

State of California . Natural Resources Agency . California State Parks

Resource Management Cultural Basic

November 15-20, 2015

Training Syllabus



William Penn Mott Jr. Training Center



Memorandum

Date: October 30, 2015

To: Supervisor

From: Ann D. Slaughter, Acting Department Training Officer
Training Section
California State Parks

Subject: Employee Attendance at Formal Training
Resource Management Cultural Basic Group 2

An employee from your office will soon be attending the formal training program described in the attached. Please ensure that the employee is fully prepared to attend the session and that the groundwork is laid for the employee's implementation of the training upon returning to work. You can assist with capturing the full value of the training by taking the following steps:

Prior to Training

1. Make sure that **specific** employee needs are identified and, if necessary, called immediately to the attention of the Training Coordinator.
2. Review with the employee the reason for the employee's attendance.
3. Review objectives and agenda with the employee.
4. Discuss objectives and performance expected after the training.

Immediately Following Attendance

1. Discuss what was learned and intended uses of the training.
2. Review the employee's assessment of the training program for its impact at the workplace.
3. Support the employee's use of the training at the work place.

Three Months Following Training

1. Supervisor evaluates the effectiveness of the training on the employee's job performance and meets with employee to discuss the evaluation.

Thank you for your assistance in seeing that the full benefit of training is realized.

Attachment
cc: Participant

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***Mission Statement
Training Section***

***The mission of the Training Section is to improve
organizational and individual performance and
productivity through consulting, collaboration,
training, and development.***

TRAINING SECTION STAFF

Ann D. Slaughter Acting Department Training Officer
Jack Futoran EMS and LFG Training Coordinator
Dave Galanti Training Specialist
Kenney Glaspie Training Specialist
Karyn Lombard Training Specialist
Sara M. Skinner Training Specialist
Jason Smith Academy Coordinator
Matt Cardinet Cadet Training Officer
Jeremy Alling Cadet Training Officer
Lisa Anthony Program Coordinator
Edith Alhambra Assistant Program Coordinator
Pamela Yaeger Assistant Program Coordinator

THE MISSION

of the California State Parks is to provide for the health, inspiration, and education of the people of California by helping to preserve the state's extraordinary biological diversity, protecting its most valued natural and cultural resources, and creating opportunities for high quality outdoor recreation.



FORMAL TRAINING GUIDELINES

Welcome to formal training, an essential component in your career development.

Since 1969, our Department has been providing a continuously changing number of diverse training programs at its main training facility, the William Penn Mott Jr. Training Center, and other locations including the Marconi Conference Center. The Department strives to enhance your learning and job performance with formal training of the highest quality.

Our Department's dedication to training is only one aspect of its commitment to you and to the public. This commitment is costly and represents an important investment in you and your career. You and the Department realize a return on that investment by your positive participation in formal training itself and post training follow-through.

The program you will participate in is described in this training syllabus, which outlines what you can expect from this training and what is expected of you. This syllabus details what you should do before you leave for training; what to do when you arrive; what you will be doing while in training; and, importantly, what you should be able to do when you return to your work site. Specifically:

1. **SYLLABUS:** The syllabus is now accessible on the Employee Training Management System (ETMS) and on the Parks and Recreation website under the Learning/Training Section. Your copy of this syllabus is an important part of your training experience and should be brought with you to training. Read it before you arrive and review it following the program along with material you received at training
2. **PRE-TRAINING ASSIGNMENTS:** Your completion of pre-training assignments is essential to the success of your training. You are responsible for all reading assignments in preparation for classroom sessions. Time will be provided during working hours to accomplish any assignments which involve either individual or group efforts and resources.

3. TRAVEL: Arrange your travel to and from the training through your District Office. No reimbursement for travel expense – including per diem cost – will be approved for travel not specifically authorized in advance by the District Superintendent. Individuals may claim reimbursement for incidental expenses incurred as outlined in DAM 0410.6. The Mott Training Center does not have the capability to provide transportation to/from Monterey Airport.

The cost of your travel (airfare, mileage, rental car, etc.) is paid by your District or Office **to** and **from** the location of training.

4. HOUSING: Housing will be assigned to you on a shared-room basis and will be available from 3:00 p.m. on the date of arrival to 12:00 noon on the date of departure. The Department provides your room and board expenses at the Mott Training Center only. No per diem allowance will be authorized for living off-grounds. This does not preclude living off-grounds at your own expense. Advise the Training Specialist no later than one week before your scheduled arrival if you plan to live off-grounds. No animals are permitted in Asilomar housing. In the event of an emergency, staff must know your room assignment; therefore, you may not switch rooms without staff approval. Overnight guests are not allowed in the buildings unless registered beforehand at the front desk in Asilomar's Administration Building. Quiet hour for lodge living areas is 10:00 p.m.

Note: You may be assigned a room at a motel while attending training. If so, you may be asked to present a valid credit or debit card while checking in to your room. Many motels require a credit card to cover charges incurred such as telephone calls, damages to rooms and/or furnishings, fees to clean rooms that have been smoked in that are not designated as smoking rooms, etc. Be prepared to handle this appropriately.

5. **ENROLLMENT OR HOUSING CANCELLATION POLICY:** To cancel participation in a course, the participant must have their District Superintendent or Section/Office Manager send an email to the Training Specialist assigned to the course requesting to remove the participant. If you do not need lodging or must change or cancel your reservation for lodging, you must contact the Mott Training Center or Training Specialist assigned to the course at least 2 weeks prior to your date of arrival. Lodging, registration, and associated fees will be charged to the employee's District or Section/Office if a training cancellation is received with less than two weeks' notice.

