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## Cultures in Contact at Colony Ross

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## CASE STUDY

When thinking about the European colonization of California, it is easy to forget that Russia as well as Spain was a colonial power along this part of the Pacific Coast. Yet Russians competed for trade well south of Alaska, establishing a colony, called Colony Ross, north of what today is San Francisco. Here the Russian-American Company rather than the Spanish had considerable effect on Native people, as detailed in this case study about the Fort Ross Archaeological Project. The fort community was multiethnic, including Alaskan Natives, Coast Miwok and Kashaya Pomo Indians, and Russians. This case study describes a collaborative program between the Fort Ross State Historic Park, the Kashaya Pomo Tribe, California State Parks, and the University of California at

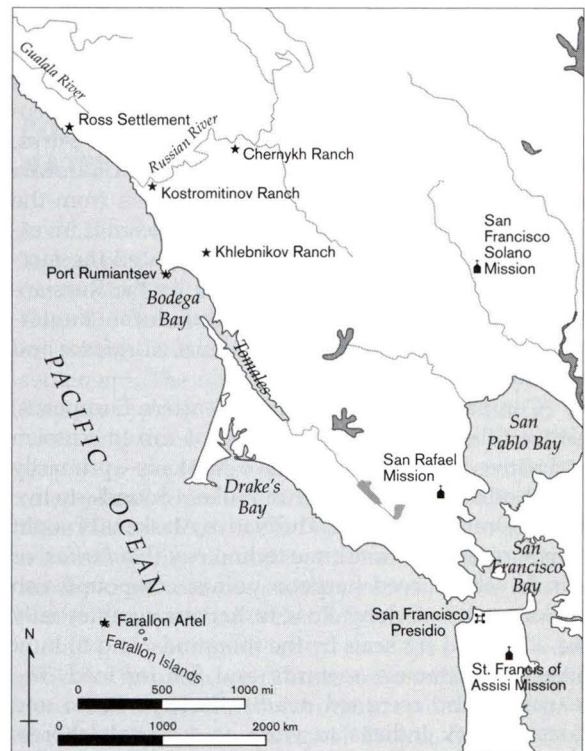
Berkeley that focuses on the impact of Russian colonialism on the Native peoples of this area. Because of their collaboration with Kashaya Pomo elders, the archaeologists were able to develop low-impact strategies for gathering data primarily by using geophysical testing as well as traditional excavation. They also are major contributors to changes in the interpretive program at Fort Ross through their work on a Kashaya Pomo interpretive trail and a digital website that will make the native story at Colony Ross more widely accessible. As you read this case study, reflect on the example it provides of how archaeologists now try to incorporate diverse stakeholders in their work. How does this context change the story that gets told?

### CULTURES IN CONTACT AT COLONY ROSS

Kent G. Lightfoot, Sara Gonzalez, Darren Modzelewski, Lee Panich, Otis Parrish, and Tsim Schneider

For thousands of years before the coming of Europeans, Kashaya Pomo and Coast Miwok peoples inhabited the coastal lands north of San Francisco Bay. Like many other California Indians, they were hunter-gatherers who harvested wild plants and animals from the sea and land for food, medicine, clothing, housing material, and ceremonial regalia. Villages nestled along protected coastal embayments and ridge tops of the Northern Coast Ranges mountains contained tule-thatched or redwood bark houses, ceremonial structures (round houses), sweat houses, dance enclosures, and extramural cooking and work areas. Large villages served as the political centers for broader communities of dispersed family groups who would come together for periodic dances, ceremonies, initiation rites, and feasts.

