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Indigenous traces in colonial spaces

Archaeologies of ambiguity, origin, and practice

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ABSTRACT
This article reconsiders how archaeologists find Indigenous people, particularly Native Americans, in past colonial communities. Significant progress has been made in studying indigenous living areas associated with colonial communities but not in recovering evidence for (or even remembering) Native people laboring in distinctly colonial spaces. I propose that the reason for the lag lies in an incomplete perspective on material culture and space that denies their polyvalent and ambiguous, yet informative and manifestly real, nature. A new perspective can be forged with greater use of social theory pertaining to practice, space, and labor. Reconceptualizing material culture and space in colonial contexts requires that archaeologists acknowledge the role of labor relations in structuring material and spatial practices and not conflate origins of artifacts and spaces with other possible social meanings derived from practice. This article examines these two dimensions with three North American cases from New England, Florida, and California.

KEYWORDS
archaeology ● colonialism ● identity ● labor ● North America ● practice theory

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'No space ever vanishes utterly, leaving no trace.' Henri Lefebvre,
The Production of Space (1991: 164)

INTRODUCTION

For more than three decades anthropologists have grappled explicitly with a phenomenon at the very core of the discipline: colonialism. Archaeology has a pivotal position in research on colonialism because two of its central study subjects – space and objects – played a key role in constituting the materiality in which past social agents negotiated their social, political, economic, and cultural relations, and it plays a central role today in representing colonial encounters and heritages. Archaeology's ability to study space and objects permits intervention in the historiography of colonialism by breaking silences. As Trouillot (1996) outlines, historiographic silences begin at the moment a decision is made about whether or not to document an event and continue well into the process of archiving and synthesis that produces historical texts and analyses. When colonial-period documents on Native people are few, authored by others, and frequently detailing only a small fraction of lived experiences, the silences about Indigenous people run deeply. Rubertone (2000: 434) exposed this problem for post-Columbian North America when she observed that 'privileging written sources over archaeology in constructing histories of Native Americans in culture contact situations is a highly problematic endeavor that binds Native peoples to someone else's history'. The appropriate response – treat artifacts and texts critically and in conjunction – is well understood by historical archaeologists and needs no further explication here.

Despite much progress in scholars' abilities to pull Indigenous people from the long shadows cast by these legacies, we still face an obstacle in the archaeological study of colonialism. How do we recover Indigenous traces from colonial spaces in a way that captures the diverse experiences of past people, and, similarly, how do we represent those experiences in the present? One might answer that such a process is quite simple: find objects and spaces made, used, valued, or left behind by Native people in colonial contexts. Archaeologists have fared well on these fronts when examining Indigenous sites and spaces associated with colonial settlements or settler colonies, but face great difficulties when trying to tease apart the *entangled* or *shared* spaces and material cultures of Indigenous people, colonists, and those who may have navigated the interstices. As Byrne (2003) has argued for Australia, these difficulties of shared histories tend to translate perforce into subtle erasures of Indigenous people in both empirical analyses and historical representations (see also Harrison, 2004b; Murray, 1996).

My contention is that the translation happens in these shared and entangled spaces due to two tendencies in archaeological analysis and representation: an overemphasis on cultural relations at the expense of

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labor relations; and a prioritization of the origins of artifacts and spaces over their multiple uses and meanings in practice. These challenges face archaeologists who work in many times and places, but recent colonial contexts lay bare these issues thanks to the presence of the written record and also have profound salience for how people interpret their own pasts and the pasts of others in a world that confronts and perpetuates the legacies of more than 500 years of European colonialism. This article looks closely at the archaeologies of colonialism – in particular, the study of Indigenous people confronting European colonization and expansion – but not with the goal of summarizing the wealth of work done under this rubric nor to propose an overarching framework. Instead, this article takes up the two challenges noted above by tracing the theoretical and conceptual intersections of labor, practice, material culture, and space vis-a-vis how (or if) we see Indigenous people in past colonial spaces. To confront these challenges, I discuss three archaeological examples in North America – creamware ceramics in the northeast, low-fired pottery in the multi-ethnic households of Spanish *La Florida*, and the architecture of a Mexican-California rancho on the west coast – to explore the comparative and methodological possibilities of such rethinking.

The arguments draw on, but do not attempt to reconcile fundamentally, strands of practice theory (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990; De Certeau, 1984), feminism (Conkey with Williams, 1991), materiality work (Jones, 2007; Meskell, 2004), and Marxism (Lefebvre, 1991; Wurst, 1999) that warrant some revisiting by archaeologists. Rather than attempting to fill or ignore the chasms that separate these theoretical approaches, I seek to emphasize bridging themes that help to illuminate archaeological and material culture studies of colonialism. My goal is to expand these particular scholars' theoretical observations about materiality, space, and practice, although usually developed and applied in late capitalist contexts, to earlier colonial periods that have yet to undergo fully this type of analytical scrutiny. In addition, I am interested in what has been termed the 'multivalent' (Paynter, 1992: 283; Perry and Paynter, 1999: 303), 'polyvalent' (Hall, 2000a: 16), and 'polysemous' (Casella and Fowler, 2004: 4–5; Tilley, 1989: 190–1) nature of material culture as it played out, not in abstract interpretation or in material culture as 'text', but in lived experiences and identity negotiations. With a readjustment of theoretical lenses, we can hope to make out those 'traces' that remain in Lefebvre's 'spaces', since they have not disappeared physically or metaphorically (see also Jones, 2007).[1]

ARCHAEOLOGIES OF COLONIALISM

Colonialism is a multifaceted, complicated, and long-lived phenomenon that has dodged universal or simplistic definitions (Gosden, 2004; Murray,

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2004; Silliman, 2005; Stein, 2005b; Thomas, 1994). It has occurred in numerous times and places over millennia, although most people tend to think of it only in its more recent global manifestation as European colonialism in the post-1500 AD world. Because of this complexity, it is imperative to note at the outset that, although the conclusions drawn herein should prove useful to colonial studies in the ancient world, I focus my comments in this article on that latter, well-known example of European colonialism and its impacts on Indigenous populations. Certainly, even this type of colonialism had extraordinarily diverse features, structures, and outcomes depending on, for example, colonialism in the sixteenth versus nineteenth centuries, in Africa or Australia versus North or South America, in Spanish or English or French colonies or settler nations, in state societies versus band communities, in small colonies versus extensive settler populations, or in deserts versus tropical rainforests. Yet, despite these macroscale differences, the microscale experiences of Indigenous people caught up in colonial labor regimes and the attendant effects on material culture and space might permit some broader theoretical and methodological discussion. This does not ignore the multitude of ways that individuals interacted with colonial fronts or the unique histories and biographies of people implicated in them (or the multivocal ways to approach alternative histories [e.g. Gnecco, 1999]), but it does allow the development of new theoretical perspectives and languages that can be turned back on those specific contexts.