The Training Section is committed to ensuring that the reservation that has been made for you is accurate and needed.

6. OFF-GROUNDS ACCOMMODATIONS: When authorized to stay off-grounds by the Department Training Specialist, the Mott Training Center will absorb the cost of your room and meals at the current DPR Asilomar rate. If you stay off-grounds

and have meals on grounds, the Mott Training Center will authorize only what the Department pays Asilomar for lodging.

7. MEALS: Meals will be provided, semi-cafeteria style, from dinner on the date of arrival through lunch on the date of departure. Meals will be served at 7:15 a.m. for breakfast, 12:00 noon for lunch, and 6:00 p.m. for dinner. Hot or box lunches may be provided on some days. If you require a special diet, contact Training Specialist Sara M. Skinner to request the Asilomar Dietary Restriction form no later than two weeks prior to the start date. The Training Specialist will forward the form to the appropriate Asilomar Conference Grounds Staff.

In order to assist participants with limited mobility, Asilomar provides a shuttle to and from the dining hall. Contact either Asilomar staff upon check-in, or Mott Training Center staff upon your arrival, for instructions on arranging a transport.

8. CLOTHING: Field uniforms as found in "Description of Required Field Uniforms", DOM Chapter 2300, Uniform Handbooks, not including optional items, will be worn daily by all uniformed employees during formal training sessions **unless otherwise specified in the Program Attendance Checklist**. Non-uniformed employees shall wear apparel normally worn on the job. It does not include such items as shorts, t-shirts, tank tops, or sandals.

Because we are on the grounds with many other groups, and the image we project as State Park employees is important not only during working hours but off duty hours as well, your informal sportswear should be appropriate.

9. ROOM SAFES: Two safes have been installed in each of the lodge rooms used by the Mott Training Center (Live Oak, Tree Tops, and Deer Lodge). These safes are a type that allows the user to input their own combination of numbers to facilitate opening and closing. The Mott Training Center has a master key for emergency entry. Safes are to be left in the open position when checking out of your room.
10. WEAPONS: Weapons are permitted in rooms under the following conditions. Authorized firearms and magazines stored while at the Mott Training Center shall be in a safe condition and stored in one of the following locations: your room safe in Live Oak, Tree Tops, or Deer Lodge, one of the Mott Training Center's safes in the Whitehead Room or secured in your vehicle.
11. ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES: Participants shall not possess or consume alcoholic beverages in common areas (living room) while on the Asilomar Conference Grounds unless provided and hosted by Concessionaire ARAMARK.
12. SMOKING: Smoking is not permitted in the Mott Training Center or in any lodge or guest room on the Asilomar Conference Grounds.
13. TRAINING CENTER: The Mott Training Center is located on Asilomar Conference Grounds, part of Asilomar State Beach. The Conference Grounds are operated for

our Department by a concessionaire, and all lodging and food services are provided to us by employees of the concessionaire. Constant efforts are made to maintain a sound, harmonious working relationship between the Department and concessionaire. None of us can expect preferential treatment for any reason and, as a departmental employee; you will be expected to join in our continuing effort toward an effective relationship with each Asilomar concession staff member. On occasion, non-departmental groups may be staying in the same lodges. It is imperative that you represent the Department well on and off duty.

14. **REGISTRATION:** When you arrive at Asilomar Conference Grounds, go directly to the front desk at the Asilomar Administration Building for your room key and dining room ticket. If you require vegetarian meals, notify the front desk representative and your meal ticket will be marked accordingly.
15. **COURSE LEADERS:** The formal training you will attend is developed and, for the most part, conducted by experienced DPR employees in the field and staff positions. Some courses will be conducted by qualified instructors from other agencies and educational institutions. Your course leaders have proven their ability and knowledge in their presentation, and provide a level of expertise difficulty to match.
16. **TRAINING SECTION STAFF:** Sara M. Skinner is your Training Specialist and has been assigned responsibility for your training group. During the program, you may be asked to assist Training Section staff in the logistics of your training program (organizing field trip transportation, supervising classroom breaks, etc.). Training Section staff will do all within their power to make your training experience pleasant and meaningful.
17. **TRAINING MATERIALS:** Materials may be made available to you at both your unit and the Training Center. Handout materials issued at your unit should be brought to training for possible use. A conference binder or notebook may be issued to you at the training session for notes and convenience in handling materials. Bring your own pens, pencils, etc.
18. **ATTENDANCE:** Regular attendance is a critical course requirement and your participation is important for the success of this training. An absence of more than 10% of the course hours constitutes grounds for dropping a participant from the course. The Department Training Officer may modify (except for POST RBC) this requirement based upon participant knowledge level and/or the portion of the course missed. All absences, except those of an emergency nature, must be approved in advance by the Training Specialist.
19. **VEHICLES:** All vehicles should be parked in the lots adjacent to the Mott Training Center. Any questions regarding use of a State vehicle while at the Mott Training Center should be discussed with your supervisor prior to your departure for training, or with your Program Coordinator while at the Mott Training Center.