With the founding of Colony Ross in 1812 by the Russian-American Company (RAC), a mercantile enterprise licensed by the tsar of Russia, life would change forever for the Kashaya Pomo and the Coast Miwok. The Russian merchants placed the primary administrative center of the colony, which they called the Ross settlement, in the heart of Kashaya Pomo territory, and they chose Bodega Harbor in Coast Miwok country to be the principal port facility (Port Rumiantsev) (Figure 7.15). The Russian-American Company came to California to profit from the exploitation of the region's natural bounty. The mercantile



**FIGURE 7.15** The location of Colony Ross showing Russian settlements and ranches.

enterprise harvested sea mammals, primarily sea otters and fur seals, to fuel the lucrative maritime fur trade that supplied sea mammal pelts to China, Europe, and the United States, primarily for use as robes, fur trim, and other clothing accessories. The Russian merchants attempted to grow wheat, barley, and other crops, and to raise livestock at Colony Ross to feed other RAC colonies in the North Pacific (Aleutian Islands, Kodiak Island, Prince William Sound, etc.), which experienced periodic food shortages. The Ross settlement also served as a manufacturing center for the production of goods (timber, bricks, metal utensils, and tools) that were shipped to the other North Pacific colonies and also traded to the Franciscan missionaries in **Alta California** for foodstuffs grown in the extensive mission complexes.

## FORT ROSS ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

Today the historic Ross settlement and its nearby environs comprise the Fort Ross State Historic Park. The Fort Ross Archaeological Project is examining the culture history of the Kashaya Pomo people and the long-term implications of their encounters with the first mercantile colony in California. Members of the collaborative research team include archaeologists and rangers from California State Parks, faculty and students from the University of California at Berkeley, and elders and tribal scholars from the Kashaya Pomo Tribe. The collaborative team is investigating how the Kashaya Pomo negotiated the mercantile colonial program introduced by the Russian-American Company that exposed local hunter-gatherers to a pluralistic, international workforce and to a market economy.

Company managers recruited eastern Europeans, Native Siberians, Creoles (people of mixed Russian and native ancestry), and Native Alaskans—primarily from Kodiak Island and Prince William Sound—to live and work at Colony Ross. The Native Alaskans brought their sophisticated maritime technology (*baidarkas*, or skin kayaks, carved harpoon points, compound fish hooks, etc.) to Colony Ross to harvest commercially sea otters and fur seals by the thousands, and to hunt other sea mammals, seabirds, and fish for food. The managers also recruited nearby Kashaya Pomo and Coast Miwok Indians to work as seasonal laborers in shipbuilding, brick making, and agriculture. The Indians were hired for specific tasks (e.g., harvesting wheat, tending livestock), with compensation negotiated on a case-by-case basis; the merchants paid the Native people “in kind” for their services, usually with food, tobacco, beads, and clothing.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The historical circumstances surrounding Colony Ross help to shape the questions asked by the Fort Ross Archaeological Project. Our current focus is to understand better the cultural practices and social interactions of the Kashaya Pomo and Coast Miwok people who lived and worked in a mercantile social setting and to compare their experiences to other Native Californians who were incorporated into European (as well as Mexican and American) colonial institutions of other kinds (e.g., missions, presidios, pueblos, ranchos). Some aspects of the history of the Russian colony are well known because RAC employees and other European visitors kept detailed records and personal journals. From these historical documents, archaeologists are able to learn important details about how life at Colony Ross was organized. Yet historical documents often only give one side of the story, leaving out others. In the case of Colony Ross, most documents describe the colonial situation from a European point of view. Because of our interest in the Kashaya Pomo and Coast Miwok who lived and worked at Colony Ross, we used careful and critical readings of these documents, alongside inferences drawn from the archaeological record of the colony, to generate conclusions about how Colony Ross differed from other colonial endeavors in California. Documents and archaeology are also employed to examine how Native American groups negotiated the constraints that the Russian colony imposed on their traditional lifeways.

One of the interesting things we learned from the history of Colony Ross is that it differed significantly from contemporaneous European colonies. During the period in which the Russian-American Company operated its mercantile outpost in northern California, the coastal regions to the south were being actively colonized by Spain (see Figure 7.14). Although Spain had ruled parts of Central and South America for centuries, the first Spanish colonists did not arrive in Alta California until 1769 (Costello and Hornbeck 1989). In much of the New World, Spain’s colonial empire was based on three interrelated institutions: **presidios**, **pueblos**, and missions. In other words, the Spanish relied upon soldiers, civilian colonists, and missionaries to maintain control of their colonies. In Alta California, Spain’s main colonizing agents were Franciscan missionaries. Although the missionaries themselves worked to convert Native peoples to Christianity, both the archaeological and historical records suggest that their role in the larger colonial framework was much broader.

