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Source: *American Antiquity*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Apr., 1998), pp. 199-222

Published by: [Society for American Archaeology](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2694694>

Accessed: 08/09/2010 20:21

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DAILY PRACTICE AND MATERIAL CULTURE IN PLURALISTIC SOCIAL SETTINGS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF CULTURE CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE FROM FORT ROSS, CALIFORNIA

Kent G. Lightfoot, Antoinette Martinez, and Ann M. Schiff

This paper presents an archaeological approach to the study of culture change and persistence in multi-ethnic communities through the study of daily practices and based on a crucial tenet of practice theory—that individuals will enact and construct their underlying organizational principles, worldviews, and social identities in the ordering of daily life. The study of habitual routines is undertaken in a broadly diachronic and comparative framework by examining daily practices from a multi-scalar perspective. The approach is employed in a case study on the organization of daily life of interethnic households composed of Native Californian women and Native Alaskan men at the Russian colony of Fort Ross in northern California. Recognizing that different opportunities and choices existed for household members in this colonial setting, we explore how they constructed their own unique identities by examining the spatial layout of residential space, the ordering of domestic tasks, and the structure of trash disposal. We argue that trash deposits and middens in built environments, which often accumulate through routinized tasks, present great promise for examining the processes of culture change and persistence in archaeology.

Este artículo presenta un método arqueológico para estudiar el cambio cultural y la persistencia de comunidades multiétnicas a través del estudio de prácticas cotidianas. El método se construye sobre un principio crucial de teoría de práctica—que individuos promulgarán y construirán sus principios de organización subyacentes, perspectivas del mundo e identidad social en sus acciones de vida diaria. El estudio de rutinas habituales se emprende en un marco ampliamente diacrónico y comparativo al examinar las prácticas diarias desde una perspectiva de múltiples niveles. Este método se emplea en un caso práctico que estudia la organización de la vida diaria de unidades familiares interétnicas integradas por mujeres nativas de California y hombres nativos de Alaska en la colonia rusa de Fort Ross en California. Tomando en cuenta que existieron diferentes oportunidades y opciones para los miembros de familias en este ambiente colonial, exploramos cómo construyeron sus identidades propias únicas examinando el esquema espacial del espacio residencial, la manera de organizar las tareas domésticas, y la estructura de disposición de basura. Argüimos que depósitos y montones de basura en ambientes construidos, que a menudo se acumulan a medio de rutinas cotidianas, presentan una gran oportunidad para examinar los procesos de cambio cultural y la persistencia en la arqueología.

Culture contact studies are well suited to evaluate and refine theoretical and methodological approaches to culture change and persistence in archaeology. In considering the implications of European exploration and colonialism in the Americas, these studies present unique opportunities to examine Native American encounters with European, African, and Asian peoples in early contact settings and to address the initial founding and development of multi-ethnic colonial communities. While recognizing the great

potential for an archaeology of pluralism, two issues were raised recently about the theoretical models and methodological practices employed in the study of material culture in multi-ethnic contexts. The first issue concerned the development of more sophisticated “contextual” approaches to study pluralism, which can complement and broaden our current focus beyond artifact-based analyses (Lightfoot 1995:202–210). The second issue involved the promotion of multiscale research that may enable archaeologists to address

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American Antiquity, 63(2), 1998, pp. 199–222.

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not only macroscale processes of world systems and colonial policies, but also microscale practices of individual intentionality and social action that are critical components of "encounters" in pluralistic settings (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995:477–488).

The purpose of this paper is to develop an approach to the archaeology of pluralism that takes both of the above issues into account. We begin with a brief discussion of recent archaeological approaches employed in culture contact studies that focus primarily on artifact ratios and frequencies. We then present an alternative, but complementary, approach that considers the material remains of daily practices and use of space in pluralistic social settings. A critical component of this approach is the investigation of a suite of habitual practices in a multiscalar study that is broadly diachronic and comparative in scope. In the final section, we examine the nature and magnitude of culture change and persistence that took place in interethnic households at the nineteenth-century Russian colony of Fort Ross in northern California. We explore how cohabiting Native Alaskan men and Native Californian women constructed their own unique identities. We do so by examining the arrangement and use of space in built environments, the spatial patterning of trash disposal, and the organization of domestic activities.

Study of Culture Change and Persistence

A significant issue for archaeology is the development and refinement of approaches for the study of culture change and persistence using material remains. This issue is especially pertinent to archaeologists undertaking culture contact research in pluralistic settings. How does one evaluate the magnitude, direction, and meaning of change that may result from encounters between diverse peoples in multi-ethnic communities? Over the last three decades archaeologists in North America have experimented with various artifact-based approaches for measuring change and continuity before, during, and after culture encounters. The earliest studies employed ratios of European and native artifacts as straightforward measures of acculturation (e.g., Deetz 1963; Di Peso 1974). The proportion of European goods in Native American contexts was viewed as a direct reflection of the degree of culture change that had tran-

spired over time as native peoples assimilated into the material world of Europeans or European Americans, while the proportion of traditional native materials was viewed as a proxy of cultural conservatism. The ratios of European to native materials were used in some regions (i.e., north-eastern North America) to seriate cultural deposits from native sites into chronological order, as it was commonly believed that the frequency of European goods increased over time at the expense of native manufactured items (see Smith 1987:24). As discussed in more detail elsewhere (Lightfoot 1995:206–207), the shortcomings of these pioneering approaches were soon recognized because they depicted passive and unidirectional models of acculturation, and they were unable to distinguish complex social processes underlying the synergism of multi-ethnic interactions.

The next generation of archaeological approaches is employing more sophisticated artifact-based analyses for measuring acculturation profiles and for undertaking artifact pattern analysis. Influenced by Quimby and Spoehr's (1951) classic research on "acculturated" museum objects that had been modified through culture contact, acculturation profiles are constructed based on the percentage of traditional, hybrid, and imported artifact categories in archaeological assemblages (e.g., Farnsworth 1987, 1992; Hoover and Costello 1985; Smith 1987; White 1975). Farnsworth (1987, 1992), for example, measures the acculturation profiles of California mission assemblages by calculating the percentage of different artifact categories that combine local (native) and/or imported (European) artifact forms, raw materials, manufacturing processes, and functions. Artifact pattern analysis is used by Deagan (1983a, 1995a) and her coworkers to compare and contrast households of varying status, ethnicity, and wealth in the pluralistic Spanish colonies of St. Augustine, Florida, and Puerto Real, Haiti. Initially developed by South (1977) for the study of Anglo-American sites, the approach involves the systematic comparison of artifact types grouped into broad functional categories that include the kitchen, architecture (structural hardware), weaponry, clothing, personal items, activity-related items, furniture hardware, tools, harness and tack, and religion (see Deagan 1995b:441–444; Hoffman 1997:31; McEwan

1995:216–218). Artifact percentages provide measures for systematically evaluating similarities and differences in the material culture of households for each functional category and for the entire assemblage (see also Farnsworth 1987:510–575).

With the growing use and sophistication of artifact-based analyses in culture contact studies, more “contextual” approaches are needed to situate artifacts into the broader spatial organization of the archaeological record (Lightfoot 1995:207–209; Rogers 1990:100). This is not to imply that previous researchers have ignored archaeological context. Farnsworth (1987:478–509) is careful to discriminate the cultural deposits within which he calculates acculturation profiles. Deagan (1983a, 1995a) and her colleagues employ artifact pattern analysis as but one component of a suite of investigations that consider diet, architecture layout, trash disposal practices, and settlement organization in colonial settings. Furthermore, Deagan (1995b:440–447) employs artifact pattern analysis to compare and contrast different kinds of social and economic contexts, such as the public sector, domestic-residential sites, and a commercial site at Puerto Real. Rogers (1990) analyzes artifact categories for three separate contexts (domestic earth lodges, ceremonial earth lodges, and burials) in his case study of Arikara contact with Europeans. Rather, our point is that the continued development of contextual approaches will complement current culture contact research through the explicit placement of artifacts into the “built environments” of pluralistic social settings.

Daily Practices and Material Culture

The approach we consider in this paper is predicated on theoretical implications involving the practice of day-to-day living. It is through daily practices—how space is structured, how mundane domestic tasks are conducted, how refuse is disposed of—that people both organize and make sense of their lives. The focus on daily practices and spatial organization is well suited to archaeology (see Kirch 1996; Moreland 1992; Roscoe 1993). It entails the investigation of “little routines people enact, again and again, in working, sleeping, and relaxing, as well as little scenarios of etiquette they play out again and again in social interaction” (Ortner 1984:154). These routine

kinds of actions that dominate peoples’ domestic lives produce much of the material culture we recover in the archeological record. Furthermore, the performance of daily routines produces patterned accumulations of material culture that are often among the most interpretable kinds of deposits in archaeological contexts. The ordering of daily life may be observed in archaeological contexts by examining the arrangement and use of space in the built environment (both intramural and extramural areas), the organization of domestic activities (e.g., food preparation, cooking, tool production and maintenance), and the spatial pattern of refuse disposal.