20. BICYCLES: If you bring your bicycle, store it in the bicycle shed next to the Mott Training Center. Bicycles may not be brought into any building nor chained to lamp posts, trees, etc. The Mott Training Center has a limited number of bicycles available for your use. Prior to your use, you are required to complete a safety inspection and sign a waiver which is posted in the bicycle shed.
21. MAIL: Mail forwarded to you during your time at the Center should be addressed to you in care of:

Department of Parks and Recreation
WILLIAM PENN MOTT JR. TRAINING CENTER
PO Box 699, Pacific Grove, CA 93950

22. CELL PHONES: As a courtesy to your fellow participants and course leaders ensure that your cell phone is turned off during classes. Participants should not be receiving or making cell phone calls during class time. Limit those calls to your breaks.
23. FAX: The Mott Training Center's FAX number is (831) 649-2824.
24. TELEPHONE: Limit phone calls during classroom hours to urgent business or emergencies. Anyone wishing to contact you by telephone during working hours should call the Center at (831) 649-2954. Calls after 5:00 p.m. or during weekends should be made to (831) 372-8016, Asilomar Conference Grounds, and the caller should tell the switchboard operator you are with a California State Parks training group. **Note: There are no longer pay telephones outside of the Mott Training Center. There are pay telephones located at the Asilomar Administration Building.**
25. LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANING: May be taken care of by you at one of several local establishments.
26. RECREATION: Facilities available on grounds include a heated swimming pool, pool tables, and a volleyball court. The Monterey area offers horseback riding, golf, tennis, racquetball, deep sea fishing, and many historical landmarks and scenic sights to explore.
27. POST-TRAINING ASSIGNMENTS: In connection with formal training, these are to be completed under the direction of your supervisor. See "Program Attendance Requirements" in this syllabus.
28. COFFEE BREAK REFRESHMENTS: Will be available throughout each session. You will be asked to contribute to the "Hospitality Fund" to defray expenses. Bring your own coffee cup.

PROGRAM ATTENDANCE CHECKLIST

To assist you in your preparation for formal training session at the William Penn Mott Jr. Training Center, the following list is provided:

- _____ 1. Be sure to have read and understood the Resource Management Cultural Basic syllabus prior to your arrival at the Mott Training Center.
- _____ 2. Arrange your travel through your Unit/District Office.
- _____ 3. Uniforms are required for this program as noted in the Formal Training Guidelines, No. 8, Clothing, on page 3 of this syllabus.
- _____ 4. Complete the pre-training assignments on page 13.

Read the included documents:

- In Small Things Forgotten
- Cultural Resources
- CRM Law-looting
- Why California Indians Matter

- _____ 5. Bring the following with you to training:
 - Program syllabus.
 - Foul weather gear (due to the possibility of rain during this time of year).
 - Coffee cup, reusable water bottle, paper, pens, pencils, and alarm clock.

If you have any questions or need assistance, contact Training Specialist Sara M. Skinner at (831) 649-2961 or Sara.Skinner@parks.ca.gov.

POST-TRAINING ASSIGNMENT

Prior to ninety days after the completion of this program, the employee and his/her supervisor should discuss the impact and assess the effectiveness this program has had on the employee.

The post-training evaluation process is intended to provide a bridge between classroom instruction and the on-the-job application of training. The information obtained through this process will assist the training participant, supervisor, and Training Center in providing a return on the investment the Department has on training.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CULTURAL BASIC GROUP 2

November 15-20, 2015

Sunday

November 15

1500 REGISTRATION: *Check-in at the Asilomar Administration Building* All

Monday

November 16

0800-0900	Welcome, Introductions, Business	Skinner/Fitzgerald
0900-1000	Overview of Variety of Cultural Resources within Department	Corey
1000-1100	Overview of Museum Collections Holdings within Department	Fry
1100-1200	Video Presentations“Impact of the Frolic” and Discussion	Fitzgerald
1200-1300	Lunch	
1300-1400	Five Steps for Stewardship	Lindahl
1400-1500	Cultural Resources Management a Look to the Future	Hartzell
1500-1600	A Historic Perspective of Asilomar	Kastner
1600-1700	Walking Tour of Asilomar	Schwaderer

Tuesday

November 17

INVENTORY

0800-0900	Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) and Inventory Overview	Woodward
0900-1000	Curation and Inventory	TBA
1000-1100	Archaeological Inventory	Hylkema
1100-1130	Historic Structures Inventory	Bischoff
1100-1200	Cultural Landscapes Inventory	Kennedy
1200-1300	Lunch	
1300-1700	Field Trip Excursion – Inventory of Historic Structures Inventory of Archaeological Sites	Bischoff/ Schwaderer
1600-1700	Class Discussion	

Wednesday

November 18

EVALUATION AND TREATMENT

0800-0900	Evaluation and Treatment	Hilton
0900-1000	Discussion on Application of Criteria (Custom House)	Hilton
1000-1100	Cultural Landscape Hearst Castle	Wheeler
1100-1200	OHP and National Register Nominations and Levels of Significance	Crain
1200-1300	Lunch	

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CULTURAL BASIC GROUP 2

November 15-20, 2015

Wednesday

November 18

EVALUATION AND TREATMENT

1300-1400	OHP Treatment Options of the Built Environment	Huck
1400-1500	Museum Objects Treatment	Jenner
1500-1600	Marsh Creek Stabilization Project, Archaeological Treatment	Fitzgerald
1600-1700	Video Presentation and "Breaking New Ground" and "A Walk through Time the Story of Anderson Marsh"	Fitzgerald