In Alta California, the mission period lasted from roughly 1770 through the 1830s. The Franciscan padres, under the leadership of Junípero Serra, founded a

chain of 21 missions that ran along the Pacific coast as far north as San Francisco Bay. The Spanish brought local people to the missions, and additionally forced groups from outlying areas to relocate to mission sites. At the missions, tightly controlled social practices were intended to “civilize” Native Californians by converting them to both Christianity and European lifestyles. Native Californians who lived at the missions were also forced to grow crops and raise livestock for trade and to supply other parts of Spanish California. Poor living conditions at the missions exacerbated the spread of disease, and several devastating epidemics struck the native populations of the California missions. Within the framework of Spanish colonialism, the missions provided the colonies with cheap labor and cleared the territory of an uncontrolled indigenous population (Jackson and Castillo 1995; Milliken 1995).

From historical sources and from the archaeological record, we know that at Colony Ross, the relationships between the Russian-American Company and Native Alaskans and Native Californians were structured very differently. Colony Ross was a multicultural community in which certain ethnicities held greater and lesser status, but no real attempt was made on the part of the Russians to eradicate native cultural practices. Russian colonialism, however, was driven by profit, and this is manifested in the Russians’ dealings with native groups (Dmytryshyn et al. 1989; Tikmenev 1978). In the eighteenth century, Russian traders moved across Siberia and Alaska, physically coercing Native peoples into the colonial workforce in relentless pursuit of furs and skins. In Alaska, the Russian traders treated the local indigenous populations so poorly that eventually the tsar was forced to intervene on their behalf. But by the time the RAC founded its colony in California, the company’s policies toward native groups had softened, and its leaders even signed treaties with some of the Native Californians. The land incorporated into the Ross Colony was territory already claimed by Spain, and these treaties served to legitimize the Russian claim to what is now the Sonoma County coast. For the Coast Miwok and Kashaya Pomo groups who lived in the area, the Russians represented the lesser of two colonial evils, and the treaties were likely signed in the hope that a Russian presence in the area might prevent the expansion of the Spanish mission system into their homelands.

During the early years of the colony, relations between the Russians and their indigenous neighbors were relatively benign. Allied against the Spanish, the RAC and local native groups coexisted without much conflict; indeed, the area around the colony became a refuge for Indians fleeing the Spanish missions farther south. Yet as the Native Alaskan hunters rapidly decimated the otter population, the Russian colony

intensified its agricultural and manufacturing programs. These undertakings required a large amount of labor, and often Native Californians who were prisoners of the Russians were forced to work for the colony. In the early 1820s the Russians, like the Spanish, began to mount armed raids into the countryside to capture Native Californians to be used as laborers. Demand for labor increased again in the 1830s with the establishment of three outlying ranches that were designed to increase the agricultural output of the colony, and relations with local native groups deteriorated (Lightfoot et al. 1991).

Unlike the Spanish, who hoped to assimilate Native peoples into new societies based on a European ideal, the Russian managers of Colony Ross simply wanted to turn a profit. Although certain individuals within the RAC advocated for the fair treatment of Native Californians, the company’s policies toward Native groups were driven by economic, rather than religious or governmental, concerns. The contrasting aims of the Spanish and Russian colonies are clearly demonstrated in California, both historically and archaeologically. These differences are also reflected in the histories and experiences of the various indigenous groups whose members were forced to negotiate the complex colonial worlds of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

## **COLLABORATION WITH NATIVE AMERICANS**

In addition to historical documents and the archaeological record, a third crucial source of information on the history of the Colony Ross region derives from the descendants of the Kashaya Pomo people on whose land the Russians established the Ross settlement. The once extensive tribal territory of the Kashaya, which included the Gualala River to the north and extended south of the Russian River, has shrunk to the 40-acre Stewarts Point Reservation located about 15 miles (24 km) north of the Fort Ross State Historic Park. About 600 Kashaya Pomo live in northern California today, and while many work in nearby cities and towns, they return to the reservation for the seasonal cycle of dances, feasts, and ceremonies. Consultation with Kashaya Pomo elders provides an avenue for incorporating their oral traditions into the research and interpretation program of the Fort Ross Archaeological Project (Figure 7.16). The development of our collaborative partnership with the Kashaya Pomo has benefited from the hindsight of decades of encounters between archaeologists and Native people—relationships that have witnessed dramatic changes over the past 35 years in North America (Downer 1997).