With the development and elaboration of practice theory over the last 20 years, a growing theoretical corpus now exists on how the study of daily practices can provide insights into different peoples’ worldviews, cultural meanings, and social identities (e.g., Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979; Ortner 1984). The basic premise of practice theory is that the ordering of daily life serves as a microcosm of the broader organizational principles and cultural categories of individuals, as exemplified in Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of the *habitus*. As Ortner (1984:154) succinctly states, all cultural practices “are predicated upon, and embody within themselves, the fundamental notions of temporal, spatial, and social ordering that underlie and organize the system as a whole.” In other words, people repeatedly enact and reproduce their underlying structural principles and belief systems in the performance of ordering their daily lives.

The emphasis on daily practices is especially germane for culture contact studies. In case studies of Hawaiian, Fijian, and Maori contact with Europeans, Sahlins (1981, 1985, 1990) stresses how cultural practices often take on new interpretations and meanings in the process of encountering “others.” In responding to new cultural orders, daily practices are often redefined or reinterpreted in order to be made meaningful in new social contexts. Cultural categories and values are not simply reproduced in daily practice, rather they are creatively modified during encounters with others (see Sahlins 1981:33–37). In the process of culture contact, people will reconstitute and reinterpret cultural practices in ways that both make sense of “others” and best suit their own interests. People

sharing the same cultural orientation do not necessarily respond to "others" in a prescribed, uniform manner. Rather, they will seek new opportunities and social relationships in pluralistic contacts that are perceived as beneficial to their own or related interests, depending largely on their social status, political affiliations, kin relations, and gender (Brumfiel and Fox 1994; Cohen 1987; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995). For example, during early contact events in Hawaii, chiefs and commoners, both men and women, pursued very different courses of action with British seafarers that enhanced their respective positions in Hawaiian society (Sahlins 1981:36, 1985:28). Contact situations are often significant watersheds in reshaping cultural orders since they provide individuals from all walks of life with new opportunities to negotiate and redefine their social identities in the process of daily practice (e.g., Upton 1996).

From an archaeological perspective, we believe the study of change and persistence in multi-ethnic contexts pertaining to the construction of social identities may be best addressed by considerations of daily practices involving domestic life and the organization of space. We recognize that material culture may play an active role in the creation of social identities, depending largely on how materials are employed in daily practice. Material culture may be vested with special meanings in pluralistic contexts. Cultural practices that are often visible in the archaeological record, such as food preparation and the care of household space, may speak volumes about a person's social relations and identity in the community. The retention of traditional cultural practices or the adoption of novel ones can take on symbolic value in culture contact situations, as forms become "invested with a significance which they may have lacked in earlier incarnations" (Cohen 1987:96).

In considering the construction of social identities in pluralistic settings, it is important to examine a suite of different daily practices, since the ordering of some kinds of activities may be undertaken in a routine, almost subconscious manner, while others may be consciously manipulated to broadcast social relations and identities. By examining how residential space is laid out and maintained, how foods are prepared and cooked, how tools are manufactured and used, and how trash disposal is organized, one may observe the basic

organizational principles of individuals in action. Some of the more routine, secluded activities, such as trash disposal practices in private residential space, may follow conventional cultural orderings, allowing us to identify individuals from specific homelands in archaeological contexts. The organization of other, more conspicuous cultural practices, such as the use and maintenance of extramural residential space or trash disposal practices outside the residence, may undergo transformations in the process of contact, providing insights on culture change and the creation of new social identities. For example, Deagan (1983b, 1990:240–241) stresses how activities in "public" or "private" space take on different meanings to Hispanic men and Native American women in mixed ethnic households in Spanish colonies.

The approach we advocate in our study of daily practices is broadly comparative in scope, diachronic, holistic, and multiscale. A key consideration is to compare the suite of daily practices from different contexts in pluralistic sites with those of the homelands from which people came. This provides the necessary comparative framework for evaluating the nature and magnitude of culture change and persistence (see Lightfoot 1995:209–210). How were the organizational principles of individuals who once resided in homeland villages being transformed or reproduced in new, multi-ethnic settings? By examining multiple kinds of cultural practices from homeland contexts in a series of diachronic "windows" or points along a continuum spanning prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic times, one can build a comparative framework in which to evaluate critically how organizational principles and social identities were being actively constructed and transformed in pluralistic settings. The approach is holistic because information is drawn not only from archaeology, but also from relevant ethnohistorical and ethnographic sources, as well as native oral traditions.

Finally, it is critical to apply a multiscale perspective in considering the suite of daily practices in both pluralistic and homeland contexts. Different scales of analysis may provide very different insights into the organizational principles, worldviews, and identities of individuals, groups, and communities. As Deagan (1995a:195) notes, microscale studies of domestic activities in house-

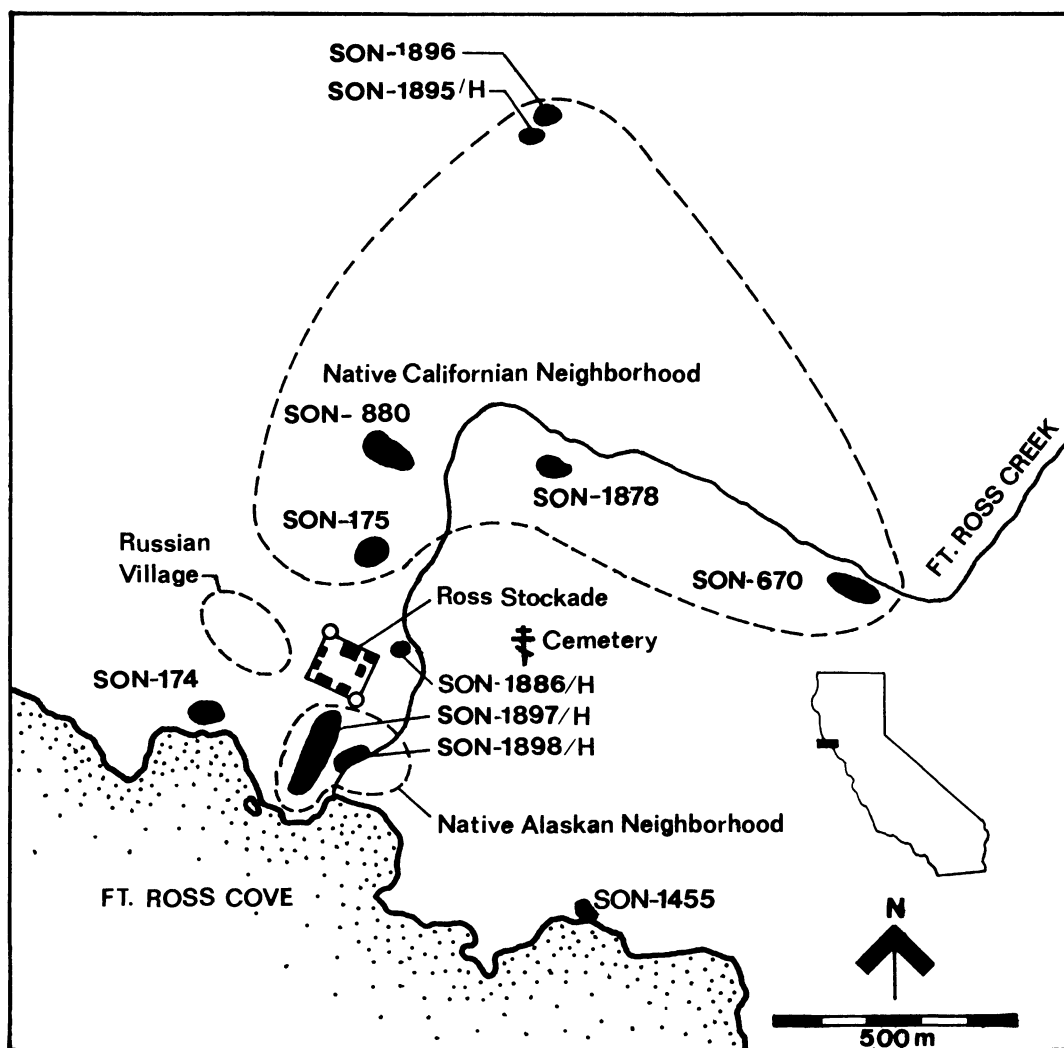


Figure 1. Spatial Layout of Fort Ross, including the Ross Stockade, the Russian Village, the Native Californian Neighborhood, the Ross Cemetery, and the Native Alaskan Neighborhood. (Illustration by Judith Ogden)

hold contexts may be best suited for observing individual responses to colonial settings and encounters with others, while the layout of space at the broader community or regional scale may provide many insights on the overarching political hierarchy and organizational policies of colonizers. For example, under Spanish rule in St. Augustine and Puerto Real, the greater community pattern (layout of houses, streets, plazas) was highly structured by the precepts of colonial administrators (see Deagan 1983a:247–248; Williams 1995; Willis 1995). In interethnic households composed of Spanish men and Native

American women, Spanish conventions were also followed in the more visible, public spaces of houses and extramural areas, whereas native ideals were employed in the less visible, private sector of domestic life (Deagan 1983b; Ewen 1991; McEwan 1995).