Thursday

November 19

MAINTENANCE

0800-0900	Maintenance of Cultural Resources	Bjelajac
0900-1000	Maintenance of Historic Buildings	Bjelajac
1000-1100	State Park Housekeeping Museum Collections Facility Index (MCFI), Best Practices	Quist
1100-1200	Maintenance and Maximo	Fraser
1200-1300	Lunch	
1300-1400	Technology and Stewardship	Veisze
1400-1500	Planning	Garavaglia
1500-1600	Pond Farm	JGrcyk
1600-1700	National Trust	Veerkamp

Friday

November 20

STEWARDSHIP

0800-0900	Global Warming and Parks	Newland
0900-1000	California Archaeological Site Stewardship Program (CASSP)	Tejada
1000-1100	Native American Perspective	Schneider
1100-1200	Evaluation and Conclusion	Fitzgerald/ Kennedy/ Skinner

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CULTURAL BASIC

<u>PROGRAM OUTLINE</u>	<u>HOURS</u>
PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION	1
Welcome, Applications, and Course Review	
Evaluation and Conclusion	
INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	8
Overview of Variety of Cultural Resources within Department	
Overview of Museum Collections Holdings within Department	
Video Presentation “Impact of the Frolic” and Discussion	
Five Steps for Stewardship	
Cultural Resources Management a Look to the Future	
A Historic Perspective and Walking Tour of Asilomar	
INVENTORY	8
Office of Historic Preservation and Inventory Overview	
Curation and Inventory	
Archaeological, Historic Structures, and Cultural Landscapes Inventories	
Field Training Excursion – Inventory of Historic Structures and Inventory of Arch Sites	
EVALUATION AND TREATMENT	8
Discussion on Application of Criteria (Custom House)	
Cultural Landscape Hearst Castle	
OHP and National Register Nominations and Levels of Significance	
OHP Treatment Options of the Built Environment	
Museum Objects Treatment	
Marsh Creek Stabilization Project, Archaeological Treatment Fitzgerald	
Video Presentation and “Breaking New Ground” and “A Walk through Time the Story of Anderson Marsh”	
MAINTENANCE	8
Maintenance of Cultural Resources, Maximo	
State Park Housekeeping Museum Collections Facility Index (MCFI), Best Practices	
Technology, Stewardship, Planning	
Pond Farm and National Trust	
STEWARDSHIP	3
Global Warming and Parks	
California Archaeological Site Stewardship Program (CASSP)	
Native American Perspective	
TOTAL HOURS	36

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CULTURAL BASIC

COURSE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

Course Goal: This course will provide required basic training to employees in the Archaeologist, Historian, and Restoration Architect series throughout the department. The course may be job-related training for non-cultural specialists such as maintenance, museum curators, interpreters, and rangers who have responsibilities that cover cultural resources, their care and management. This course seeks to improve the effectiveness, consistency, and quality of the management of cultural resources throughout the California State Park System. This weeklong program provides a forum for collaboration, networking, inspiration, and planning.

Course Purpose: The purpose of this course is to provide a broad overview of all aspects of cultural resource management throughout the State Park System. While some of the course segments will be 'hands-on' it will not provide competency in management efforts, but will instead provide awareness of the complexity of managing such a wide range of resources. It will place cultural resource management within the context of the Department's mission, regulatory review processes, best professional practices, and give insight into the breadth of data management associated with cultural resources. Discussion of where to go within the Department for professional assistance with cultural resources will be one 'take-home' from this training. Main topics will include: archaeology, the historic built environment, cultural landscapes, museum collections, cultural interpretation, and the Department's responsibility toward California Indian tribes.

Course Objectives: By the close of the course the participant will

1. Define the different cultural resources and have a basic ability to record or list those resources on the appropriate recording forms, and know how the data associated with these resources are maintained within the Department.
2. Discuss the regulatory processes that are required for cultural resource management.
3. Demonstrate, through practice, their ability to perform basic survey and documentation of cultural resources.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT CULTURAL BASIC

COURSE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

4. Recognize the complexities of balancing the management of cultural resources in a specific park unit with all the other management responsibilities associated with that unit (natural resources, interpretation/education, visitor safety, and recreation).
5. Formulate and value compromises to management challenges that might result in both resource protection and enhanced visitor experience.
6. Create the beginning scope of work and budget for a cultural project in their unit or district based upon an existing PID entry.
7. Apply what they have experienced with cultural interpretation and education to enhance the visitor experience in their park for the unique cultural resources that are part of that unit's identity.
8. Evaluate the current conditions of the collections within their realm of responsibility. Distinguishing poor practices from good through analysis, and be able to propose small but incremental changes to improve the preservation of those collections.
9. Improve their ability to convey cultural resource issues to management for consideration.

PRE-TRAINING ASSIGNMENTS

Complete the pre-training assignments on page 14.

Read the included documents:

- In Small Things Forgotten
- Cultural Resources
- CRM Law-looting
- Why California Indians Matter

CHAPTER ONE

*Recalling Things Forgotten:
Archaeology and
the American Artifact*

PLYMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1765

Ebenezer Soule set down his hammer and chisel. It was late evening, but he had completed the gravestone that he had been carving and that now stood before him. On its top he had carved a cheerful angel's face, and he thought of how it would look when it was placed over the grave the next day. Although he had been making gravestones for years, this design was new to him. He knew that the people in the area had recently come to prefer cherubs on their monuments, and lately he had been carving more and more of them to meet the new demand.