**FIGURE 7.16** Consultation between archaeologists and Kashaya Pomo elders at the Fort Ross State Historic Park, June 2004.

In the 1960s and 1970s, during the height of **processualism** in North American archaeology, collaborative research with Native Americans was more the exception than the rule. Most archaeologists either ignored or passively listened to the concerns of Native people with respect to the protection of ancestral sites. The civil rights movement of the 1960s, however, gave Native Americans a platform to assert their inherent rights as sovereign tribes and to find ways to more readily protect and manage their cultural property and resources.

Native advocacy led to the passage of several laws either directly or indirectly calling for archaeologists and other officials wishing to conduct research on federal or Indian land to *consult* with tribal people about proposed research. Some of these laws are the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), the **Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA)**, and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA). Additionally, most states including California have their own versions of these federal laws. For example, the California Environmental Quality Act (1970) requires consultation with affected tribes before and during archaeology done on state land. As a consequence of these legislative actions, laws now exist that protect sacred sites by mandating consultation before any archaeological research can be conducted.

These and several other federal and state laws have affected archaeological practice on both federal and nonfederal land. Furthermore, in concert with federal and state laws requiring consultation, many Native Californian groups have developed procedures for the management, protection, and preservation of sites and ancestral territories, as well as guidelines for

recording and studying archaeological sites. Many of these practices are being incorporated into the method and theory of North American archaeology. In 1994 members of the Society for American Archaeology met to discuss moral and ethical issues surrounding the archaeology of Native people in America. This resulted in the adoption of a code of ethics that acknowledges the rights and beliefs of Native people (Lynott and Wylie 1995). The overall consequences are significant; archaeologists are developing more innovative ways in which to gather data, to analyze and curate archaeological materials, and to interact and work with stakeholders and descendant communities. While these indigenous archaeologies are still developing in the context of North American archaeology (Watkins 2000), projects such as the one at Colony Ross illustrate that consultation and collaboration with local Native people can lead to meaningful, insightful, and exciting conclusions.

The Fort Ross Archaeological Project has benefited from consultation with the Kashaya Pomo in two significant ways. One is in the incorporation of native oral histories and oral traditions that inform us about the culture history, cultural practices, and worldviews of the Kashaya Pomo people. By incorporating indigenous voices into archaeological projects, we can gain a better understanding of the experiences of the ancestral communities that created and lived at many of the archaeological sites of the region (Echo-Hawk 1997). Stories and memories handed down from one generation to another provide a window into the past for examining traditional technology and lifeways (e.g., hunting and gathering practices, ceremonies, village organization) and for obtaining insights into their entanglements with foreign colonists. Native consultation also provides important insights into contemporary Kashaya perspectives on colonialism and the maintenance of native cultural practices and language retention. The Fort Ross Archaeological Project incorporates native narratives in the study of pre-contact archaeological remains, as well as historic sites that witnessed encounters between Kashaya and Native Alaskans, Creoles, Russians, and others.

It is the judicious use of native oral histories and oral traditions, in combination with archival documents and archaeology, that provides the most powerful approach, outside a time machine, for investigating the past. The integration of multiple lines of evidence from documentary, oral, and archaeological sources, which comprises the holistic study of historical anthropology, provides a more balanced and inclusive view of history. Each source can contribute a somewhat distinctive historical perspective from the vantage of people of varied cultural backgrounds and homelands. This kind of multisourcing approach is critical in the

study of pluralistic social contexts such as Colony Ross. Specifically, we employ native oral traditions, ethnohistoric records from European visitors to the northern California coast, ethnographic information about the Kashaya Pomo, maps of the region, and archived photographs of cultural landscapes and family members, all of which present unique lines of evidence on the history of the Kashaya coast.