Interethnic Households at Fort Ross

We employ the above approach in a case study on the creation of social identities in interethnic households at Fort Ross in northern California. At this colonial outpost established 110 km north of San Francisco Bay, the Russian-American

Company dispatched a large contingent of Native Alaskan men (mostly Alutiiq men from Kodiak Island, Alaska) to harvest sea mammal furs and to serve as laborers in agricultural activities and manufacturing enterprises. While stationed at Fort Ross from 1812 to 1841, many of the men established joint households with local women from Native Californian tribes (primarily Kashaya Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Southern Pomo). Recent archaeological investigations at Fort Ross are focusing on the Native Alaskan Neighborhood (Figure 1), a residential zone of primarily interethnic households—the majority made up of Alutiiq men and Kashaya Pomo women, according to census records in the early 1820s (Istomin 1992; Lightfoot et al. 1991:22–28).

Native Californian women left their homeland villages in the near and distant hinterland of Fort Ross to join their common-law husbands in establishing households in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood. Some Pomo and Miwok leaders apparently encouraged their daughters to live with foreigners (Golovnin 1979:163; Kotzebue 1830:124), an action probably calculated to cement alliances with the Russian-American Company and to establish kinship ties with the colonists. The domestic units that resulted from these unions were fragile, with couples often separating after only a short time together. Khlebnikov (1990:194) observed in 1824 that

all the Aleuts have Indian women, but these relationships are unstable, and the Aleuts and the Indians do not trust each other. An Indian woman may live for a number of years with an Aleut and have children, but then, acting on a whim, will drop everything and run off to the mountains.

When husbands were transferred to other North Pacific colonies, Native Californian women frequently remained behind, although a few did accompany spouses to Alaska. In the 1820–1821 census listing of 11 Native Alaskan men who were transferred to other North Pacific colonies, two women accompanied their spouses to Sitka, two established new interethnic households in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood, and seven returned to their “homeland” or “native village” (Lightfoot and Martinez 1997:4–6). Census records indicate that in cases of divorce or separation, the status of children from mixed ethnic marriages was decided

by the men, with male offspring frequently returning to Alaska to join their father’s relatives and the female offspring remaining behind with their mothers in California (Istomin 1992:7).

The Native California women at Fort Ross entered a colonial world in which their identities, social roles, and status were somewhat ambiguous. The Russian-American Company imposed a colonial hierarchy that defined the status, work, pay, and even living arrangements of all its workers. While several factors were employed in defining an employee’s position in the company (e.g., level of education, job skills, and overall motivation), ethnicity was the primary variable employed in defining four major “estates” or classes (see Fedorova 1975): (1) “Russians,” (2) “Creoles,” (3) “Aleuts,” and (4) “Indians.” At the apex of the colonial system were the elite Russian administrators, ship captains, and military officers, as well as lower-class clerks, navigators, and laborers. With mixed Russian and Native ancestry, Creoles comprised a rather nebulous second estate of employees who often served as middle-level managers, clerks, and skilled craftworkers. The third major estate, Aleuts, was composed of Native Alaskans from the Aleutian Islands, Kodiak Island, and coastal Alaska who were marine mammal hunters, skilled craftworkers, and laborers. They worked on commission (pay per sea otter pelt) or received daily or yearly salaries in scrip, a parchment token that could be exchanged for goods in the company store (Murley 1994; Tikhmenev 1978:144). Indians, the lowest estate in the colonial hierarchy, were local Native Californians (Kashaya Pomo, Coast Miwok, Southern Pomo) recruited primarily as seasonal agricultural workers. They were paid in kind (rather than salary) for their services, receiving food, tobacco, beads, and clothing from the Russians (Khlebnikov 1990:193–194; Kostromitinov 1974:9; Wrangell 1969:211).

It is not clear from the available documentary records just how Native Californian women in interethnic households were viewed or treated at Fort Ross (e.g., Parkman 1996–1997:359–362). Were they regarded simply as “Indian” women? Or were they perceived as the wives of “Aleut” men? Or were they, their husbands, and children appreciated as something new and different, perhaps a new ethnic group at Fort Ross similar to the mixed Creole estate? The underlying ambiguity

suggests that different potentials and choices were available to Native Californian women in negotiating their social identities as members of interethnic households. As discussed below, they may have perpetuated and even enhanced their Native Californian heritage while residing in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood, or they may have emulated or created new identities that broadcast very different meanings and social relations within the colonial community.

Native Californian Identities

Some Native Californian women may have maintained strong ties with their homeland villages, fostering social identities that clearly distinguished them from their Native Alaskan spouses. In reproducing their Native Californian identities at Fort Ross, these women could have employed conventional beliefs and values as practiced at home to respond to their new social setting. "Indian" identities would have been manifested in the organization of their daily lives, which may have been in part subconscious and routine, and in part deliberately created to distinguish themselves from other peoples at Fort Ross. In the process of cultural encounters, change most certainly would have taken place as they responded to their spouses, other workers, and Russian administrators at Ross. However, the incorporation of new cultural practices and material culture would have been highly selective, with their actions following perceived cultural categories of what they thought constituted "proper" Indian behavior (Kardulias 1990:29; Wilson and Rogers 1993:3–6). In such a manner, they may have attempted to reproduce their distinctive Indian identities while reacting to new contact conditions and undergoing transformations themselves (see also Simmons 1988:7–8).

New Social Identities

Members of mixed ethnic households may have also chosen to negotiate and create new social identities that served to assimilate them into other ethnic classes or estates for perceived social, political, or economic advantages. In reality, the imposed colonial estates were composites of diverse peoples from different homeland villages and kin groups, who often spoke distinct languages. Since these broad ethnic categories existed primarily in the minds of Russian adminis-

trators, the cultural practices associated with each of the different estates in the colonial hierarchy were somewhat enigmatic. There was considerable latitude for the creation of "invented traditions" at Fort Ross (e.g., Upton 1996:5). In order to be recognized as a member of the Indian, Aleut, or Creole estate, it was imperative that you "talk the talk" and "walk the walk" in the eyes of the Russian managers. In the performance of daily practices, Native Californian spouses could have reconstituted themselves enough in the likeness of Native Alaskan women so that they were treated as one of the estate by the Russian-American Company. That is, daily routines and cultural practices could have been implemented in the image of Native Alaskan women, or at least the image as perceived by Russian administrators (e.g., dress, food preparation, craft production, ordering of residential space, and so on).

Another practice that may have been jointly implemented by Native Alaskan men and Native Californian women was the deliberate construction of Creole cultural identities. By initiating creative versions of Russian and native lifeways, they may have defined themselves as part of or associated with the Creole estate. Since this ethnic category remained rather ambiguous at Fort Ross, considerable leeway probably existed in initiating cultural practices that may have been perceived as "creolized" by Russian managers. This strategy may have become increasingly important to children of mixed ethnic households who could claim association with several different colonial estates at Fort Ross, depending largely on their creation of social identities.

Archaeological Study of Social Identities at Fort Ross

The study of pluralism at Fort Ross involves comparing and contrasting the spatial organization of daily practices of the interethnic households in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood with those of pertinent Kashaya Pomo villages in the vicinity of Fort Ross, and relevant Alutiiq residences on Kodiak Island, Alaska, and in other Russian outposts in the North Pacific. Specifically, we identify concordances and anomalies in a suite of daily practices involving the maintenance of residential space, the organization of trash disposal, the menu and preparation of food, the material culture from

domestic contexts, and settlement layout. We attempt to detect the organizational principles of Native Californian women and Native Alaskan men in households, and to evaluate how their social identities were being constructed in interethnic households. The study and comparison of daily practices and organizational principles take place at the local (household, community), regional, and panregional scales.

Local Scale

The field strategy we employed at the Native Alaskan Neighborhood was designed to define both the broader community pattern and to detect interpretable deposits that may have been produced by the daily practices of interethnic households. From 1988 to 1992 fieldwork focused on two sites: (1) the original village site containing Native Alaskan/Native Californian households, designated as the Native Alaskan Village site (CA-SON-1897/H), situated directly south of the Russian Stockade complex on a raised marine terrace and (2) the Fort Ross Beach site (CA-SON-1898/H), a complex midden deposit situated directly below the village in the Fort Ross Cove (Figure 1). As outlined in detail elsewhere (Lightfoot and Schiff 1997; Lightfoot et al. 1997a; Price 1997; Tschan 1997), the spatial organization of the Native Alaskan Neighborhood was defined by the topographic mapping of surface features, systematic surface collection and generation of artifact distribution maps, and geophysical investigations involving both magnetometer and soil resistance surveys. Remote sensing, in concert with the spatial patterning of surface features and artifacts, proved very useful in detecting house structures, fence foundations, communal spaces, and trash deposits (see Tschan 1997:116–126). We implemented an excavation strategy designed specifically to expose intramural and extramural space in and around houses and to identify contextually rich deposits within these areas.

The field program recorded a complex midden deposit and the remains of a bathhouse in the Fort Ross Beach site (Figure 2). Thirteen surface features were initially mapped at the Native Alaskan Village site (Figure 2), and subsequent excavations in and around two features unearthed portions of two pithouses (designated the East Central and South Pit features), a redwood fence line (out-

side the South Pit feature), and three deposits containing dense concentrations of faunal elements and artifacts (designated the East Central, South, and Abalone Dump “Bone Beds”). The bone beds are contextually rich deposits that accumulated on intentionally created surfaces, often in the fill of abandoned structures (Figures 3 and 4). The spatial distribution of surface features and artifacts, in combination with geophysical signatures, allowed us to detect abandoned houses with associated bone bed deposits.