PORTSMOUTH, RHODE ISLAND, 1745

The job had been a big one, and the house carpenter had been at it for over a month. Now complete, Jacob Mott's farmhouse had a new wing and a new look. The old, projecting end of the second floor of the house had been removed, and the location of the door had been changed. Standing back to view his work, the carpenter noticed how much more the house now seemed like those in the center of town. AL-

Recalling Things Forgotten

though it stood in the middle of more than a hundred acres of farmland tilled by the Mott family, its new face would tell the people of Portsmouth that Jacob Mott was one of them, just as though he lived as their next-door neighbor.

SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS, 1795

Mary Andrews looked sadly at the pieces of the fine queens-ware coffeepot which had been broken the day before and now lay with clamshells and trimmings from carrots and parsnips in a bucket just inside the hall of the house. She took the bucket outside, and walking to the rear of the yard, dumped its contents into the deep square pit that had been dug the week before. Coffeepot pieces, vegetable leaves, and shells fell atop other broken pottery, glass, and refuse.

INDEPENDENCE, VIRGINIA, 1932

Since his return from a trip to Tennessee, Wade Ward had been practicing a new way to play his banjo. Placing his fingers across all four strings high on the neck, he picked out a series of notes, then repeated the sequence farther down the fretboard. The day before, making music with his nephew Fields, he alternated the style he had used since childhood—striking the strings with the nails of his right hand—with another new trick: picking up with his fingertips. In doing this he was playing his banjo as the musicians did on so many of the new records that people listened to on their radios almost every day.

KINGSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1765

The ads in the Boston newspapers had announced a new shipment of English china. William Rand made a special trip from his home in Kingston to Boston, where he pur-

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chased a dozen matching blue-and-white plates. They would make a handsome addition to his household and complement the new set of matching chairs he had recently acquired for his dining room.

PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, 1658

The appraiser appointed by the court worked slowly and carefully from room to room in the small, dimly lit house. Its owner had recently died, and his property had to be valued so that a proper tax could be levied on his estate. The list covered several pages: chairs, fireplace equipment, beds, napkins, chests, clothing—all of the property that had been used to make the world a more comfortable place in which to live. At the end of the listing, the appraiser made a final entry: "In small things forgotten, eight shillings sixpence." In this he acknowledged things that he may have overlooked but that nonetheless had value.

Six Americans engaged in commonplace activities; all in their fashion were communicating with us in a subtle way. In each case, material objects were involved—a house, a gravestone, a set of dishes—and if we could in some way find a way to understand the significance of artifacts as they were thought of and used by Americans in the past, we might gain new insight into the history of our nation.

Such a concern for the material objects of the past, the "small things forgotten," is central to the work of historical archaeologists. Archaeology is the study of past peoples based on the things they left behind and the ways they left their imprint on the world. Chipped-stone hand axes made hundreds of thousands of years ago and porcelain teacups from the eighteenth century carry messages from their makers and users. It is the archaeologist's task to decode those messages and apply them to our understanding of the human experience. America today, as the cultural heir of the Anglo-

Recalling Things Forgotten

American tradition that began in North America in 1607, is studied by folklorists, historians, sociologists, and anthropologists. Historical archaeology can add to our understanding of the American experience in a unique way, by looking not at the written record alone but at the almost countless objects left behind by Americans for three and a half centuries.

Historical archaeology studies the cultural remains of literate societies that were capable of recording their own history. In this respect it contrasts directly with prehistoric archaeology, which treats all of cultural history before the advent of writing—millions of years in duration.¹ In America, historical archaeologists are concerned with the development of culture since the seventeenth century, the way it compares and contrasts with its Old World antecedents, and its impact on the Native American cultural tradition. A popular definition of historical archaeology is *the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous peoples*.

In England, studies of sites and artifacts that relate to Anglo-American sites are done by *post-medieval archaeologists*. Their work and that of historical archaeologists in America tells the story of the development of Anglo-American culture from its English beginnings to its ultimate twentieth-century form in North America. The Americanization of the English tradition provides the examples that will be examined in this volume, to illustrate the workings of historical archaeology as it is actually practiced in the United States.

It is in its sharp contrasts with prehistoric archaeology that historical archaeology may be further defined. Not only do the two disciplines treat complementary sets of data, based on the presence or absence of literacy and written records, but they differ in other critical ways which are only partly a result of this essential difference.

Testimony of the Spade, Still Digging, Archaeology from

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the Earth—all are titles of books, by prehistorians, which reflect the near identity in most people's minds between archaeology and excavation. This is so simply because the vast majority of human cultural remains *are* buried and must be dug up. But the excavation of archaeological sites, though an obviously essential first step in studying past cultures, is just that. Only after the material has been excavated can we begin to study it.

Because historical archaeologists work with material that is centuries old at most, rather than millennia or longer periods, they stand a much better chance of surviving above ground. Of course, much of historical archaeology *is* the digging of archaeological sites, but these sites are not the sole source of information. They can provide information that is not available from other sources, and the value of this material is further enhanced through the support of above ground information. For example, there is no need to detail the architecture of early New England timber-framed houses on the basis of excavated material alone, since the landscape is dotted with such buildings, still standing and in use.

