David Rumsey Map Collection.

Third, in researching indigenous hinterlands, archaeologists can better account for the places and practices connected across the prehistoric-historic divide and, in doing so, embolden links between archaeologists and tribes. Coast Miwok maintained protracted and dynamic relationships with places on the landscape before, during, and following missionization. Shellmounds have well-documented archaeological histories reaching back several millennia, but due in large part to natural and cultural disturbances, few mounds are interrogated as places of cultural importance for historical Indians engaging with colonial institutions (Hantman 1990; Mann 2005). A growing number of archaeologists, however, are developing thoughtful disciplinary solutions for working across the divide between prehistory and history (Gallivan 2007; Oland et al.

2012; Panich 2013; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; Silliman 2009, 2010), as well as tracking the vitality of "prehistoric" spaces for historical people and the constancy of "prehistoric" material choices amidst introduced items.

Fourth, important comparisons can be drawn between research examining refuge and hinterlands in other regions. Hauser and Armstrong (2012), for instance, explore the creative spatial strategies of Dutch, African, and indigenous Caribs on the islands of St. John and Dominica, including flexible "holdout" communities "that could change identity for practical advantage almost at will, and absorb a huge range of disparate incomers" (Hauser and Armstrong 2012:314). The authors posit that even after formal colonization had commenced, practical knowledge of physical

geography factored into the ways of life, modes of production, and means of trade and exchange for island inhabitants seeking life “off the books” but within reach of new economic options (Hauser and Armstrong 2012:329).

Given the conjoined themes of seeking refuge and finding opportunity, research examining self-emancipated communities of runaway slaves, or maroons, can also provide helpful spatial models and analytical techniques for detecting and interpreting refugee communities within hinterland contexts (e.g., Agorsah 1994; Maris-Wolf 2013; Sayers 2014; Weik 1997). Researching *marronage* in the Great Dismal Swamp from the early 1600s to the 1860s, for example, Sayers (2014:108–109) developed a predictive model of maroon site types based on their level of connection to the outside world. Isolated “interior-scission” maroons deep in the swamp, for example, have fewer mass-produced materials compared to swamp-produced materials, such as reused stone tools, debitage, and burnt clay (Sayers 2014:108–109). “Semi-independent” maroons on the swamp fringes contained both locally available raw material and mass-produced goods (e.g., glass beads and containers, tools, and munitions) (Sayers 2014:108–109). Between 1760 and the 1860s, some maroons were “hidden in plain sight” (Maris-Wolf 2013), meaning that they intermeshed with rural and urban communities and some individuals worked surreptitiously among enslaved canal company laborers or earned wages at commercial lumber companies. This research offers inspiration for examining California’s hinterlands, where creative solutions—arising from the tension between separation and social intimacy—transformed remote landscapes into advantageous spaces.

The issues and examples presented in this article should encourage archaeologists to adjust the temporal, spatial, and analytical architecture they use to study colonial encounters. Viewing missions and other colonial enterprises in the context of indigenous cultures and histories recognizes multivalent landscapes predating—and inclusive of—colonial projects, as well as the creative strategies of place-making during and after the mission period. Indian communities endured by returning to hinterlands. Needless to say, many such communities exist today. “What is displaced—dispersed, deferred, repressed, pushed aside—is, signifi-

cantly, still there: *Displaced but not replaced*” (Bammer 1994:xiii). Studies of refuge and hinterlands open doors to cooperative partnerships with tribes and acknowledge the ongoing significance of these places for stakeholder communities at present.

Conclusion

“Cultural landscapes are grounded in particular places that give them meaning for the daily business of living, for the political construction of communities, and for molding historical memories and oral traditions of storytelling” (Radding 2005:295). For Native Californians, the memories and meanings of these places are much more accessible to those who managed to evade different forms of colonialism and maintain their tribal organizations than they are to those who experienced one or more waves of colonization and dispossession (Lightfoot 2005). Yet, while scholars have detailed the various ways that Indians systematically lost their land in California, “we know much less about how Indians got some of it back” (K. Schneider 2010:431). This important point is still gaining traction in archaeological investigations of colonialism in North America, where, despite important research on the Native American identities and material traditions created and remade within various pluralistic social settings, more can be done to document the places where this took place.

Indians returned to and created places of social importance in indigenous hinterlands, including canyons, marshes, and valleys beyond the gaze of colonial outposts. As I argue here, even while engaging with Spanish missions, Coast Miwok remained connected to hinterland landscapes through such means as illicit flight from missions and even initiatives (e.g., *paseo* and extramural residency) implemented by the colonial institutions established to erase indigenous cultures. The landscapes around missions—and I suspect many other colonial sites found throughout North America—included refuge sites, villages, hunting and gathering areas, ancient sites, and other meaningful places alongside colonial sites and concessions (e.g., mills, mines, and ranches). I advocate more investigations into how indigenous groups may have used this ensemble of places to navigate their own traditions and the colonial world thrust

upon them. To do so demands rethinking how, when, and where this happened. Considering the hinterland landscapes discussed in this article, archaeologists are tasked with looking past sites of colonialism to the broader spatial tableau of indigenous perseverance and innovation, as well as reconsidering disciplinary boundaries that impose restrictive definitions of time periods, sites, and artifact types.

I use a resistance-memory-refuge framework to contextualize indigenous responses to colonialism. Each component of this framework represents a complex standalone problem in the archaeology of colonialism in North America; yet, taken together, they can inform on the multisited landscapes extending outside the confines of individual missions. A commonplace term for documenting the ways that native people refused colonialism, “resistance” can limit indigenous agency and reinforce a fraught dominance-resistance interpretive dichotomy. In response to missions, resistance manifested in a range of actions motivated by indigenous and non-native interests. It entailed not just rebellions and overt violence, but also furlough, flight, and extramural residence, all of which created opportunities for native people to visit hinterlands.

Even as Coast Miwok entered missions, I argue, they also cultivated opportunities to reconnect with ancient villages, food gathering areas, and other socially important places away from the missions. Theories of social memory support my view of mounded landscapes as persistent places. As in the past, mound refuges may have been arenas of empowerment and social reproduction that acquired and communicated knowledge for people inhabiting them—such as through the disposal of shell beads, shell ornaments, and other items. They too were dynamic places capable of accommodating new meanings, materials, and memories, as exemplified by the Nicasio Indians in the years after Spanish missions secularized. Despite a suite of taphonomic processes and terminal narratives that cloud archaeological views of shellmounds as anything other than “prehistoric” sites, shellmounds and the activities and commemorations that took place at them facilitated reconnections to landscapes where social, material, and economic innovations sustained native presence.

What this article suggests is not the abandon-

ment of research aimed at colonial sites but, rather, a reorientation giving indigenous places equal weight in informing our understanding of the experiences and outcomes of colonialism for native people. I believe that viewing the protracted histories, temporalities, and meanings of indigenous landscapes emboldens continued efforts to bridge the gap between prehistory and history and raises new and provocative questions about cultural transitions and continuities within native societies engaged with colonial programs. New prospects for collaborative research with tribes are also sure to arise, including partnerships with communities at places that may have been occupied in recent memory. Such engaged, public scholarship can provide an enriched awareness of colonialism and refuge, and of the places and strategies of place-making that continue long afterward.

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Data Availability Statement. All artifacts, records, and data from CA-MRN-114, CA-MRN-115, and CA-MRN-328 are available at the State Archaeological Collections Research Facility, 4940 Lang Avenue, McClellan, California 95652. CA-MRN-115 artifacts excavated in 1949 are housed at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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