Although we had intended to expose a more extensive area of internal and external residential space in and around pit features, the research design was modified so that we could carefully record and map the three-dimensional structure of the bone bed deposits. Field crews from the University of California, Berkeley, and the California Department of Parks and Recreation point-plotted thousands of abalone and mussel shells, bones of mammals (deer, sea lions, harbor seals, cattle, sheep, pigs), birds (common murre, cormorant, gull, pelican), and fish (cabezon, lingcod, rockfishes), fire-cracked rocks, and chipped-stone, ground-stone, glass, metal, and ceramic artifacts (see Lightfoot et al. 1997b:356–409). The spatial structure of the bone bed deposits, in combination with house foundations and exposed extramural space, provided many insights into the daily routines of domestic life in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood.

We interpret the bone beds as household dumps, where families from nearby residences deposited their trash. This interpretation is based on the shallow depth, modest size (less than 4 m in diameter), and the large number of refuse dumps that appear to be distributed across the residential space of the village site. By examining the toss pattern of faunal remains and artifacts, it appears that the deposits accumulated through the redundant disposal of materials from small containers, probably baskets (Lightfoot et al. 1997b:364–367). The presence of articulated fish bones, whole abalone shells and sea urchin spines, and clusters of animal bones from the same species indicates that the bone beds were covered with sediments shortly after deposition and that the refuse dumps were largely protected from trampling and other postdepositional processes. Bioturbation is minimal in the bone beds, in contrast to the majority of the other

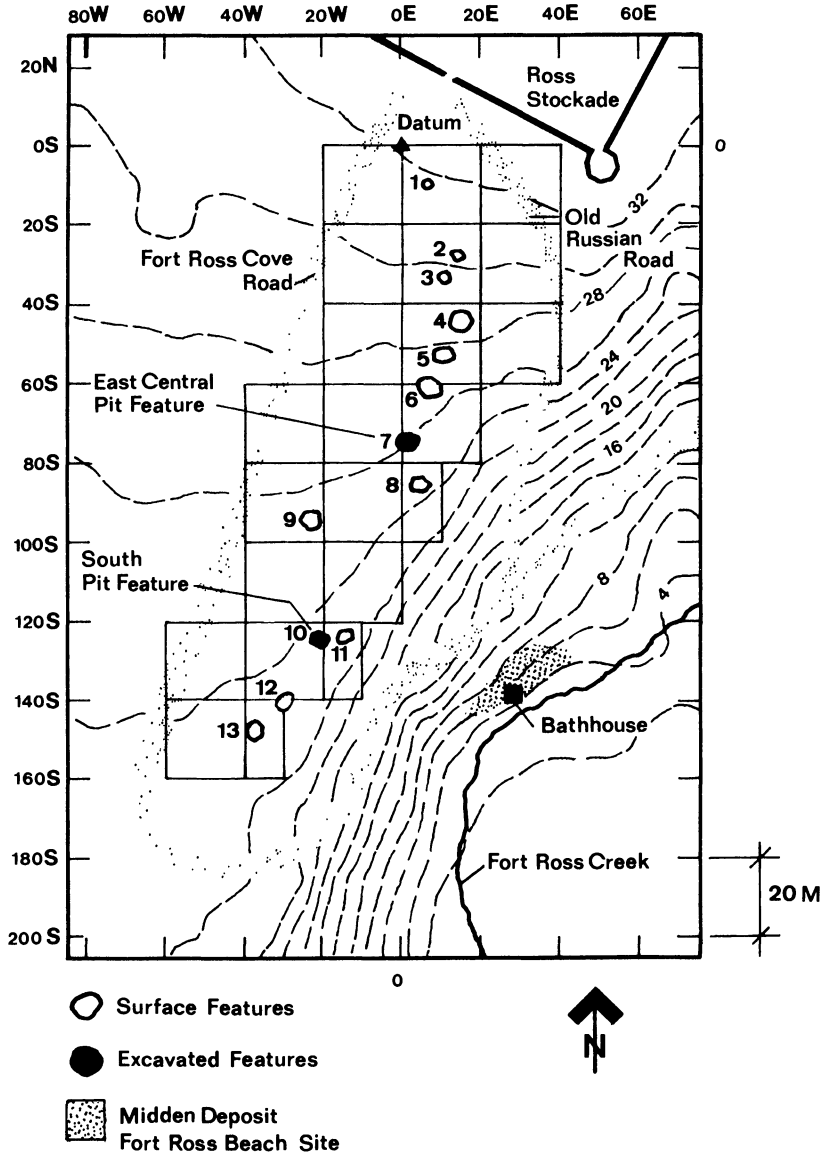


Figure 2. The Native Alaskan Village site and Fort Ross Beach site, illustrating surface features and excavated structures (East Central Pit feature, South Pit feature, and Bathhouse). (Illustration by Judith Ogden)

archaeological deposits excavated in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood and greater Fort Ross region. The dense accumulation of fire-cracked rocks and underlying rock rubble used to raise and level the ground surface appears to have protected and even sealed the bone beds from intrusions by ubiquitous burrowing animals, especially gophers and voles (see especially Figure 4).

Regional Scale

Class and status differences ingrained in the colo-

nial hierarchy of the Russian-American Company were visibly constituted in the spatial layout of the Fort Ross Colony, which comprised four “ethnic” neighborhoods and a cemetery (Figure 1). The Russian officials were the primary residents of the impressive stockade complex that was the centerpiece and administrative hub of the colonial community. Enclosed within stout stockade walls were a manager’s house, a warehouse and company store, chapel, kitchen, and other living quarters. The Native Alaskan Neighborhood was located a

short distance to the south, outside the stockade walls. Directly west of the stockade complex was a "Russian Village," or *sloboda*, where the lower-class Russians and Creole workers and families lived in planked houses with gardens. In the northern hinterland of the stockade complex was the Native Californian Neighborhood, made up of a series of small villages or compounds where the Kashaya Pomo resided while working for the Russians, primarily during the harvest season. Finally, east of the stockade complex on a prominent knoll overlooking the Russian colony was the cemetery where people of the Russian Orthodox faith were buried.

In employing a combination of ethnohistorical accounts, native oral traditions, and archaeological research, one can construct a baseline for comparing and contrasting the different cultural practices reproduced in the four neighborhoods as enacted in the layout and maintenance of residential space, the spatial ordering of daily routines, the kinds of domestic chores undertaken, and the organization of trash disposal. There are excellent eyewitness descriptions and detailed archaeological investigations of elite "Russian" cultural practices in the stockade complex, information that has been synthesized by state park scholars in their reconstruction of imposing buildings and stockade walls (see Farris 1989, 1990). The cultural practices of households in the *sloboda* are not well documented in known archival sources, and little archaeological research has yet been undertaken here (Farris 1993). However, a recent analysis of archaeological remains along the north wall of the stockade provides provocative observations on the material culture of possible mixed ethnic households of Creole men and Native Californian women (Ballard 1995). Recent excavations to identify and document individual graves as part of the reconstruction of the Russian Orthodox cemetery are providing new insights on the demographic parameters, ethnic classes, social identities, and gender and burial conventions of the Christians buried at Fort Ross (Goldstein 1992, 1995; Osborn 1992, 1997).

Much of our effort has focused on constructing a comparative baseline for examining culture change and persistence in the organization of Kashaya Pomo daily practices in prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic contexts. This baseline pro-

vides the diachronic perspective necessary to identify the presence of Kashaya Pomo women in mixed ethnic households in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood and to detail culture change and persistence taking place in the ordering of their daily lives and worldviews. Documentary information and native oral tradition are employed in the construction of this baseline: descriptions of houses and activities in the Native Californian Neighborhood and nearby environs recorded by Russian officials and other travelers to Fort Ross (Corney 1896; Kostromitinov 1974; La Place 1986; Lutke 1989; Wrangell 1974); Kashaya Pomo stories that describe their cultural practices at Fort Ross, as well as their observations of the Russians and Native Alaskans (Oswalt 1966); and later ethnographic reports that discuss the Kashaya Pomo in post-Russian times (Barrett 1908; Gifford 1967; Kennedy 1955). However, since detailed analyses of the spatial structure of Kashaya Pomo villages and residences in archaeological contexts are sparse (e.g., Lightfoot 1995:208–209), we initiated a program of archaeological fieldwork in the hinterland of Fort Ross to better establish the organization of Kashaya Pomo daily practices. We have undertaken survey work in the Fort Ross State Historic Park to locate village and processing sites, have completed surface collections and geophysical survey to define the spatial layout of settlements, and have initiated excavation strategies that detail the organization of residential space, activity areas, and trash deposits (Lightfoot et al. 1991, 1993; Martinez 1996, 1997a, 1997b).

Recent field investigations of one of the Kashaya Pomo villages is of special interest in our investigation. At the Tomato Patch site, a late prehistoric/historic village located on a ridge-top beyond the immediate Fort Ross community, Martinez (1996, 1997b) employed a similar field strategy as that used in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood to define the site structure and spatial organization of households. Surface features were carefully mapped, a systematic sample of surface materials was collected from which density maps of artifacts and faunal remains were generated, and both magnetometer and soil resistance surveys were conducted across the entire village. An excavation strategy was implemented in 1994 and 1995 to expose and document the layout of intramural and extramural residential space. The

excavations unearthed portions of three structures, associated extramural space and features, and an extensive trash deposit situated downslope. The analysis of the field data is providing new perspectives on the spatial organization of Kashaya Pomo households and day-to-day routines involving food preparation and cooking, tool production, and trash disposal (e.g., Martinez 1997b:144–151).