Following the legacy of historical anthropologists who have successfully examined European colonialism and Indigenous responses in sophisticated theoretical ways (e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991; Stoler, 1989, 2002; Thomas, 1991, 1994), archaeologists have attempted to explore diverse theoretical landscapes in colonial studies. The move away from acculturation frameworks that had infused archaeology since the 1950s has been well underway for some time by those attending to aspects of multicultural interactions, daily practice, and identity (Cusick, 1998; Funari and Zanakin, 2002; Hall, 2000a, 2000b; Lightfoot et al., 1998; Loren, 2008; Orser, 2003; Paterson, 2008; Rubertone, 2001; Senatore, 2005; Silliman, 2001a; Stahl, 2002; Stein, 2005a). Indigenous experiences in, resistances to, accommodations within, and manipulations of colonialism are not easily captured by simple notions of 'acculturation' or even by 'cultures in contact' (Silliman, 2005). In fact, colonialism produces its own 'cultures' with hybridized identities and practices and sometimes many more vectors of social interaction than simply those of 'colonizer' and 'colonized' (Lucas, 2004; Rogers, 2005; Thomas, 1994; Van Dommelen, 2005; Voss, 2005).

As demonstrated by that literature, archaeologists have excelled in documenting the material variability between and within different populations – settler, Indigenous, etc. – in colonial settings, particularly when focusing on spatially or materially distinct deposits. For instance, archaeologists have been able to tease apart significant temporal and behavioral relationships

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between colonial and Indigenous artifacts at places such as the Dutch VOC fort of Oudepost I in South Africa (Schrire and Deacon, 1989), the Russian colony of Ross on the west coast of the United States (Lightfoot et al., 1998), and the Van Diemen's Land Company properties in Tasmania (Williamson, 2004). *Physical* segregations of spaces, times, and materials have provided the foundation for these insightful analyses and will continue to do so.

On the other hand, archaeologists face a major challenge when trying to recognize and represent experiences of Indigenous people in distinctly colonial spaces – that is, those specific spaces where indigene and colonist, Native and settler lived, worked, procreated, interacted, and negotiated a daily existence. Such spaces do not regularly show physical segregation of activity or artifacts by ethnic group since these practices and items may well have been co-used, or what might be called 'shared' or 'entangled'. Instead, as discussed below, time rather than space frequently structured the uses of material culture. Relations of inequality – labor, class, gender, race, sex – influenced the visibility of those times, sometimes effecting silences at the moment of the event such that no amount of analysis can ever access them again, but at other times transmitting their silences in more subtle ways into schemes of identification, attribution, and interpretation. Much of what follows will take up the challenge of the latter.

The difficulty in recognizing Indigenous people in distinctly colonial settings of the past lies in the fact that artifacts and spaces in colonial worlds are fraught with ambiguity, alternate functions, and multiple users. Artifacts typically recovered on colonial sites around the world include those manufactured in Europe, the USA, or Asia, those made by Indigenous people in local settings, and those modified by resident groups to meet their own particular needs and perceptions. Few would disagree that specific artifact discoveries or material culture objects – such as stone projectile points, local earthenware ceramics, shell beads, reshaped gun barrels, and implements chipped from bottle glass – have been crucial for understanding the ways that Indigenous people coped with imposed colonialism around the world. In archaeology, the critical role of these material items has been recognized primarily in spaces identifiable as 'Indigenous', but some have also examined these in colonial spaces with a distinct Indigenous contribution, such as Spanish colonial households in Florida with Native American women residents (Deagan, 1996).

Yet, how well do these specific artifact *categories*, such as worked glass or local ceramics, demarcate Indigenous versus non-Indigenous people and their social practices in distinctly colonial spaces? Even with unequivocal Native artifacts, archaeologists frequently interpret them in light of cultural, rather than also labor, relations. In colonial North America, Australia, the Pacific, or South Africa, the standard way to assign archaeological evidence to the category of 'Indigenous' involves finding items made by Native

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people or objects manufactured by Europeans but modified by Indigenous hands. In tandem, archaeologists label specific loci in colonial spaces by their constituent artifacts. For example, high quantities of lithic debris and shell detritus in North American sites mean a 'Native' space; high quantities of broken plates and glass bottles from, for example, British or French sources frequently denote a 'European' or 'colonial' space.

Unfortunately, this identification process does not capture the diverse, complex, and ambiguous relationships that bound together people, material culture, and space in colonial settings (Harrison, 2004a; Silliman, 2009). It clouds our ability to see the entanglements, and it tends to silence the subordinate histories that co-exist with the dominant ones. These taxonomies reify essences and do not permit the examination of more complex agencies and materialities, much as Meskell (2004: 39–58) has highlighted for Egypt and for archaeology more broadly. They emphasize materiality as a constellation of things and essences rather than as a quality of relationships (e.g. Jones, 2007). These rigid artifact categories also truncate the object biographies that anthropologists such as Kopytoff (1986) and Turgeon (1997) have argued are crucial to understand diverse meanings at different points in material, commodity, and cultural trajectories – an argument they both accentuate in the context of inter-cultural exchanges (see also Appadurai, 1986). The result is that, through unintentional sleight of hand, Indigenous people disappear from past colonial spaces that they otherwise occupied (and labored in) for much of their waking and working hours. Historical documents clearly indicate the presence of Indigenous people in colonial households, ranches, mines, missions, forts, markets, and whaling fleets all across the Americas, but archaeologists, other scholars of culture and history, and the interested public have difficulty imagining or remembering them there in the absence of 'smoking gun' artifacts. We need to find ways of reconciling the archival presences and assumed archaeological absences.