The second significant contribution of Natives' participation in the Fort Ross Archaeological Project is in the theory and method of our archaeological practice. Collaboration with Kashaya elders has emphasized the need to protect and preserve ancestral archaeological remains. This has led to a concerted effort to develop low-impact or less intrusive methods of investigating archaeological places in the Fort Ross State Historic Park. Archaeological methods are employed to limit the amount of excavation, especially in the initial "testing" phases. Excavation by nature is a destructive activity; but it provides necessary information on site stratigraphy and the context of artifactual remains.

Our field program attempts to maximize information about the spatial organization of sites based on surface and near-surface investigations before subsurface testing takes place. We attempt to develop an increasingly detailed picture of the site structure before any significant excavation work is begun. As the site structure comes into focus, and potential house structures, midden areas, and workplaces take shape, we work with Kashaya participants to develop plans for "surgical strikes" where limited excavation may take place that will be most useful for evaluating our research questions and understanding site histories. This field program also tells Kashaya elders what they need to know about archaeological procedures to make informed decisions about where investigations should be prohibited for spiritual or other reasons.

We employ a multiphased field program that begins with the least intrusive methods. Surface pedestrian survey is undertaken in areas with limited ground cover to detect archaeological sites and to define site boundaries. Detailed topographic maps of the site surface are then produced, followed by geophysical survey, and the systematic surface collection of artifacts. We use geophysical survey methods to search for anomalies belowground that may be produced by cultural features or artifacts. **Magnetometers** measure sub- and near-surface magnetic anomalies, while other instruments measure the electrical conductivity or resistance subsurface deposits. Cultural features that retain moisture or alter the flow of electricity through the subsurface matrix may be detected by means of these low-impact methods, thus providing a tentative

picture of site structure prior to subsurface investigation (A. J. Clark 1990).

The low-impact approach was recently employed in the study of the Metini Village, a Kashaya village that dates to the Russian and post-Russian occupation of the region and may also predate Colony Ross (Lightfoot et al. 2001). Kashaya Pomo oral tradition emphasizes the sacredness of this place; the center of the site is dominated by a large surface depression that is the remains of a round house used for ceremonies and religious practices. Following a "ritual blueprint" for the investigation of the Metini Village Project, archaeological crews adhered to specific Kashaya cultural practices (Parrish et al. 2000). For example, women field workers were not allowed to work within the sacred village area during their menstrual periods, nor could they cook or do any kitchen chores at camp. We defined the boundaries of the village through surface pedestrian survey, mapped the topographic features of the site, employed a Geometrics G-858 cesium gradiometer and a Geonics EM-38 electromagnetic conductivity instrument to search for subsurface anomalies, and completed a systematic collection of surface materials from 4 percent of the site's surface. The completion of this multiphased surface investigation resulted in a series of overlay maps that showed the topography, subsurface anomalies, and artifact distributions across Metini Village—spatial information that was used by archaeologists and Kashaya elders to place several excavation units measuring 1 meter by 1 meter (3.281 ft. × 3.281 ft.) in strategic places across the site.

The benefits of the low-impact approach extend beyond site investigation, accountability to various stakeholding communities, and publication of a site report. Research designs with limited but strategically placed excavation units have implications for the collection and curation of archaeological materials. The smaller assemblages of artifacts produced from low-impact studies take pressure off crowded curation facilities and artifact repositories. Furthermore, the recovery of fewer materials addresses the unease of many Indian communities about the curation of ancestral remains in museums and curation facilities. Finally, the use of low-impact field methods and limited collection of archaeological materials leaves sites in condition for any future excavations that may be desirable when improved technologies become available.