Like old houses, there are certain other artifacts from America's past available for study, but their value is subject to certain limitations, which must be kept in mind. Collections in museums have preserved a vast wealth of American artifacts: ceramics, metalwork, and glassware have their archaeological counterparts, and many materials that the archaeologist rarely has access to, such as leather, paper, fabric, and wood, are also available for study. The question of the factors that favor survival of certain objects and the disappearance of others is important here. For a variety of reasons, surviving artifacts cannot be taken as necessarily representative objects of their period. If we were to rely solely on museum collections, we might get an impression of a much richer level of material wealth than truly was the case. This is because most museums save the unusual and the valuable object, and individuals now and in the past consign common-

Recalling Things Forgotten

place objects to the dump. A museum exhibit of all of the pottery found in a household of modest means in the mid-eighteenth century would not be beautiful to behold, since most of it would be simple, locally manufactured, coarse earthenware, red in color and undecorated. But such an exhibit would certainly be representative of the world of the people who lived in it. In a similar way, we often are told that old garments, shoes, or pieces of armor show definitely that "people were smaller in those days." This conclusion does not allow for the probability that very small items of personal wear would not be as eligible for hand-me-down status, which latter would certainly contribute to their ultimately wearing out. The houses that survive from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also cannot be taken at face value as typical of their time, since their ruder counterparts almost certainly disappeared from the scene in a short time.

As the historical archaeologist works in increasingly more recent periods, he or she finds on occasion an information source that few if any prehistorians have encountered: the archaeological informant. Since the period with which historical archaeology is concerned extends to the present, nearly a quarter of the entire period since the early-seventeenth century can be studied through direct interviews with people who actually experienced the lifeways being studied.

The literacy of the people it studies is what sets historical archaeology apart from prehistory. But not all people were able to write; indeed only a minority could through most of the time with which we are concerned. But even if a majority lacked this ability, others often wrote about them. They were born, married, and died, and these events were recorded; their estates were listed for tax purposes and so were recorded. The church records, diaries, court records, land deeds, and contemporary histories give us a window through which to witness the past. This is not to say that we can learn all there is to know just from studying the written record. If this were so, there would be no need to dig into the

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ground or to sort, measure, and classify artifacts. In spite of the richness and diversity of the historical record, there are things we want to know that are not to be discovered from it. Simple people doing simple things, the normal, everyday routine of life and how these people thought about it, are not the kinds of things anyone thought worthy of noting. We know far more about the philosophical underpinnings of Puritanism than we do about what its practitioners consumed at countless meals. But all left behind the material residue of their existence, and it, too, is worth study. As Henry Glassie says of the folks of middle Virginia: "They left no writing, but they did leave all those houses."²

The documentary record and the archaeological record complement each other. One of the most useful sets of written material is probate records. These are listings, of the contents of the houses and properties of persons, taken for tax purposes at their deaths. Although not every estate was probated—more often only the richer estates were—those inventories that we have access to are valuable for a number of reasons. Hundreds of thousands of inventories exist for the Anglo-American world. They usually take the form of a rather detailed listing of the contents of a person's estate, with accompanying values. The inventory of Thomas Lumbert's estate, which follows, is an example.

THE INVENTORY OF THOMAS LUMBERT

A true Inventory of the estate of Thomas Lumbert of Barnstable senir: deceased; exhibited to the Court held att Plymouth March the seauenth 1664 on the oath of Ioyce Lumbert widdow;

	li	s	d
Impr in Lands and housing	60	00	00
Item 2 oxen	12	00	00
Item 5 Cowes	19	10	00
Item 1 heiffer	03	00	00

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Item 4 yearlings	04	10	00
Item 2 Calues	00	10	00
Item 2 oxen 121i and six pound in [vse?] laied out for meddow	18	00	00
Item 2 mares	15	00	00
Item 1 mare Colt	03	00	00
Item 2 horses	14	00	00
Item a two yeare old Colt	4	[10]	00
Item 1 yearling Calfe	02	10	00
Item swine	01	00	00
Item his wearing clothes	03	10	00
Item in beding and yearne	07	15	00
Item in linnine	02	00	00
Item in brasse potts and kettles	03	10	00
Item one warming pan	00	08	00
Item 1 frying pan 3s 1 Iron kettle 3s and hangers 1s6d	00	07	06
Item Cubbert and Chistes	01	00	00
Item Chernes barrells tubbs treyes and such like lumber	01	05	00
Item bookes	00	14	00
Item Amunition	04	00	00
Item in a saddle and bridle	00	12	00
Item in flesh meale and prouision for the family	01	15	00
Item in Come and pease	01	12	00
Item in Cart wheelles plough and plow tackling	04	00	00
Item in Carpenters tooles	03	00	00
Item the loomes	00	10	00
Item in sythes hoes wedges old Iron-mattock & such like thinges	01	00	00

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Item in debtes due	[16] 00 00
February the 8th 1664)	210 08 06
more in triuiall thinges omitted	00 10 00
To debts owing to seuerall men	10 00 00
	henery Cobb
	Iohn Gorum
	Nathaniel Bacon

Ioyce Lumbert was deposed to the truth of this Inven-
tory; soe farr as shee knowes) before mee Thomas hinck-
ley this sixt of March (64)
65

The uses of inventories transcend the obvious, descriptive one. The terms used in the inventories are those used by the people themselves, and as such constitute what is known as a folk taxonomy. This can be very misleading on occasion. Numerous listings of "looking glasses" in inventories of early-seventeenth-century Plymouth might lead the reader to believe there was a good supply of mirrors. While this is possible, we learn from the Oxford English Dictionary that "looking glass" was a common vernacular term for chamber pot during the first half of the seventeenth century. "Bedstead" at this time denotes what we call a bed, and "bed" in the folk taxonomy refers to what we would call a mattress. The adjective "coarse" did not denote texture until late in the seventeenth century; earlier, it meant normal or average. It is therefore necessary that one become familiar with the semantics of the English language during the period under study.