THEORIES OF LABOR AND PRACTICE

Labor relations sit at the heart of this discussion, forming as they did core colonial experiences of Indigenous people the world over. Anthropologists and historians have spent considerable effort investigating the role of labor in colonialism, some addressing macroscale issues of world systems and economies within global labor structures (Crowell, 1997; Wallerstein, 1974; Wolf, 1982) and others emphasizing the microscale concerns of those implementing and experiencing labor (Cassell, 2003; Knack and Littlefield, 1995; Paterson, 2008; Silliman, 2006; Voss, 2008b). Historical and anthropological studies of plantation slavery have also paid attention to labor

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(Berlin and Morgan, 1993; Delle, 1998; Orser, 1990; Young, 1997), as have historical archaeologists studying industrial settings (Beaudry et al., 1991; Beaudry and Mrozowski, 2001; Casella, 2005; McGuire and Reckner, 2002; Mrozowski et al., 1996; Saitta, 2004; Shackel, 2000, 2004). In general, though, archaeologists have lagged behind in this broad project by not developing ways of handling the material side of these labor *relations* beyond the laborers themselves.

I intentionally direct my attention here to Native Americans involved in colonial labor relations, but the arguments relate equally well to the archaeological recognition of African and African-American experiences during enslavement, indentured servitude, and post-emancipation laboring arrangements (see Silliman, 2005: 64–5). This does not imply that enslaved Africans and Native American workers were in the *same situations*, but rather that both groups can be silenced in the objects with and the spaces in which they labored for the *same reasons*. My choice to focus on Native Americans hinges on an attempt to bring to light the experiences of Native Americans in colonial history, much as others have done for Australian Aboriginal people involved in settler labor economies (Harrison, 2004a, 2004b; Paterson, 2008). Indigenous people tend to be a truly silenced laboring class in American history as a result of the public myth of the 'Vanished Indian' and the research primacy of presumed earlier 'contact-period', rather than colonial, sites in North America (Knack and Littlefield, 1995; Lightfoot, 2006; Silliman, 2006). That said, however, my ideas draw upon the insights of African Diaspora archaeology (Delle, 1998; Orser, 1990; Paynter, 1992; Singleton and Bograd, 1999) and the ways that Native Americans and Africans intersected with Europeans under colonial domination (Mouer et al., 1999; Perry and Paynter, 1999: 302–4).

My own attempts in this arena of Native Americans, colonialism, and labor have previously involved accentuating labor – in this case, economic – as something that individuals not only endured as part of an overarching structure of colonial power but also 'worked through' as a social practice in their everyday lives (Silliman, 2001b, 2004). My work employed a theoretical framework concerned with social agency to distinguish labor as both economic phenomenon and social practice. Here I expand that discussion to include how practices can be used to problematize origin-based classifications of material culture and space by reorienting to labor relations. Labor relations obviously do not generate the archaeological record, but they influence and structure the interactions of individuals and the ways that they use material culture and space (McGuire, 2002: 103).

Although a practice perspective can be modeled after the 'standard' sources of Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) notions of 'habitus' and 'doxa', I turn here to the work of De Certeau (1984) for more elaboration. De Certeau's version of practice theory encouraged an analytical shift away from the product and producer and toward the consumer, or, to use his

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example, from the sidewalk and city planner to the pedestrian, the user of that space (see also Funari and Zarankin, 2002). As much as designers, manufacturers, and colonial administrators wanted to shape meaning and use associated with materials and spaces, they could not completely predict or rein in the outcome. Individuals often perform what De Certeau (1984) termed 'tactics', or ruses that cannot control space but can manipulate some aspects of time and meaning-making within predefined spaces. To De Certeau, such a practice 'is devious, it is dispersed, but it insinuates itself everywhere, silently and almost invisibly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its *ways of using* the products imposed by a dominant economic order' (1984: xii–xiii). Even though he did not talk about materiality in ways that are sufficient for archaeologists, his tactics are often inherently material.

Studying labor relations and practices offers keen insights into the silences and struggles of colonialism. Relying only on cultural relations – assumed, pre-given identities such as Native American, African, British, Spanish, or Russian – in the midst of intense colonial interactions tends to lead archaeologists on a hunt for artifacts that can be unequivocally attributed to one of these cultural aspects of the colonial mixture. That is, archaeologists seek 'British' artifacts to talk about British colonists, 'Native American' ceramics to talk about Native American people, and so on. This process tends to implicitly assume essentialized identities of colonizer and colonized and a relatively unwavering association of artifact meanings with their presumed cultural origins. These assumptions fly in the face of critical archaeological and historical analyses of identity formation and maintenance, particularly given the ways that individuals use material culture in this process (Jones, 1997; Orser, 2001; Upton, 1996; Weisman, 2000), and they neglect the role of labor relations. Emphasizing labor relations raises the historical visibility of Native Americans who found themselves in a variety of colonial laboring positions and who today often face claims of inauthenticity as a result. Albers (1995: 248) pinpoints the problem: 'when Native Americans manufacture dream-catchers, even on an assembly line, their ethnic identity is validated. When they rebuild an engine block . . . as a wage laborer in a commercial garage, their ethnic identity is denied.'

ORIGINS AND THE PROBLEM OF SHARED SPACES AND THINGS

A central problem lies in the uncritical emphasis on the origins of artifacts and spaces. Origins research can lure with its simplicity and its power to control anything that radiates from or passes through those origins (Conkey with Williams, 1991). Archaeologists often rely on origins as a way to

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capture some presumed essence of meaning (Conkey with Williams, 1991), frequently feeling confident in doing so by the 'security' of origins. In their tendency to seek origins, many archaeologists feel secure once they have identified where an artifact came from. For example, many historical archaeologists and their associated publications tell you more about where and how glass beads or wine bottles were made than what they actually might have meant to their users or how they functioned in social relations. Yet, as Moore noted, all material culture, actions, and words take on as much meaning through use, practice, and experience as they do in their moments of intention or origination (1991: 114). Deciphering this requires biographical (Hoskins, 2006; Meskell, 2004) and consumption (Mullins, 1999, 2003) approaches to material culture that focus on the social practice and agency that they made possible and that they constricted, particularly in cases where noticeable social and political inequality existed.

Privileging material origins as persistent links to cultural identity creates archaeological classifications that serve as poor interpretive proxies for how people actually went about their lives. For example, Loren's work (2000, 2001a, 2001b) has demonstrated how individuals – whether Native, African, or European – used material culture to negotiate new identities and traditions in colonial worlds (see also Singleton and Bograd, 1999: 18–19; Van Dommelen, 2005: 115–17, 2006). She aptly notes that 'categories of "native" and "European" material culture alone relate almost no information on the ways in which colonial individuals used material culture' (2001a: 67). A more sophisticated approach requires looking at the formation of identities through specific material practices rather than the assignment of ethnicity through general categories of material culture (Loren, 2000: 90, 2008). Recent research in Australia also stands as a model for thinking about these issues. Harrison (2004a) has identified for Australia's pastoral economy the conceptual limitations of assigning artifacts to specific cultural groups when they have been used and shared by indigene and settler alike. He notes: 'Such items are so thoroughly "entangled" in both indigenous and settler pastoral station cultures that it would be impossible and foolhardy to attempt to classify them as belonging to one or other culture' (2004a: 141). To make the point more explicitly, he has demonstrated through oral history and collaborative work how Australian Aborigines identify metal artifacts, such as match tins, as aboriginal cultural items despite the artifact's 'origin' as European and their persistent classification by archaeologists as non-Aboriginal (Harrison, 2002: 72). Similarly, Alistair Paterson (2008) has revealed the 'textured agency' of Aboriginal people that developed in the intersection of tradition, new materials, labor, cultural landscapes, and the economy of pastoralism (see also Harrison, 2004c).