Pan-Regional Scale

In constructing our comparative baseline, we are investigating the cultural practices of Native Alaskans in their tribal homelands and in other Russian-American Company colonies in the North Pacific where they were stationed. To date, this investigation has focused on the Alutiiq people of Kodiak Island, Alaska, since they made up the bulk of the residents who cohabited with Native Californian women in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood. We have assembled detailed ethnohistorical accounts and archaeological observations on the spatial organization of villages and the internal arrangements of houses and associated extramural space for late prehistoric and historic settlements on Kodiak Island (e.g., Clark 1974, 1984; Crowell 1994, 1997; Davydov 1977; Gideon 1977; Jordon 1994; Jordon and Knecht 1988; Knecht and Jordan 1985; Lisiansky 1814; Merck 1980); in Russian-American outposts on the Kurile Islands (Shubin 1990, 1994), where Alutiiq peoples made up much of the population; and at Fort Elisabeth on Kauai Island, Hawaii (Mills 1996). In addition, Crowell (1994:159–181) has summarized known accounts of interethnic structures in the North Pacific and described the excavation of a hybrid-style house that combined Native Alaskan building techniques with Russian stylistic touches at the Three Saints Bay colony on Kodiak Island.

Daily Practices of Interethnic Households

The comparative approach employed in the study of the Native Alaskan Neighborhood indicates that both Kashaya Pomo and Alutiiq organizational principles were reproduced in the spatial ordering of daily practices, but at very different scales. At the microscale, it appears that the daily ordering of many domestic routines in individual households followed distinctly Kashaya Pomo conventions, at least for the house structures and refuse dumps we excavated. At the village scale, however, Alutiiq

ideals apparently influenced the broader spatial layout of the neighborhood. As the findings are presented in detail elsewhere (Farris 1997; Gobalet 1997; Lightfoot et al. 1997b; Mills 1997; Ross 1997; Schiff 1997a, 1997b; Silliman 1997; Simons 1997; Wake 1997a, 1997b), we briefly summarize here the most significant observations on the organization of daily life and community structure in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood.

Residential Space

Eyewitness accounts at Fort Ross indicate that a diverse range of architectural styles characterized the houses constructed in the neighborhood, ranging from Russian-style log or plank structures to the “flattened cabins” of the “Kodiaks” (Duhaut-Cilly 1946:10–11; Tikhmenev 1978:134). The East Central and South Pit features resemble in outline and depth the shallow, semisubterranean houses described by Shubin for the Alutiiq workers on the Kurile Islands. They also resemble the winter subterranean houses of the Pomo or Miwok observed by Corney (1896:33–34) and Kostromitinov (1974:8), although they are deeper and somewhat larger than the houses unearthed at the Tomato Patch Site. The excavated pit features in the neighborhood are at least 3.4 to 5 m in length, dug about .3 m below the historic ground surface. Both pit features were used before or during the 1820s and 1830s. The exposure of the house floors was limited (since much of our effort was spent documenting the overlying bone bed deposits), and we detected no internal pits or hearths. While the area exposed to the north and east of the East Central Pit feature revealed no extramural features (Figure 3), the extramural space north and east of the South Pit feature revealed a line of 12 redwood posts that appears to have been a fence, possibly containing a small garden plot or pen for small animals (Figure 4).

Spatial Organization of Trash Disposal

Archaeological, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic observations of Alutiiq semisubterranean structures on Kodiak Island indicate that household trash accumulated within houses, specifically in the large central space that served as a combination living room, kitchen, and workshop. For example, Lisiansky (1814:212–214) observed the central rooms being used for dances, for the clean-

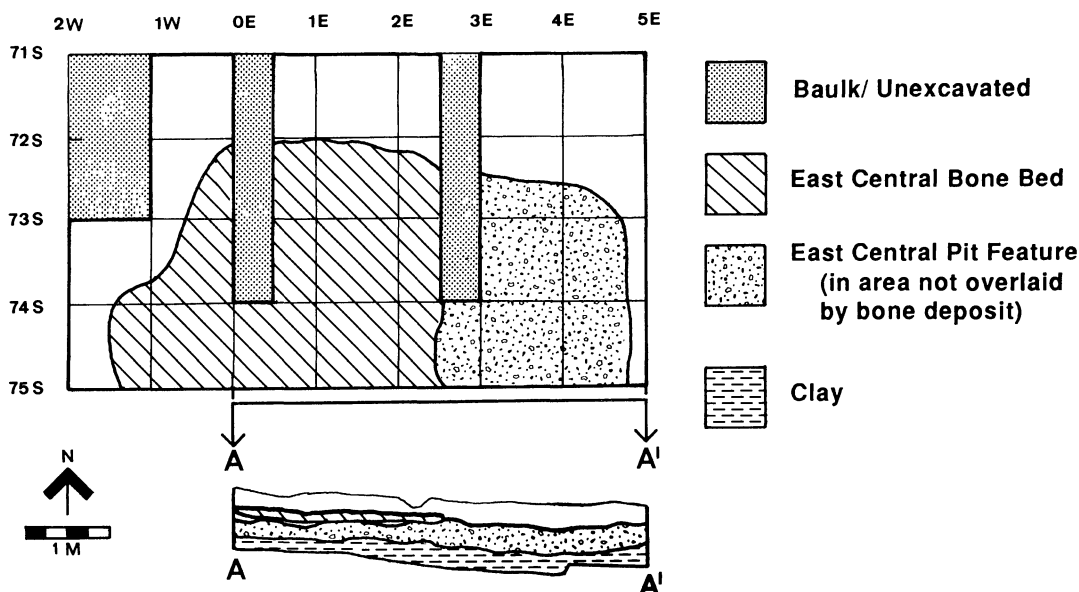


Figure 3. Excavation plan and profile of the East Central Bone Bed and East Central Pit feature. (Illustration by Judith Ogden)

ing and drying of fish, for building *baidarkas* (skin boats), and for performing most domestic chores. He reported that they are "never cleaned, except that now and then some fresh grass is thrown over the floor, to give it a sort of decent appearance." Davydov (1977:154–155) commented that the Alutiiq house "is always dirty and presents an unpleasant spectacle to a European, for the food waste, fish bones, and shells are very rarely removed." Excavations of late prehistoric and early historic semisubterranean structures on Kodiak Island support the above accounts. The floor levels of the houses are often 20–30 cm thick, composed of highly compressed matrixes of vegetable matter, food bones, shellfish, matted grasses, hair, artifacts, wood chips, ash, charcoal, fire-altered rocks, and bits of fur (Clark 1974:155–156; Heizer 1956:18; Jordon and Knecht 1988:256–262; Knecht and Jordan 1985). These field investigations also indicate a pattern whereby old house floors and their accumulated trash were intentionally covered by new floors as part of the remodeling or reuse of house structures. Jordan and Knecht's (1988:256–262) excavation of one house structure uncovered 10 different house floors separated by thick deposits of floor debitage and sod roofs, while Clark (1974:155) revealed a house structure in which the

floor refuse was capped by a "clean sand layer which evens up underlying irregularities and overlay rubbly site deposits and midden." The frequent remodeling of houses and the construction of new floors over old trash appears to have been a creative means of trash disposal in Alutiiq villages.

In contrast, ethnohistoric and archaeological observations suggest that the Kashaya Pomo observed relatively strict rules for the disposal of trash in and around houses. Eyewitness accounts of Pomo and Miwok residences, as well as paintings illustrating the interior of dwellings, emphasize the Spartan contents of their dwellings and general tidiness or "orderly fashion" of their houses (Schabelski 1993:10; Wrangell 1974:3–4; also Tikhanov's 1818 watercolor in Wiswell 1979:337). For example, Kostromitinov (1974:8) described the sparse contents of Kashaya houses that included only clothing, bedding, "a bow, arrows, a large pot, and sometimes fishing nets."