A significant number of inventories were taken on a room-by-room basis, and as such give us not only an idea of the layout of the house but the terms used for its various rooms. In such cases, the objects listed for various rooms also hint at the activities that went on in them.

But the inventories always stop short of the kind of detail

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that the archaeologist often finds important. A listing of earthenware could refer either to fancy, imported pottery or to plain, coarse ware of local manufacture. "Six old spoons" might have been of either pewter or brass, and even if the material is mentioned, there was a variety of styles of spoons in use at any one time. In many ways the inventories are given detail by what is excavated from the earth. Taken together, inventories and archaeological assemblages give a more detailed and complete picture than either could alone.

So it is with many other types of recorded information. Building contracts often give specific descriptions of the house or barn to be constructed. The following is a good example:

Thomas Joy hath an account against M^r Robert Keayne for Doing the Carpentry worke of a Barne at M^r Keaynes house at Rumney Marsh & for setting up & finishing the same being of 72 foot in length & 26 foot wide & 10 foot high wth 2 porches each of 13 foot wide one way & 12 another for w^{ch} the said Tho: J alleageth he ought to be payd so much as the Carpentry worke thereof is worth and he saith that the said worke comes unto in value as followeth in particulares viz^t the framing of the said barne 30£ the sawing thereof 17£. The felling crosse cutting & squaring of the timber 15£ and more the rearing up of the barne by him & his servants 7 the clapboarding of the barne 11£ 5s for boards 4£ 16s for laying of 600 of boards over the porches 18s for making of 4 payre of great doores & hanging of them 2£ for making of two paire of stayres 6s for making of four little doors 6s for laying the barne floare wth plancks 600£ 10s for putting on gutters upon the barne 1£ 10s for ferrayge of him and his servants 2 10s for losse of time in going and comming 4£ w^{ch} comes in all to 98£ 1s

(a 1640 contract, between Thomas Joy and Robert Keayne, for a barn to be erected in Rumney Marsh, Essex County, Massachusetts)

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Even the court records provide us with information concerning architecture. Certain important details are supplied by two coroners' inquests in seventeenth-century Plymouth:

Wee declare, y^t coming into the house of the said Richard Bishope, wee saw at the foot of a ladder w^{ch} leadeth into an vpper chamber, much blood; and going vp all of of vs into the chamber, wee found a woman child, of about foure years. . . .

(an inquest held at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 1648; *Plymouth Colony Records, II, Court Orders*, p. 133)

. . . they sent vp into the chamber by one of the children, whoe cried out that his mother is hanging herself; whereupon the said Elizabeth and Robert ran vp . . . and there found an haire rope or halter, fastened very feirme to the collar beame. . . .

(verdict of coroner's jury re suicide of the wife of James Claghorne, Yarmouth, Massachusetts, 1677; *Plymouth Colony Records, V, Court Orders*, p. 249)

In the first example, we learn of the use of a ladder rather than stairs to gain access to an upper chamber. The second tells us that collar beams were used, typical of one of several roof-framing techniques.

As we can see from the three examples above, historical archaeology must work with parallel and related sets of information. Yet in some cases there is a disturbing contradiction between what is excavated and what is written down. For example, listings of livestock often do not reflect the ratios of various species that are turned up by excavating animal bones in sites of the same period. This is because not all livestock was used as a meat source. Early Plymouth supported its economy in large measure by trading cattle to Massachusetts Bay Colony; the islands in Narragansett Bay were used to raise vast herds of sheep for export to the West Indies. In neither case would the actual frequency of one species to another appear in excavated animal bone, since the latter reflects only those animals consumed as food.

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A second kind of accommodation between excavated materials and documentary information bears directly on the whole complex problem of artifact typology as it is practiced by prehistorians. The classification of the artifacts recovered from a prehistoric site is a critical initial step in any archaeological analysis.³ In briefest terms, typology involves the classification of objects based on similarity of form; triangular arrowheads are different from those with curved sides; pots painted red on white are different from those painted black on red. Such classification allows controlled comparison between collections from different sites. But such classifications are entirely formal, and arrived at, by necessity, independently of what the makers of the objects perceived as different types. With the rich documentary materials of historical archaeology, such classifications are not only sterile exercises but potentially very misleading. European-made ceramics excavated from Anglo-American sites are complex and very diverse, but since so much research has been done on the history of the pottery industry in England and continental Europe, it is not unusual to know how the makers of this pottery classified, named, and traded their wares. To apply strictly formal classificatory methods to this material and ignore the historical data is like trying to reinvent the incandescent lamp by candlelight while ignoring the light switch at one's elbow.

A poor fit between the two above kinds of information forces the researcher to refine his or her interpretations, to the benefit of the final results. At the same time, the historical sources have the potential to provide the archaeologist with a much more richly detailed statement of a past life-style, and with deeper and more sophisticated understandings of the workings and development of the American past.