My own archaeological project studying Eastern Pequot lives in southern New England has also tackled this issue, recognizing that the discovery of

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'European' artifacts, whether glass bottles, creamware ceramic vessels or metal buttons, on Native American reservation sites may well make them – culturally *and* analytically – no longer European but Native American artifacts (Silliman, 2009). This research has focused on separate Native American households rather than shared or entangled spaces, but it has avoided classifying artifacts by pre-given cultural notions of what is Native and what is European. Instead it tracks them diachronically and spatially through daily practice to see what cultural identities they came to express, perform, hide, or support. Finally, Van Dommelen (2002: 123–4) has documented a similar problem in the Mediterranean where archaeologists presume to track the 'Hellenization' of indigenous cultures by the presence of imported Greek vessels, whose origins are thought to be its primary attribute. Instead, Van Dommelen counters this simplistic view: 'The meaning and significance of the Greek objects must consequently be sought in the *local* web of meanings that was spun around local and important material culture in the indigenous setting' (2002: 124).

This perspective significantly reframes broad categories of material culture in colonial context through both classification and interpretation. However, I want to take this idea one step further here to consider not only the same material classes, but also the *very same items and spaces* undergoing multiple uses and practical interpretations. Native laborers inhabited colonial spaces and used material items available to them, often identical material culture and spaces that colonists used, yet their uniqueness, their practices, or their resistances can be seen in *how* or perhaps *when* they used them. These are De Certeau's tactics. Such a tactic cannot control the space of power, but relies on time: 'It is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized "on the wing." Whatever it wins, it does not keep' (De Certeau, 1984: xix). Native people would have been fleeting residents in some colonial households (or workshops, agricultural fields, mines, and livestock corrals), especially since many of them had their own homes, but the colonial space occupied much of their waking and laboring moments. These aspects are presumed to be hazily recorded at best in the archaeological record, but they may very well have been the ways that Indigenous workers, servants, and even some spouses lived through colonial worlds – not controlling or manipulating space and material culture outside of their own residential spaces, but employing the pre-given spatial and material structure in meaningful and perhaps resistant ways and doing so on borrowed time. Enslaved Africans living in planter houses, rather than in separate quarters, in the northeastern United States confronted a similar situation (Fitts, 1996; see also Upton, 1985).

Archaeologists, anthropologists, and other scholars find it challenging to see or represent that kind of social action. Although writing from the vantage point of an analysis of late capitalism, Lefebvre still captures the dilemma quite well:

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> The fact is that the most basic demands of 'users' (suggesting 'underprivileged') and 'inhabitants' (suggesting 'marginal') find *expression* only with great difficulty, whereas the *signs* of their situation are constantly increasing and often stare us in the face. The user's space is *lived* – not represented (or conceived). When compared with the abstract space of the experts (architects, urbanists, planners), the space of the everyday activities of users is a concrete one, which is to say, subjective. (1991: 362, emphasis in original)

The 'signs' are the material and architectural arrangements of space and activity that archaeologists regularly find, and they do literally stare us in the face. However, to look at (or rather, see) only the 'conceived' or 'perceived' space, rather than the 'lived' space, is always a view from dominance. It is space as designed and as controlled. Lefebvre isolates the problem with how scholars under- or mis-conceptualize those who do not make, produce, or control space. Our theoretical frameworks and terminology downgrade their experiences as secondary to the origins of space (and material culture) production (but see Senatore, 2005).

Without a focus on labor relations and the complexity of shared places and things, the material contributions to history made by Indigenous people in colonial worlds are frequently closed off in academic and public discourse because these individuals had little power to make, use, or direct material culture in colonial spaces where they labored (see Orser, 1996: 172). Closing off these topics runs counter to the otherwise 'growing recognition that the classic "European" colonial settlements where historical archaeologists cut their teeth were actually comprised of many peoples of "color"' (Lightfoot, 1995: 202). These 'many peoples of "color"' often found their way in and out of colonial communities through relations of labor, not just relations of culture. Historical documents place Indigenous laborers in these colonial spaces, but such individuals may leave few unequivocal material traces in the sense traditionally expected by archaeologists.

These are the people who did not even leave Deetz's 'small things forgotten' in the archaeological record. They are Spivak's subalterns: the women, slaves and servants who were the engines of colonial society but who can only be seen partially – or not at all – in the material culture and documents that are the historical record (Hall, 2000a: 97).

However, I would argue that the subaltern just as likely left the 'small things forgotten' that we so readily attribute to someone else who may have purchased or controlled the objects. The subaltern may have even been the individuals who *discarded* them – the key vehicle for introducing artifacts into the archaeological record. Unlike texts written and kept by the literate and elite, the material record of everyday life passes through the hands of many participants in a colonial setting. To address colonial labor relations, we do not need only to find deposits segregated spatially by their ethnic or colonial identities, although these are beneficial discoveries. Instead, we

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need to rethink how to investigate the *mixed* colonial deposits of interaction and daily life, particularly when documents offer some insight, and we need to not call them 'mixed'. Wurst advanced similar ideas with respect to class relations, arguing that 'archaeologically investigating these class relations within the household space does not necessarily require separating those deposits that result from the elite occupants from those related to servants; these social relations structured the entire archaeological deposit' (1999: 15). Diverse people may have used the same material culture, even the same specific items, in the course of a day. Shared colonial spaces might have been used similarly or differently, simultaneously or asynchronously, and perhaps silently so.