Archaeological investigations of late prehistoric and historic Kashaya villages indicate the clear segregation of residential and midden space. Residential spaces, typically situated in elevated areas of sites, are relatively clean except for sparse scatters of lithic artifacts, while midden deposits located downslope contain dense concentrations of animal bones and shellfish remains (Lightfoot

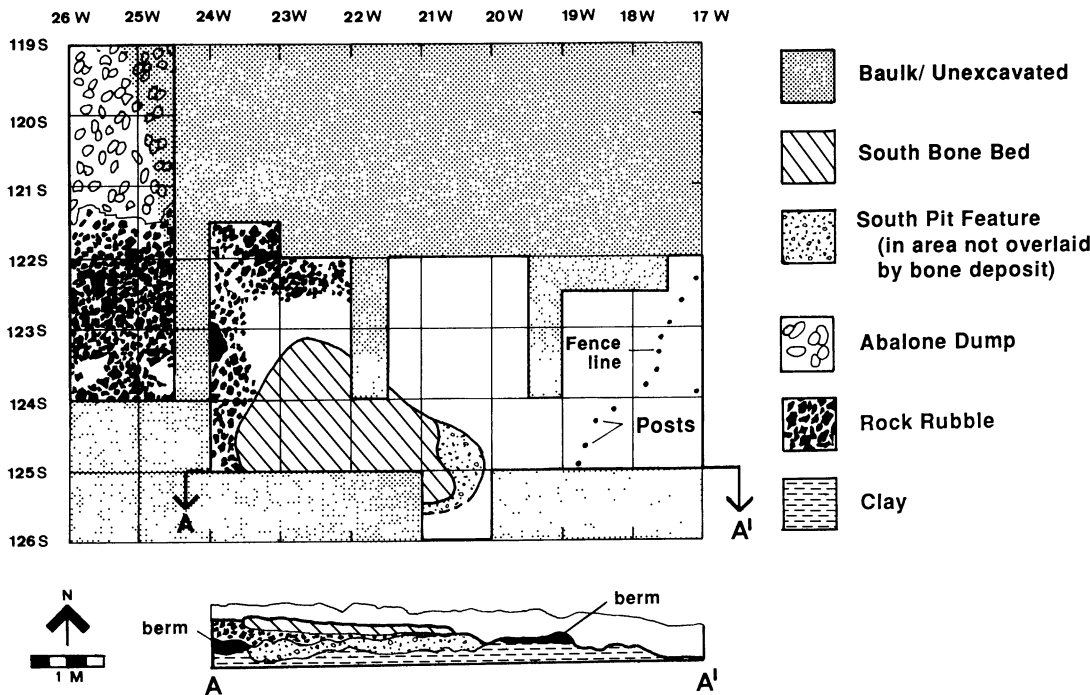


Figure 4. Excavation plan and profile of the South Bone Bed, South Pit feature, Abalone Dump, rock rubble, and red-wood fence line. (Illustration by Judith Ogden)

et al. 1991:116–119). The exposure of upslope house structures and associated extramural space at the Tomato Patch site revealed a light artifact scatter relatively free of food refuse, suggesting the regular maintenance and cleaning of both houses and surrounding space. Trash that was picked up appears to have been disposed of in discrete midden deposits more than 1 m deep situated downslope (Martinez 1997b:144–146).

Our investigation of the Native Alaskan Neighborhood suggests that some members of households were highly structured in their disposal of refuse. Few artifacts and faunal remains were found on the floors of the East Central and South Pit features, or the floor of the bathhouse, indicating that the buildings were periodically swept clean, at least before abandonment. The associated extramural space exposed around the houses was also in tidy order. The space to the north and east of the East Central Pit feature and along the fence line associated with the South feature was relatively sterile of material culture. Since fences can often serve as barriers in the accumulation of trash, this strongly suggests the latter area was intentionally cleaned.

We believe that Kashaya concepts of orderliness were enacted in some interethnic households, probably by Native Californian women. While the East Central and South Pit features may resemble the semisubterranean houses of Alutiik workers excavated on the Kurile Islands or possibly the winter houses of Native Californians, it is clear that the day-to-day domestic practices involving the care and maintenance of these places followed the organizational principles of the Kashaya Pomo. Kashaya women, or individuals employing their ideals of cleanliness and order, swept houses clean on a regular basis and kept nearby extramural space clear of refuse. Food waste, workshop debris, and worn-out implements from kitchens and related residential space were probably scooped into containers whose contents were tossed into nearby refuse dumps established on artificially filled surfaces in abandoned house structures. In such a manner we believe the bone bed deposits accumulated as a direct consequence of the routine cleaning of nearby residential space. Other household refuse was also tossed over the edge of the marine terrace, creating much of the downslope midden deposit in the Fort Ross Beach site.

Innovative developments were also taking place in landscape modification and garbage disposal in the neighborhood. While traditional Alutiiq practices of covering refuse in house structures and other "old" surfaces with "new" surfaces (straw, clean sand, or other material) were not observed in our excavation, we suspect that Native Alaskan conventions were employed in the filling and leveling of abandoned house structures with rock rubble and dirt to create new surfaces (see Figure 4). These prepared surfaces were then incorporated into the Pomo worldview of order and hygiene as they were transformed into discrete refuse deposits.

Menu and Food Preparation

The sophisticated maritime Alutiiq peoples on Kodiak Island focused their culinary skills primarily on the preparation of marine mammals (whales, pinnipeds), pelagic (cod, halibut) and anadromous fish (salmon), seabirds, and shellfish (Clark 1974:70–74, 1984:187–190; Haggarty et al. 1991:82–92; Lisiansky 1814:191–195). Meats were prepared in many ways: eaten raw, fermented in berry juices, boiled in native ceramic or metal vessels over fires or in watertight baskets using heated rocks, or barbecued or broiled directly over the fire (see Bolotov 1977:85; Davydov 1977:173–175; Lisiansky 1814:195; Merck 1980:106).

The Kashaya Pomo exploited a wide range of meats from the land and shore, including deer, elk, rabbit, terrestrial birds (quail), fish (coastal, anadromous, freshwater), and shellfish (Gifford 1967; Oswalt 1966). There is some debate among later ethnographers whether the Kashaya hunted marine mammals at the time of Russian contact (Gifford 1967:16–19; Loeb 1926:169). But, in any case, pinnipeds, cetaceans, and pelagic fish apparently did not play a major role in their traditional diet, an observation supported by recent archaeological excavations at the Tomato Patch site. Kashaya chefs prepared some meats and fishes raw, boiled meats in watertight baskets using heated stones, and cooked meats on coals and embers and in underground ovens (Barrett 1952:60–71; Gifford 1967:16–17; Kostromitinov 1974:8; Lutke 1989:276).

Our excavations in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood indicate that a new menu was served in interethnic households that was neither

purely Kashaya nor purely Alutiiq. The men from Kodiak Island first experienced the regular taste of venison, abalone, and California rockfishes, while the Pomo were treated to seal, sea lion, and beef steaks that were not a regular part of their precontact diet. The bone bed deposits contain substantial information on the preparation and cooking of meat dishes. Steel tools were used to butcher mammal remains and fillet meat portions (Wake 1995, 1997b:284–290). The meat packages appear to have been cooked primarily using the "hot rocks" baking method of the Pomo and Miwok, as indicated by clusters of mostly unburned bones in association with medium- and large-sized "cooking" stones (fire-cracked rocks), small gastropods (probably from seaweed), and limited quantities of charcoal. This method, as vividly described by later ethnographers (e.g., Barrett 1952:61; Gifford 1967:19; Holmes 1975:22), involved the placement of alternating tiers of fired-hot rocks, protective layers of vegetable matter (such as seaweed), and meat packages in underground ovens that were covered and allowed to cook for five or more hours. The ovens were then opened and the meat contents removed and consumed. The remaining refuse was cleaned out of the ovens into containers and tossed as discrete clusters into the bone bed deposits.

The "hot rocks" baking method is well documented among the Pomo and Miwok in prehistoric and historic archaeological contexts (e.g., Beardsley 1954:30), including the excavation of a possible underground oven in the nearby Tomato Patch site. This method is not documented in either the archaeological or ethnohistorical literature, to the best of our knowledge, for the Alutiiq inhabitants of Kodiak Island in contact or precontact settings.

It appears that beef and mutton, meats not previously consumed by the Kashaya until the establishment of Fort Ross, were treated and cooked in the same manner as local black-tailed deer. What is somewhat unexpected is that marine mammals were treated in the same fashion as terrestrial game. Marine mammals and terrestrial game appear to have been cooked together in earth ovens, and both show similar dismemberment patterns and filleting marks (Wake 1995). Thus, Kashaya conventions were apparently used in the processing of marine mammals, as opposed to

treating them separately and preparing them in a fashion more consistent with Alutiiq conventions. The one concession is that special cuts of meat were prepared for some meat dishes, especially flipper elements from harbor seals and sea lions, which are considered a great delicacy among Native Alaskan peoples (Wake 1995, 1997b:298–300). Other food refuse in the bone beds, such as sea urchins and sea birds, not commonly consumed by the Kashaya, but actively harvested by Alutiiq peoples in their native homeland, also appear to have been cooked in earth ovens according to local Native Californian practices.

Material Culture from Domestic Contexts

The maritime-oriented Alutiiq peoples on Kodiak Island developed elaborate cultural practices for producing a complex assemblage of tools and domestic furniture from marine mammal and sea bird bone, ground slate, driftwood, basketry materials, and clays (see Clark 1974:112–127, 1984; Davydov 1977:187; Knecht and Jordan 1985). Chipped-stone tools are a relatively minor component of late prehistoric and historic sites on Kodiak Island (Clark 1974; Jordon and Knecht 1988:268; Knecht and Jordan 1985:29). In contrast, the Kashaya Pomo employed artifact assemblages of chipped stones, ground stones, terrestrial mammal bone, wood, and basketry materials in their homeland villages (Barrett 1952; Lightfoot et al. 1991; Martinez 1997b).