## **PUBLIC OUTREACH AND EDUCATION**

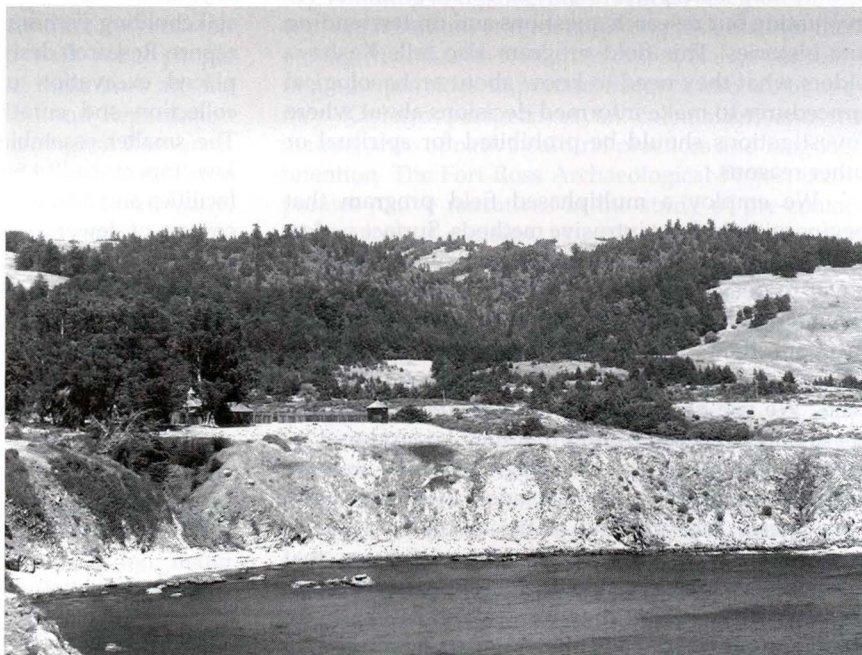
Collaboration with Kashaya Pomo elders and tribal scholars has also led to renewed emphasis on public outreach programs that highlight Kashaya culture

history and the people's encounters with foreign colonists. In the past decade the importance of public outreach and education in archaeology has developed into a dynamic and emerging enterprise. Whereas 20 years ago outreach typically meant posted signs on trails in state or national parks indicating the precious nature of the archaeological record, today the presentation and representation of cultural heritage occupies a significant portion of archaeological research programs. This growth is witnessed in the creation of countless interpretive centers, in public archaeology days held during a field season and, importantly, in the various educational outreach programs run by local, state, and national society organizations, government offices, academic departments, and even research teams themselves (Stone and Planel 1999). The importance of outreach is further enshrined in the Society for American Archaeology's Principles of Archaeological Ethics document that consistently stresses the importance of accountability to the public through eight ethical principles concerning stewardship, accountability, commercialization, public outreach and education, intellectual property, public reporting and publication, records and preservation, and training and resources (Lynott and Wylie 1995). And as training programs begin to offer more courses in ethics and to instruct their students in education and outreach, archaeological interpretive programs and outreach efforts will likely become mandatory components of research projects.

Considering archaeology's accountability to its multiple publics, the Fort Ross Archaeological Project, in collaboration with the Kashaya Pomo Tribe and California State Parks, will embark on the creation of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail at Fort Ross State Historic Park. Currently, the park consists of an interpretive center and at its core, a dominating reconstruction of the Russian stockade and enclosed buildings (Figure 7.17). Although the park has a well-developed interpretive program run by California State Parks and the Fort Ross Interpretive Association, the pure physicality of the stockade and the less developed interpretive plan for cultural sites outside the stockade emphasizes the park's elite Russian past (Parkman 1996/1997). This is a framework that minimizes the role of the Kashaya, as well as those of Native Alaskan, Coast Miwok, and Creole descent, in the creation of the park as a heritage site.

Every interpretive program must decide to tell its audience a finite number of stories, or narratives, and this interpretive trail is no different. To represent the full scope of Colony Ross's past, the interpretive trail must focus on representing the diversity and complexity of the park's multiple histories and find a way for people to literally step outside the stockade and experience different aspects of the region's cultural heritage. The role of collaboration has been especially important in this process, and the Kashaya people's modern connection to the site was instrumental in selecting specific narratives for the trail and in conceiving of the

**FIGURE 7.17** Fort Ross: the proposed interpretive trail will take park visitors outside the reconstructed Ross stockade complex into the nearby landscape.





appropriate methods and means of representation. Thus the trail will not focus solely on the Russian period of occupation. Instead, it will lead visitors physically and mentally away from the imposing stockade and allow them to consider the Kashaya heritage and the multiethnic community that once defined Ross.