One can again draw on Lefebvre, who argued for the materiality of social space, as relatively fixed in form but ambiguous in social relations:

> Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such 'objects' are thus not only things but also relations. As objects, they possess discernible peculiarities, contour and form. Social labour transforms them, rearranging their positions within spatio-temporal configurations without necessarily affecting their materiality. (1991: 77)

These 'spatio-temporal' changes are the fuel for ambiguity and for action in social spaces, particularly when the 'social labour' draws on colonial power. As Lefebvre captured, the materiality of objects and even space is not affected in the context of these multiple intersections; a point worthy of careful consideration by archaeologists since we tend to presume, wrongly, a fixed materiality (Buchli, 2003; Holtorf, 2002).

THREE EXAMPLES

The perspective outlined here was not generated in a theoretical vacuum, but rather developed to reconsider archaeological cases in colonial North America that stand to benefit from a consideration of labor relations. Stopping short of such a view compromises how we interpret material culture in colonial spaces and how we imagine the presence of Native American and African laborers whom we already know moved through them on a daily basis, if not actually provided the physical work to construct them in the first place. The remainder of the article offers three short cases to capture some of the material and spatial nuances of Indigenous social action that appear when labor relations are brought to the forefront. This is accomplished here by considering creamware ceramics in the eastern USA, low-fired Native-made pottery in the American southeast, and

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Mexican-Californian adobe buildings on the west coast. These illustrate how this perspective can be developed and applied, but do not serve as in-depth examples with contextual detail. The objective is also not to suggest that the different time periods, colonizing fronts, Native groups, material conditions, environmental contexts, or anything else can be compared so coarsely, but rather that the *interpretive problems* in these examples stem from some of the same assumptions and silences. These can then be applied to specific cases and contexts.

Creamware in the American Northeast

Creamware, a refined earthenware ceramic produced in England between 1762 and 1820, appears ubiquitously on colonial sites across eastern North America (and far beyond) in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century (Figure 1). Archaeologists consider it a helpful temporal marker as well as a key material signal of British/EuroAmerican culture. To most archaeologists, finding creamware in British/EuroAmerican households rarely surprises since it is considered part and parcel of everyday life for such settlers and colonists. Finding it in Native American households is considered evidence of their participation in European market economies and perhaps culture change. Archaeologists (and the general public) assume that creamware is always already a British, EuroAmerican, or even a more broadly European item, privileging its origins as the key determinant of its seemingly inherent cultural meaning. I have mounted an argument for why this view is flawed for creamware found even in Native

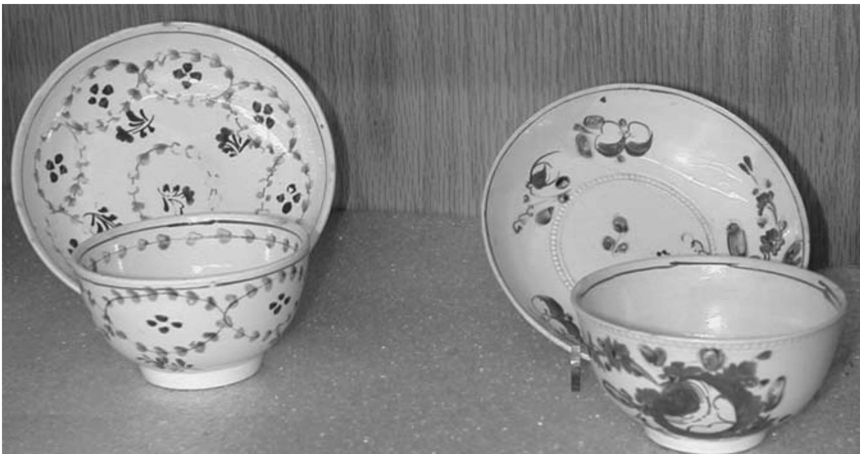

Figure 1 Overglaze handpainted creamware vessels (Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Mashantucket, Connecticut).
Photo: Stephen Silliman

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American houses, a perspective borne out of discovering it frequently across generations on the Eastern Pequot reservation in Connecticut (Silliman, 2009), but I want to push even further to demonstrate that the argument remains equally problematic in some of those houses called British/EuroAmerican.

The problem appears in those British/EuroAmerican households that had Native American (or, one might also add, African) servants, slaves, and employees. Even though the general public and many historians and archaeologists often do not acknowledge these other 'members' of the household when studying or visiting historic homes or their excavated remnants, archival sources clearly document their presence. For instance, 35.5 percent of all documented Native Americans in the Rhode Island colony in 1774 were living with EuroAmerican families, usually in service-oriented roles (Sainsbury, 1975: 379).[2] Garman (1998: 152) has also documented negotiations by enslaved Africans over living and work spaces in New England households.

Despite this complex household composition and set of labor relations, creamware excavated from a colonial Anglo house site dating to the last quarter of the eighteenth century in a place like Rhode Island or the rest of the east coast is invariably considered *only* a British/EuroAmerican artifact. Historical archaeologists associate the creamware sherds with the British or EuroAmerican members of the household. They (meaning their 'culture', by extension) manufactured them, transported them, sold them, bought them, used them to eat their meals, and then discarded them when no longer useful. Combined with a suite of other artifacts similarly considered British/EuroAmerican, such as pearlware, porcelain, glass bottles, and metal buttons, the entire context transforms into British/EuroAmerican space. This happens because the documents indicate that its owners were such individuals, because archaeologists assign cultural affiliation to the material items by their origins, and because no so-called Native American artifacts – predetermined again based on cultural origins – were found alongside the creamware. Those latter artifacts will be hard to find unless excavation takes place in the living quarters, rather than work spaces, of the servants or workers.

As a result, the Native Americans who inhabited and, more importantly, worked in that household – much like their African counterparts in other houses – are foreclosed in interpretation by the prioritization of artifact and spatial origins as well as by the subtle elision of labor relations. Did the Native American cooks and domestics not handle those very same British ceramic vessels while serving food or cleaning dishes in the colonial household? Is the role of server so much harder to imagine than the role of eater? Perhaps the servants cared nothing for the artifacts and resented their symbolic role in marking oppression, perhaps they handled them with care as part of their economic strategies for well-being, or perhaps they or their

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family members used the same kind of dishes in their own homes and felt some affinity for them. Either way, these creamware sherds still represent *Native* actions, perceptions, and experiences alongside and just as much as they do British/EuroAmerican colonial ones. They may not represent special meanings or cultural symbols – this must be determined in specific archaeological contexts, vis-a-vis other objects, spaces, oral histories, and texts – but their role in daily practice by Native (and other) laborers should not be foreclosed from interpretation, even when we struggle archaeologically to see any alternate uses of objects or spaces. Prioritizing the wealthy and white is certainly the way that many colonial homeowners would have wanted others to perceive their material culture, but archaeologists should not comply by fixing artifact meaning to only some of its handlers and some of its uses. These are more silences to resist.