The excavations of the bone bed deposits in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood indicate refuse from non-food-related activities was also tossed into these household dumps, most likely from cleaning up nearby internal and external residential space. There is little evidence of Alutiiq household equipment or furniture as described in contemporaneous homeland villages on Kodiak Island, where houses typically contained stone lamps, ground slate ulus, adzes, and other accoutrements, bone spoons or ladles, native pottery or hollowed whale vertebrae platters (e.g., Clark 1974:112–127). The majority of Alutiiq practices observable in household refuse at the Native Alaskan Neighborhood are clearly oriented toward the production and maintenance of their sophisticated marine hunting and fishing equipment, as discussed by Wake (1995, 1997a). The worked-bone assemblage consists of large and small darts,

harpoon arrow points, harpoon shaft (socket) pieces, and composite fishhooks. Other worked-bone implements include buttons, awls, fasteners, and plain and incised-bone tubes. The production of bone artifacts is amply demonstrated by cores of whale ribs, grizzly bear humerus and radius bones, and elk antlers; hundreds of chopping and carving flakes; amorphous worked-bone chunks; and handholds. The workshop debris represents the full sequence of reduction steps in the production of bone toolkits related to marine mammal hunting and fishing. The presence of bone conical points, awls, and large numbers of pinniped, common murre, gull, and cormorant remains suggests that the sewing of *kamleikas* (waterproof jackets) and birdskin parkas, as well as the repair of skin boats (*baidarkas* and *baidaras*), also may have taken place.

Other household refuse at the Native Alaskan Neighborhood includes chipped-stone and ground-stone artifacts and European/Asian materials, such as ceramic, glass, and metal objects. The chipped-stone assemblage consists of both formal tools (unifaces, bifaces), edge-modified flakes, and workshop debris primarily from local chert and obsidian obtained from sources in northern California (Schiff 1997a). Obsidian hydration dating of artifacts in the bone bed deposits suggests some were recycled as expedient tools from nearby prehistoric lithic scatters (Lightfoot and Silliman 1997:352–353). The residents of households were highly selective in choosing the prehistoric artifacts they recycled, primarily scavenging interior flakes and formal tools. Ground-stone tools in the bone bed deposits include handstones, pestles, basin milling stones, and slab milling stones, all common constituents of nearby Kashaya Pomo villages, including the Tomato Patch site (Schiff 1997a:230–233).

The European/Asian materials represent a relatively discrete assemblage in the neighborhood that dates primarily to the 1820s and 1830s (Farris 1997; Ross 1997; Silliman 1997). The ceramic assemblage consists mostly of refined earthenwares (e.g., hand-painted blue, transfer-print blue, and hand-painted polychrome), as well as some porcelains, stonewares, and yellowwares (Silliman 1997:140–153). Small, fragmentary pieces from many different ceramic vessels are represented. Windowpane and vessel glass artifacts are present,

but are also highly fragmented into many small pieces. Most of the "black glass" pieces are probably from case-transported bottles that may have contained alcoholic drinks (Silliman 1997:153–160). Glass beads are frequent constituents of neighborhood deposits, most consisting of hot-tumbled, drawn, monochrome and polychrome, undecorated embroidery varieties. In other Pacific Coast contact sites, these inexpensive bead types are typically found in domestic contexts where day-to-day activities take place, in contrast to the more expensive, decorated beads that are often associated with ceremonial contexts where wealth displays and/or ritual activities occur (Ross 1997:202).

The absence of any complete or reconstructible ceramic or glass vessels strongly suggests a secondary context for these artifacts. While the fragmented remains of various vessel forms, such as ceramic plates, saucers, teacups, and other forms, as well as glass bottles, are represented in the bone beds, it does not appear that they served as tablewares or cooking wares in the residences associated with the refuse dumps (see Farris 1997:131–132; Silliman 1997:169–171). Rather, it appears that ceramic and glass fragments were scavenged from other Fort Ross locations, such as the stockade complex and *sloboda*, to be used as raw materials in the production of native artifact forms. Some ceramic sherds were modified into bead blanks, pendants, or other ornaments, while other glass bottle fragments and window glass pieces (to a lesser extent) were turned into flakes, scrapers, and bifaces (Silliman 1997:151, 160–161). We are currently exploring the possibility that some of the ceramic and glass pieces recycled from Fort Ross dumps by residents of the Native Alaskan Neighborhood were earmarked for distribution to outlying Kashaya homeland villages, such as the Tomato Patch site, which contain similar assemblages of highly fragmented ceramic and glass artifacts.

The metal assemblage is also in a fragmented state, consisting mostly of bent nails and largely defective metal items (e.g., iron spikes, lead bullet molds and sprues, pieces of buttons and button hooks). While residents of interethnic households may have been the primary users of these materials, at least some of the metal objects were probably recycled from other Fort Ross dumps or from

nearby industrial areas of the colony and reused in new contexts. Some materials (e.g., ship-building tacks) appear to have been scavenged from the shipyard adjacent to the Fort Ross Beach site and then reused in the Native Alaskan Neighborhood as construction materials in houses or as raw material in the production of native artifact forms, such as fishhooks. Ongoing excavations of the blacksmith and carpenter shops associated with the shipyard are yielding a similar range of spikes, nails, and tacks as those recovered in the bone bed deposits (Allan 1997).

Settlement Layout

Alutiiq winter villages on Kodiak Island tended to be located in slight embayments and coves generally along or near the outer coast with direct access to shellfish beds and good fishing (Clark 1987:124–129; Davydov 1977:155). Houses in these villages were arranged in a long linear pattern along an expansive beach or coastal strip (Jordon and Knecht 1988:232–236; Knecht and Jordan 1985:21–23). As Jordon (1994:148) notes, many subsistence-related tasks took place along the shore, while domestic, social, political, and ceremonial activities tended to occur in the central strip of structures. Early accounts state that Alutiiq peoples located houses so that they had clear views of the ocean. Men would climb the roofs and sit there scanning the sea, especially at sunrise when decisions were made to go to sea or to stay home (Clark 1984:191; Davydov 1977:156; Lisiansky 1814:182–184).

The Kashaya Pomo employed very different organizational principles in the placement and layout of their homeland villages. Late prehistoric settlements tend to be situated on ridges several kilometers from the coast at elevations several hundred meters above sea level. Village locations were chosen to provide protection from the fog and wind of the coast, to afford good sources of freshwater, and to take advantage of both coastal and interior resources (Lightfoot et al. 1991:112–115). When some Kashaya peoples began to aggregate near Fort Ross in the early nineteenth century to work in agricultural fields for the Russian-American Company, they relocated their villages from the top of ridges to the base of the ridges north of the stockade complex (Figure 1). However, similar kinds of organiza-

tional conventions were reproduced at these new places. Villages were reestablished some distance from the coast in secluded locations that still provided protection from wind and fog. The spatial arrangement of houses within Kashaya villages is variable in late prehistoric and early historic contexts. Houses tend to be arranged in a rough semi-circular or circular manner with large assembly or “dance houses” situated in the center (Barrett 1975:45; Kniffen 1939:386). The spatial organization of the Tomato Patch site consists of a line of houses that follows the ridgeline in a roughly east–west direction.

The Native Alaskan Village site appears to have been organized according to spatial conventions of Alutiiq winter villages but contradicts many of the basic organizational principles of Kashaya villages in the nearby region. The village site is situated in a very exposed location on a marine terrace overlooking the Fort Ross Cove and the Pacific Ocean. The settlement is organized so that residents could place their houses, extramural work areas, and trash dumps along the eastern edge of the marine terrace with an unobstructed view of the sea below. The results of the fieldwork revealed a village plan in which houses paralleled the edge of the marine terrace in a roughly north–south line (Figure 2). Geophysical survey and subsurface testing suggest that only a row or two of houses were built in the north and central areas of the settlement and that an “open space” marked by little refuse and no evidence of house structures is found west of surface features 6, 7, and 8 in Figure 2. To the south, the geophysical survey suggests several rows of houses may have been constructed south of surface feature 9 and west of surface features 10 and 11 in Figure 2 (Lightfoot et al. 1997b:412–414; Tschan 1997:124–126).

The location of the Native Alaskan Village site differs in one significant respect from Alutiiq villages on Kodiak Island. Most Alutiiq houses would probably have been situated along the beach and creek of Fort Ross Cove, rather than on the elevated terrace directly adjacent to the stockade complex. The close placement of the village site under the guns of the Ross stockade may have been dictated by Russian administrators who wanted to keep an eye on the sea-mammal hunters, and/or the high location may have been chosen for its defensible position, similar to the “refuge

rocks” used on Kodiak Island (Aron Crowell, personal communication 1997). The location also may have been influenced by the employment of the cove area as a shipyard and industrial zone, thereby precluding residential use of the area.

Summary

A significant finding of our study is that the world-views and structuring principles of Russian-American Company administrators, Alutiiq sea-mammal hunters, and Kashaya Pomo spouses were reproduced at different scales of organization at Fort Ross. The imprint of Russian managers on the Ross landscape is most evident at the scale of the overall colonial spatial structure, where principles of class and status were employed in an attempt to segregate people into discrete “ethnic” neighborhoods, a practice observed at other Russian-American Company colonies in the North Pacific (Crowell 1994, 1997). At the scale of individual neighborhoods, company policies were relatively flexible in allowing residents to lay out and maintain their own communities. Alutiiq principles were employed in the spatial organization of the Native Alaskan Village site, which consisted of a linear arrangement of houses and work space along the eastern edge of the marine terrace. This spatial configuration provided the hunters with clear views of the Pacific horizon, as well as their *baidarkas* and hunting/fishing gear stored below in the Fort Ross Cove.