With the trail, we have the opportunity to tell a complicated and intriguing history that features the Kashayas' deep past at the park (ca. 6000–8000 years ago), the foundation of a multiethnic colony oriented around fur hunting and agricultural production, and the region's subsequent occupation by Mexican and American ranchers. Segmenting these stories in coherent trail segments will take planning and coordination. Thus the trail itself comprises two loops, each of which will feature a different aspect of the park's history. The West Loop will wind itself along the coast and through the Kashayas' prehistoric past, featuring the oldest sites in the park, and will cover a wide range of topics such as views of the landscape, folklore, and subsistence practices. In contrast, the East Loop will provide a tour through the fort that accentuates the history of colonial encounters between the Kashaya and Colony Ross's multiethnic colonists, exposing the public to the entirety of the historic Ross settlement. Each trail stop incorporates archaeology, native oral traditions, European firsthand accounts, historical photographs and illustrations, site maps, and other forms of documentation to provide comprehensive overviews of the natural and cultural heritage of the region. Archaeological sites such as lithic scatters, cupule rocks, which bear small pecked concavities, and shell middens may be used in on-site interpretation. The critical combination and presentation of diverse lines of evidence offers a unique context within which to construct and present indigenous perspectives on the archaeological record to the public.

It is the overall intention of the Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail to create interpretations that reflect the multiethnic heritage of Fort Ross as well as native perspectives on this heritage. Extensive collaboration between Kashaya Pomo and archaeologists contribute to native perspectives in all aspects of archaeological research and resulting interpretations (Dowdall and Parrish 2003). In the interpretive project, the incorporation of native oral traditions, Kashaya participation in the interpretive process, historical photographs and documents, and Kashaya interpretations of artifacts and the landscape will complement archaeological evidence and will be used to construct native-infused perspectives on the archaeological record at Ross. This critical combination of diverse lines of evidence is viewed as an essential part of the process of creating multivocal and native-inspired interpretation of Ross's heritage (Lightfoot et al. 1998).

Unfortunately, the degree to which any interpretive trail can convey its messages is constrained by the medium of trail signposts and accompanying materials: they are costly and nondurable, and the format prohibits the imparting of extensive interpretation. Therefore, in addition to the signposts and panels, brochures, guided tours, public lectures, and "archaeology days" will supplement the proposed interpretive program, providing additional outlets for interaction between project staff, local communities, and park visitors (Figure 7.18).

The impact of the trail upon people's understandings of Ross also is limited by the ability of various publics to visit the park in its isolated location, or physically walk the trail. Development of a website as an extension to the current interpretive trail program both overcomes these limitations and provides an opportunity to reach out to and interact with a wider audience. Digital interpretive environments combine the ability to use multiple media to construct interpretations within a format of increased accessibility, interactivity, and reflexivity between multiple audiences—real and virtual. Although access to the technology poses certain ethical problems, a digital Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail can serve as an alternative point of access for audiences otherwise unable to visit the park in person, as well as an enhanced educational tool for teachers, students, and others interested in the park. As archaeologists attempt to grapple with issues of accountability, education, outreach, and collaboration, the use of digital interpretive environments for archaeological interpretation has great potential for satisfying these ethical and moral requirements.



**FIGURE 7.18** Guided tour for park visitors of the proposed Kashaya Pomo Interpretive Trail during the initial phase of testing possible interpretive scenarios, June 2004.

## CONCLUSION

The Fort Ross Archaeological Project exemplifies a collaborative research program that is holistic, broadly comparative, and focused on change over time. We draw inferences from a number of different sources, including native oral traditions, historical records, and archaeological research. The knowledge gained from these investigations is used to achieve a better understanding of the social contexts of the pluralistic mercantile endeavor of Colony Ross, and to examine the experiences of Native Californians who lived there

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Native people affected by the Russians at Colony Ross? How did the colonization efforts of the Russians differ from those of the Spanish? How do you suppose these differences ultimately affected Natives?
2. How has consultation with the Kashaya Pomo changed the program of archaeological work at Fort Ross? What advantages and disadvantages do you see?
3. Why should archaeologists be concerned with the nature of public outreach at Fort Ross? Do you agree that the

new interpretive trail should focus on representing “the diversity and complexity of the park’s multiple histories”? Explain.

4. Compare and contrast this case study with the one in Chapter 5. How do the archaeologists and Native people in these case studies illustrate new trends in the practice of archaeology?