Why is the role of server or position of subservience ignored analytically in place of a focus on ownership, wealth, and dominance? The answer lies benignly, in part, in misrecognition of the complexities of material culture and space. Yet the answer also lies in the silencing of class and labor in present-day interpretations and the glorification of wealth and power in colonial histories. 'All too often they [objects] are given the interpretation used by the dominant culture' (Perry and Paynter, 1999: 302). This process relates in large part to that aptly captured by Lefebvre when talking about the nature of production in capitalist contexts: 'from products, be they objects or spaces, all traces of productive activity are so far as possible erased. What of the mark of the worker or workers who did the producing?' (1991: 212). In colonial and capitalist contexts, archaeology confronts not only the erasure of worker production in commodity exchange and market economies, but also the silencing of laborers' uses of *already produced* objects and spaces.

Admittedly, this case study, perhaps better called a vignette, does not detail specific ways to interpret creamware from particular contexts, which would be needed to develop local interpretations, but rather serves to recommend that the interpretive nuances of shared material objects and spaces be acknowledged, especially when historical documents help to identify individuals, collectivities, and practices that are needed to better understand archaeological cases. Although generalized beyond any specific site to illustrate a point, this example differs little from situations faced by many archaeologists of colonialism, whether in North America, South Africa, Mexico, or Australia. For instance, the South African case of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) has revealed the complex ways that a single class of artifact – local, European-style earthenware ceramics – can reveal the ambiguities of social life for a multi-ethnic, labor-infused, colonial society (Jordan and Schrire, 2002). A similar observation has been offered about the representation of enslaved Africans in living history displays at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia.

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> Each ethnic group is associated with – indeed, objectified in terms of – the material culture which it can be said to have controlled through legal ownership, which is conflated with 'use'. . . . [F]rom this perspective the tea table is not a place of slave material culture, even though slaves had their hands on it as much as or more than did their masters. (Gable et al., 1992: 797)

The goal is not to jettison the 'dominant owner' interpretation and replace it with a 'subordinate server' interpretation. This would deny both the structure and the relations of power that bound the two together. It would also assume perhaps too much ability or opportunity for those subaltern users to act differently or subversively. Instead, interpretations should emphasize labor relations and the attendant ambiguity of material culture and space that materialized a setting where people struggled, negotiated, and lived through difficult circumstances.

Low-fired Local Ceramics in the Spanish Colonial Southeast

The Spanish colonies of the sixteenth- through eighteenth-century American southeast offer another case to illuminate some of the issues. Innovative studies in this region have refined an approach to cultural relations through an emphasis on gender (Deagan, 1983, 1990a, 1996). Historical documents point to interethnic marriages between Native American women and Spanish or *criollo* (New World born) men in Florida, and archaeologists have used this insight in productive ways to examine *mestizaje*, or the creation of *mestizo* identities. Using cultural identities such as Native American, Spanish, or *criollo* as analytical anchors, archaeologists have explored colonial spaces for evidence of Native and *criollo* and of women and men, particularly at St Augustine (Deagan, 1983). Locally produced coarse earthenware made by Indigenous potters has been forwarded as evidence of Native women's influence in the colonial household, while house design and other 'public' artifacts are taken to indicate the role of Spanish or *criollo* men (Deagan, 1983, 1990a, 1996). Although the pottery was originally designed for St Augustine, the presumed correlation between Native women and local earthenware pottery has been extrapolated to other Spanish colonial cases throughout the southeast, as documented by Voss (2008b).

These same archaeologists also recognize the role of Indigenous people laboring in colonial households and settlements. Deagan claims that the presence of locally made earthenware was 'at least partly a function of the widespread incorporation of Indian and African women into Spanish households throughout the Americas through intermarriage, concubinage, and servitude' (1990b: 241; see also Deagan, 1996: 146). In addition, 'the patterns of unmodified aboriginal pottery use documented in St. Augustine are undoubtedly related to the incorporation of Indian women into households as either wives, concubines, or servants, and to their role in food

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preparation' (Deagan, 1990a: 308). For the Spanish site of Mission San Luis Talimali, McEwan offered a similar perspective: 'Traditional pottery, colono-wares, clay mines, and perhaps objects of adornment suggest ways by which the local population was integrated into the lives of resident Spaniards as wives, domestics, laborers, and political allies' (1993: 317; see also McEwan, 1995: 223). If taken to the next logical step, these multiple positions in households should dissolve any singular notion of a nuclear family household and move archaeologists toward a more enriched view of colonial spaces and social power (Jamieson, 1999; Voss, 2008b).

Simultaneously, these observations indicate that the shared material items and spaces can tell us even more, or perhaps something else, than once believed. Deagan has expressed concern about the lack of evidence for colonial interactions that did not involve intermarriage: 'It appears that the documented interaction between Spanish and Indian men, which was based on military service and labor enslavement, left far fewer material traces than did the domestic accommodations documented between Spanish men and Indian women' (1996: 149). Yet, how much accommodation exists in colonial households if Native women served as domestics instead of lived as spouses? The framework thus far described suggests that material traces of laborers *do* exist or, more accurately, that the relations of labor that Deagan identifies as important appear just as visibly in the archaeological record as the cultural ones of intermarriage. The key to imagining that possibility lies in giving labor relations as much weight as cultural relations and realizing that Native women often worked in colonial households not of their own choosing. The ceramics may give insight into the nature of labor relations between colonial homeowners and Native workers in the same household (Voss, 2008b).

In addition, indigenous-made ceramics in colonial Florida may well indicate a labor aspect if they are low-cost, local wares that colonists obtained through exchange or extracted as part of tribute, as suggested by some archaeologists (Deagan, 1990a; McEwan, 1991; Saunders, 2001: 86; Voss, 2008b). Such a labor-based interpretation receives support at St Augustine where almost all contexts contained aboriginal ceramics regardless of their documented ethnic occupants (Deagan, 1983: 117) and where quantities of Indigenous ceramics were inversely proportional to household income (1983: 240). This alternate view balances the question of who made aboriginal and colonoware ceramics in colonial Hispanic households (their cultural origins) with the question of who used them (their role as tools and symbols in labor relations). In fact, the 'who made them?' question still requires a labor answer since it is not solely about cultural relations.