At the scale of individual households (at least the ones we examined), it appears that Kashaya conventions were reproduced in the daily practices of domestic life. These routinized practices include the preparation and cooking of meat dishes in earth ovens, the regular cleaning of house space and associated extramural locations, the tossing of refuse into specially prepared dumps, and the primary use of Native Californian material culture (e.g., milling stones, pestles, chipped-stone tools) in homes.

Another significant finding of our study is that it appears that the Native Californian women and Native Alaskan men attempted to maintain their own distinct social identities in interethnic households. Outside the individual home and its maintained extramural space, Alutiiq men’s marine-oriented world was reproduced in their selection of house locations with unobstructed

views of the water, in the maintenance of their sophisticated maritime hunting and fishing toolkits, in the continued consumption of seafoods, and in the use of skin boats that allowed them ready access to the sea. On the other hand, Kashaya women—who left their homeland villages and moved into the already built environment of the Fort Ross colony—were able to assert their Native Californian identities in the daily practices of domestic life centering around the house. While the placement of houses and work space was probably established by others, the Kashaya spouses broadcast their own unique identities in the manner in which they used this space. Kashaya conventions were largely re-created in the care and maintenance of residential space, foodways, domestic toolkits, and the organization of trash disposal.

Yet in the process of reproducing conventional cultural categories and worldviews in interethnic households, cultural transformations took place as Native Alaskan men and Native Californian women responded to one another and accommodated themselves to a new social setting. Their encounters produced new cultural practices: new foods were consumed by both spouses; new foodways were developed as marine mammals, terrestrial game, and domesticated animals were cooked together for the first time in earth ovens, along with special cuts of meat (seal flipper elements); new raw materials (ceramic, glass, metal) were used in the production of native artifact forms; and innovations took place in landscape modification practices and refuse disposal on specially prepared surfaces.

However, the process of culture change appears to have been very directed, as residents created cultural innovations that “fit” largely within their perceptions of what constituted proper “Kashaya” or “Alutiiq” behavior in the new social context. The recycling of ceramic and glass objects to manufacture conventional native artifact forms exemplifies this behavior. While Native Californian women may have been performing new tasks, such as cooking beef and marine mammals and sewing birdskin parkas, it appears they employed Kashaya organizational principles in the ordering of these daily practices. There is little evidence that they were implementing strategies of social mobility that would identify them as Native Alaskan women to Russian administrators. Furthermore, in the archaeological sample we

examined, there is little evidence that the residents of mixed ethnic households deliberately constructed “creolized” cultural practices that creatively combined Russian and Native American lifeways. European uses of material culture, as exemplified by the elite Russians residing in the stockade complex, were not actively replicated in interethnic households. For example, there is no evidence that ceramic tablewares and glass beverage bottles were employed to set a “European” table among the Alutiiq and Kashaya couples.

In retrospect, there is a very good reason why Native Californian women would have reproduced social identities at Fort Ross that linked them directly to nearby Kashaya villages. It is clear from both our archaeological and ethnohistorical research that the Russian-American Company provided little direct support to their native workers and especially to Native Californian women who remained at Fort Ross when their Alutiiq spouses were away on extended hunting trips. Correspondence from the 1820s indicates that, when by themselves, women and children experienced food shortages and that some families “ran away out of hunger and others endured terrible privation” (Khlebnikov 1990:131). This situation prompted Native Alaskan men to request that hunts be terminated early so they could return home to support their families. The deliberate maintenance of social relations and kin ties to homeland villages in the hinterland was probably critical for securing food, goods, and moral support during trying times. One facet of these extensive social networks was probably the recycling of ceramic, glass, and metal objects from Fort Ross dumps for redistribution to the outlying Native Californian community.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to consider daily practices and the organization of space in a contextual approach that may complement current artifact-based analyses in culture contact research. The approach builds on a crucial tenet of practice theory—that individuals will enact and construct their underlying organizational principles and worldviews in the ordering of daily life. By examining the organization of daily life in archaeological contexts—the spatial layout of residential space, the ordering of domestic tasks, the structure of trash

disposal—we can critically evaluate the nature and magnitude of culture change and persistence in contact settings. In developing such an approach, we emphasize that the study of habitual routines should be undertaken in a broadly diachronic and comparative framework by examining daily practices from a multiscale perspective.

In applying this approach to the study of interethnic households at Fort Ross, we found that the organizational principles of the dominant colonizers were reproduced at the scale of the broader colonial landscape (layout of “ethnic” neighborhoods), while the worldviews and conventions of the underclass were most visible in the community and household organization. Similar findings have been reported for very different colonial settings in Florida and the Caribbean (e.g., Deagan 1983a, 1995a). Native Californian women, who were the primary players in maintaining the residential space and refuse dumps we examined, constructed unique social identities that, on the one hand, were an accommodation to their spouses and the distinctive colonial setting of Fort Ross but, on the other, allowed them and their children to maintain strong connections to nearby homeland Kashaya villages.

A critical issue raised in this paper is whether daily practices of individuals can be observed and studied in the archaeological record. There is, of course, considerable debate about whether the events and activities of individuals or even households can be discriminated in archaeological contexts. Some scholars argue persuasively that most archaeological deposits are palimpsests that are best viewed as “places” with limited temporal resolution (e.g., Binford 1982; Smith 1992).

We recognize that some archaeological contexts will be more pertinent to the investigation of daily practices on the scale of individuals and households than others. Admittedly, the archaeology of pluralism at Fort Ross is facilitated by the relatively short occupation of the Native Alaskan Neighborhood (less than 30 years) and the minimal reuse of this archaeological place in subsequent years (see Farris 1997:133). However, we believe that the study of daily practices can probably be undertaken in a variety of other archaeological contexts, but it will involve the rethinking of how we view the archaeological record and how we conduct fieldwork (see Parkington 1993:96; Tringham 1994, 1995). Since the focus is on mun-

dane routines that produce deposits of materials on a day-to-day basis, the critical resolution is that which defines meaningful changes in the patterns of daily practices—how space is organized, how domestic tasks are conducted, and how trash is deposited. Not only are large block excavation strategies needed to define the broader spatial patterning of intramural and extramural space (e.g., Lightfoot 1995:208–209), but a refined scale of resolution is needed to identify promising archaeological deposits that may distinguish habitual patterns of daily practices in structures, activity areas, and trash dumps.

The study of daily practices is facilitated by making depositional events the units of analysis in excavation programs. The purpose is to define features and depositional events that accumulate as a consequence of the “little routines” people conduct over and over again, from one day to the next. Recent innovations in field techniques are providing better resolution for the study of the spatial structure of daily practices in archaeological contexts. Significant advances in the recording and interpretation of microstratigraphy and microformation processes are used to identify depositional events in archaeological contexts (e.g., Harris 1989; Harris et al. 1993; Kirch 1992; Stein 1992; Tringham 1995; Tringham et al. 1998). With the increasing sophistication of remote-sensing techniques, not only can the site structure be better defined, but archaeological contexts may be identified that yield high information content on daily practices, such as sealed deposits in association with residential space.

Our case study illustrates that trash deposits or middens in built environments can provide excellent contexts for the investigation of daily practices. While these deposits may be the “bread and butter” of most excavations, they are commonly treated as secondary refuse and mined for representative samples of artifacts and ecofacts using sondages and/or column samples. The time is right to recognize middens as contextually rich deposits that often accumulate through routinized behavior. We may greatly facilitate our investigation of patterns of daily practices in archaeological contexts by considering the spatial structure of these deposits and by defining discrete depositional events. In the study of trash disposal practices in villages and households, and the careful three-

dimensional recording of midden deposits, we may obtain exceptional information on the practice and organization of day-to-day lifeways, a point exemplified in our study at Fort Ross. It is the detailed investigation of these kinds of daily practices, undertaken in broadly diachronic and comparative frameworks, that will provide a more sophisticated "contextual" approach for studying culture change and persistence in pluralistic settings.

Acknowledgments. We thank Gary Feinman, Lynne Goldstein, Roberta Jewett, Mark Leone, and the anonymous reviewers for *American Antiquity* for constructive comments on this paper. Research undertaken at Fort Ross is a collaborative endeavor involving the California Department of Parks and Recreation and the University of California at Berkeley. We are especially indebted to Breck Parkman, Glenn Farris, Dan Murley, and Otis Parrish, whose assistance and support is critical to the success of the project. Our field investigation of the Tomato Patch site was undertaken with the kind assistance of the Soper-Wheeler Corporation, Paul Violet, and the entire Pedotti clan. We appreciate the insights provided by Donald Clark, Aron Crowell, Richard Knecht, and Valery Shubin on the archaeological signatures of Native Alaskan households and community patterns. The Fort Ross Archaeological Project is funded by the California Department of Parks and Recreation, the National Science Foundation (Grants #BNS-8918960, #SRB-9304297), the American Home Shield Corporation, the University of California at Berkeley (Archaeological Research Facility, Committee on Research), and McDonald's Restaurant in North Berkeley, California.

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Received June 2, 1997; accepted October 21, 1997; revised November 21, 1997.