This illustrates the theoretical points made earlier regarding labor and origins as examined with creamware. Rather than a Spanish object being used by Native American people in otherwise European colonial spaces, an

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item presumed to be 'Native' in cultural and production origin may in fact have multiple uses and meanings in colonial spaces occupied and labored in by many. The presence of local, aboriginally produced ceramics in Spanish colonial households in the southeast may or may not indicate Native spouses, depending on the context in question, but they certainly can indicate Native laborers supplying and working in those spaces, a conclusion inferred from the interplay of textual and artifactual evidence.

Such a reframing of the issue does not deny that Native women in inter-ethnic households may well have expressed their cultural potting preferences by making these low-fired earthenwares, but other options need to be considered. On the one hand, Native women may have expressed these preferences by what they purchased (rather than manufactured) if these wares were a primary ceramic commodity available in the colonial markets, but we must be wary not to render those Native servants and workers even more silent by emphasizing only the Native women who may have had the household power that comes through intermarriage with a Spaniard or *criollo*. On the other hand, these pottery vessels may not have indicated cultural identity quite as strongly as archaeologists want them to when they served as the primary low-cost ware for almost *all* colonial houses. An object with a Native American origin of production does not guarantee that it maintains that cultural affiliation in all of its uses or for all of its users, given that those individuals may have been Native American generally, Guale specifically, Spanish, *criollo*, African, or any combination in the complex *casta* system of the Spanish colonies.

Adobe Buildings in Alta California

Interpretations of archaeological contexts comprise only part of this issue since public representations of history also face the same problem of ambiguity. In fact, the politics of collective memory and historical representations first prompted me to begin thinking about the broader issue of this article. My archaeological work at the Petaluma Adobe State Historic Park in northern California examined the nature of California Indian lives under the labor regime of the famous *Californio* political and military leader, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo (Silliman, 2004). From 1834 until the early 1850s, Vallejo had hundreds if not thousands of Native Americans working as farmhands, herders, butchers, cooks, weavers, basket-makers, and artisans on his 66,000-acre rancho, centered at the Petaluma Adobe (Figure 2). Yet, until the mid 1990s, historians, anthropologists, and State Park interpreters did not have a good way, other than through various but limited archival documents, to 'interpret' the Native experiences of Vallejo's rancho operation, even though they far outnumbered the settler residents on this rancho. I conducted an archaeological project between 1996 and 2000 under the expectations of the State Park system and the local Coast

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Figure 2 Remaining three-quarters of quadrangle of Petaluma Adobe, Petaluma Adobe State Historic Park, California. Photo: Stephen Silliman

Miwok Native community that it would help to fill those gaps by excavating in a historic Native American living area near the main adobe house.

Despite successes in recovering and interpreting evidence for Native people on this nineteenth-century colonial rancho, I remained conscious of the difficulty in reclaiming Native experiences of the Petaluma Adobe space itself, the heart of the colonial enterprise. Historical documents placed many Indigenous people in the rooms, along the verandas, and in the plaza of that enormous mud-brick building (see Silliman, 2004), but they are no longer so visible. State Park reconstructions of activity and living areas at the Petaluma Adobe help to rectify that invisibility with rooms full of work tools for weaving, butchering, woodwork, and cooking (Figure 3). In this way, the nature of labor relations and tasks materialized, even though the actual people remained missing from the picture. However, only a fairly informed visitor would recognize that these rooms represented, if somewhat obliquely, California Indian workers. Otherwise, the materials conveyed a romanticized, industrious pastoral setting, one that was bought, sold, and made by Mexican-Californian settlers.

Yet what about the refined earthenware plates, dark green wine bottles, and silverware displayed in various rooms and undoubtedly used in the Vallejo family dining room (Figure 4)? Visitors rather immediately imagine that these material items must reflect *non-Native*, *non-laborer* activities; they were acquired by, belonged to, and used by Vallejo and his family members in their domestic spaces. They marked colonial wealth and gentility. But archival sources pinpoint the role of Native American people as cooks and food servers in the Petaluma Adobe (Silliman, 2004: 66–72),

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Figure 3 Reconstructed ground-floor weaving work room, Petaluma Adobe State Historic Park, California. Photo: Stephen Silliman

much like the earlier example of creamware-dominated households in southern New England and some Spanish colonial households in *La Florida*. Such a realization means that Native 'domestics' handled, washed, and used the same material items. Having these material items only in 'eating' or 'display' mode, thereby implicitly assigning them to owners, truncates the richness of their material biographies. Interestingly, I recovered fragments of such colonial items in trash deposits associated with Native laborers who lived near the adobe house, further highlighting the ambiguity of material culture meanings (Silliman, 2004). In other words, both the Native American worker households and the dominant settler household used some of those same materials (but also very different ones, too, such as obsidian stone tools and shell beads in the Native spaces). The pattern calls into question even classifying these objects to 'culture' since origins cannot capture all possible practices and meanings.

Yet, inside the Petaluma Adobe, the intersections prove more discordant and complex, based on my limited excavations in the groundfloor rooms of the structure (Silliman, 1999). The project revealed critical information about the construction history and initial layout of the Petaluma Adobe

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Figure 4 Reconstructed Vallejo family dining room, Petaluma Adobe State Historic Park, California. Photo: Stephen Silliman

ground plan. For instance, the original ground surface had been shaved off to flatten the promontory, and workers had placed the removed fill against sturdy cobble retaining walls, which served as foundations, to raise the adjoining slopes of the now-flattened hill to increase the surface area to raise the building (Silliman, 1999: 111–17). Sitting on top of that ground surface, below the accumulation of fill to raise the surface to grade level, was one red-on-white glass bead. Although only a single example, the bead drew a sharp parallel to the more than 1300 glass beads – many of them red-on-white – recovered from the nearby Native living area (Silliman, 2004: 143–8). This single bead served as a fleeting material reminder of Native American laborers and their toils, but its message was made possible by connections *outside* of the shared space inside the adobe walls, where such items had been found in worker residential areas.

On the other hand, the entire Petaluma Adobe, sitting on a flattened hill with voluminous earthen fill and heavy foundations, built of many thousands of sun-dried adobe bricks, covering 3600 square meters and standing two stories high with redwood beam supports, demonstrated one of the clearest indications of Native labor.[3] As Bakken (1997: 208) argued for a rancho in southern California: 'Indian voices largely are silent, but the

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artifacts crafted by the natives are obvious and extant. Their hands made the bricks that formed the adobe. Their arms lifted the whitewash brushes to the walls and brought the wood.' The Petaluma Adobe building cannot and should not be seen only in its colonial origins and ownership, but also in the fact that it took form only through colonial labor relations and the work burden of numerous Indigenous people. The monopolizing of meaning as a *Californio* space can happen only when labor relations are ignored, ownership and control are privileged, and multi-ethnic occupants and builders are silenced. The adobe building is not just an architectural outgrowth of cultural identity, but rather a product of complex labor relations and colonial negotiations. Even its presumed origin as a Mexican-Californian building can be questioned since only in design and management is it Vallejo's as a prominent *Californio*; otherwise its origins lie, proximately, in the labor of hundreds of California Indian people and, ultimately, in the interplay between intermingling of Spanish, Mexican, and Indigenous building practices that involved adobe bricks and plaza design in the New World.

CONCLUSIONS

The ambiguity of material culture and space plays a crucial role in the study of colonialism. On the one hand, the ambiguity poses interpretive difficulties as archaeologists struggle over who made what, how and when they used it, and why. Such identifications are challenging enough in archaeological contexts readily assignable to one group, class, or identity of people, but colonial cases exacerbate them when many kinds of people interacted, shared space and objects, and participated – willingly or not – in social relations buttressed by inequality and labor. This does not undermine archaeologists' abilities to interpret them, but it does require stepping away from pre-given meanings and instead exploring the practices and social relations that take form in and challenge those spatialities and materialities. It also requires paying attention to the documents that help to people those material and spatial worlds that sometimes prove intractable in archaeological analysis.

A similar issue involves the debate surrounding colonoware in North American historical archaeology, one that hinges on trying to decipher who – African, Native American, both, or others – made it (e.g. Ferguson, 1980; Mouer et al., 1999; Noël Hume, 1962; Orser, 1996: 117–23). As historical archaeologists have learned from that debate, the origins of space and material have profound significance, but they cannot be prioritized over the interpretation of uses, lived experiences, and social relations. Too much 'preoccupation with who made colonoware rather than who used it and thus transformed its meaning' has left many realms of African-American

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experience unrecognized (Singleton and Bograd, 1999: 9). Stated differently, people occupying very different levels of social power *shared* material and architectural items, and historical archaeologists must be attuned to that multiply layered meaning (see Paynter, 1992: 283 for a poignant example).

On the other hand, the ambiguities of materials and spaces in colonial contexts also gave individuals their agency, opportunities for action or inaction, and moments for struggle and success. Because of contested materiality and spatiality, participants in and students of colonialism can reveal the historical moment to be short of universal, ubiquitous, and total. They can break the silences that obscure Indigenous people serving as laborers in colonial settlements and households. However, archaeologies of colonialism must pull back from origins and taxonomies of cultural identities or artifacts that commemorate rather than complicate colonialism and instead refocus more on the practices, labors, and relations that tend to be hidden or simply assumed in traditional histories and representations. If not, then we may perpetuate the notion that those who are hard to see and those who are unnamed and limited in power are those who matter the least in history. One need not have acted differently – that is, not have left an obvious material trace which distinguishes it from another – to have acted. Little power to originate material culture or space in colonial worlds does not deny the power or the opportunity to use it and make it meaningful, just as consumers may find meaningful practice with mass-produced goods (Mullins, 2003). Tactics must be considered and imagined if archaeologists want to tell alternative histories of Indigenous people in colonial spaces, for perhaps in remembering those tactics now, they will impact on standard narratives about the course of history.

This perspective does not and should not deny the real and symbolic violence of these dominating and colonizing contexts, but it should permit more nuanced views of shared and entangled material culture and spaces. Academics, descendants, and the constituents served by public archaeology and public history deserve that kind of nuance. Lefebvre (1991: 364) argues:

> When the interested parties – the 'users' – do not speak up, who can speak in their name or in their place? Certainly not some expert, some specialist of space or of spokemanship; there is no such specialization, because no one has a right to speak for those directly concerned here. The entitlement to do so, the concepts to do so, the language to do so are simply lacking.

We are certainly not entitled to speak as 'experts' or even as 'authentic voices' for those past individuals, but we owe it to those who struggled then and who survive now – frequently as a result of those struggles – to develop the concepts and languages to try to understand them and to represent their experiences. Lefebvre is right that we cannot speak *for* them, but we can speak *of* them and return their experiences to a rightful place in multivocal historical narratives. We can lift some of the silences of dominant

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histories and taxonomies (Trouillot, 1996). Otherwise, our languages, analysis, and representations continue to silence these social agents, to deny their role within or against that larger historical narrative. In the loud material and spatial voices of domination and oppression can still be heard the whispers of others, but 'the silence of the "users" is indeed a problem – and it is the *entire* problem' (Lefebvre, 1991: 365, emphasis in original).

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Notes

1 I take slight liberty with Lefebvre's quotation in the epigraph. Of course, he referred to the ways that space is produced and constructed and the ways that these spatial practices and structures influence subsequent spatial and social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). That is, produced space does not disappear; it undergoes translations and substitutions as succeeding spatial and social relations take place, often in the form of domination and appropriation (1991: 164–8). However, I use his insights here not to access the 'origins' or even 'production' of colonial space, although this would be a valid pursuit. Instead, I use his perspective to illuminate how we might think about interpreting space, once produced and used, that has since lost its inhabitants.

2 Although Sainsbury illustrates the importance of labor roles, I have to register dissatisfaction with the overall thrust of his argument. Rather than studying labor relations as a way that Native American groups, primarily Narragansett people in his case, found a way to survive in harsh economic and colonial times, Sainsbury instead characterizes the labor as a sign of their demise. 'With some exceptions, Indian employment by white colonists in Rhode Island was the result, not of economic conditions providing a general market exclusively for such labor, nor of an enthusiastic Indian adjustment to white society, but rather of Indian social disintegration, both inside and outside the colony, which provided cheap labor at a degraded status and characterized an interim phase between tribal coherence and ethnic extinction' (Sainsbury, 1975: 392). This perspective serves to recolonize Native history in New England, not only by disregarding the ways that labor works as a colonizing force (rather than just as a signal of its ultimate 'success'), but also by subtly adding to the pernicious narrative that contemporary Native American groups must be illegitimate since they have already gone through 'ethnic extinction'.

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3 This does not newly recognize unsung labor, but it is an element often overlooked in historical archaeology. Paynter (1992: 285) noted it for W.E.B. du Bois' home in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, as a key feature of African-American material production in New England. The historical archaeology of Native Americans lags behind, although Voss (2008a) acknowledges and theorizes the role of Native American laborers in the construction of the late eighteenth-century Spanish Presidio de San Francisco, located fewer than 35 km south of the Petaluma Adobe in northern California.

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