If you were to visit a "typical" historical archaeological site, it would look not terribly different from its prehistoric counterpart. To be sure, the artifacts being recovered would be very different, but the use of excavation grids, trenches,

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and test pits would be identical. Field archaeology is based on observation. Earth is removed from the objects recovered to make observation more efficient. The same earth covers a seventeenth-century colonial foundation and a nearby prehistoric Indian shell heap, and the techniques for its removal are essentially the same. But the historical features and structures that are covered by this earth are so different from those found in many prehistoric sites that they demand a different excavation scheme.

Most historic sites are quite visible even before any digging is done. Mounds indicate collapsed chimneys, large stones marking wall footings often protrude through the sod, and frequently there are standing structural remains associated with those buried. At the most visible extreme, whole buildings form the focus of archaeological excavation, and the excavation must proceed in a manner co-ordinated with the analysis of the structures themselves. In the case of many prehistoric sites there is so little evidence of the area of occupation prior to digging that rather sophisticated sampling techniques are often required to insure the proper location and recovery of significant information. Given the higher visibility of historic sites, such techniques are often unnecessary, and if used under such circumstances, can also be highly inefficient.

There are, of course, exceptions. The few dwelling-house sites discovered that date to the earliest decades of Plymouth Colony (1620-ca. 1650) showed little surface indication of their presence. A combination of insubstantial building in comparison to that of the later-seventeenth century, short supply of essential goods resulting in a thin refuse deposit, and the lack of cellars, led to sites that are very difficult to detect from the surface. As a result, the field techniques used in excavating these sites more closely resemble those employed on prehistoric sites.

Another important difference between historic and prehistoric sites is the manner in which large quantities of fill, a

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mixture of soil and refuse, were shifted about in the historic period. This tendency has increased dramatically since the seventeenth century, as we can see from today's land-fill projects, which are built up from refuse on a wholesale basis. Since such deposits invariably contain artifacts, they can be extremely misleading. An excavation of a large portion of a city block in downtown Providence, Rhode Island, encountered fill, with a rich artifact content, that had been hauled in from Attleboro, Massachusetts, some fifteen miles distant. Excavations in the rear of the post office in Plymouth, Massachusetts, on the supposed 1620 site of the Pilgrim William Brewster's first house, revealed nine feet of fill with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artifacts, which had been originally excavated in another part of town. A park in New York City is composed partly of fill from Bristol, England, which was hauled in ships as ballast during the Battle of Britain. This refuse probably includes artifacts from the medieval period or earlier; the fact of the park's construction is noted on a plaque, yet this instance does illustrate in dramatic fashion how potentially misleading such wholesale shifting of large quantities of earth can be. In earlier times, technology was simpler, and large-scale filling was not common. Yet it occurred enough to require an accommodation for it in the digging of historic sites. Fill is an artifact itself, and intelligent study of it can be most instructive. This is particularly true in excavations carried out in high-density urban areas, where the same soil may have been removed, shifted, and redeposited many times.

A less dramatic example of how such filling might be misleading is the common tendency for people to have deposited large quantities of clean fill in privies, wells, cellars, and trash pits. In excavating a prehistoric site, once such clean soil is encountered, the base of the deposit probably has been reached. However, on historic sites, it is not uncommon to encounter soil that seems undisturbed but is in fact a deposit of sterile fill that might be three feet thick or more. Usually

the edges of the pit in which it has been placed can be followed, or an occasional fleck of charcoal or brick gives the lie to its apparent virginity, but on occasion such fill can be very deceptive.

Chronology in archaeology is one of the cornerstones for all analysis. The determination of the age of this or that archaeological site is critical before any consideration of process through time can be attempted. The battery of dating techniques available to the prehistorian is large and complex.⁴ Historical archaeology has different dating methods. Some, such as stratigraphy, which operates on the principle that archaeological deposits are laid down like the layers of a cake, with the older ones deeper in the ground, are equally applicable in historical and prehistoric archaeology. Yet, radiocarbon dating, a mainstay in prehistory, is of very limited use in historical archaeology, simply because the limits within which such dates are given are too general to be of much use to the historical archaeologist. A radiocarbon date in the seventeenth century might be stated as 1680 plus or minus forty or more years.

The more specialized dating techniques of historical archaeology can produce a much more precise statement of age. For example, the dates of manufacture of many English pottery types are known to within five years or less. If a cellar were excavated that contained fragments of creamware (an ivory-colored earthenware perfected by Josiah Wedgwood circa 1762), then the deposit in the cellar must be only as early as that date. The principle of dating such deposits on the basis of the newest artifact found in them is common to all of archaeology, both historic and prehistoric. Known as the *terminus post quem* (the date after which), this kind of dating is powerful when combined with a detailed knowledge of the history of the invention and development of the artifacts in question. The principle of the *terminus ante quem* (the date before which) is somewhat more difficult to apply,

since any number of factors might account for the *absence* of a given artifact type. Nonetheless, it can be employed in historical archaeology with some confidence. A site that lacks creamware probably predates the 1770s, since by that time this pottery had become extremely common in England and America.

Extending the application of these principles to the great variety of artifacts of the historic period that is commonly encountered in the course of excavation provides the historical archaeologist with a very high degree of chronological control. Such dating precision in turn enables the construction of much more finely detailed chronologies and permits a correspondingly more specific description of culture change than one usually encounters in prehistory. Of course, with only three and a half centuries to work with, the need for chronological precision is greater than that for prehistory, which deals in greater time segments over a total period of millions of years.

The luxury of such detailed knowledge of the chronology of the pottery industry in Europe forms the basis of the Mean Ceramic Date Formula, a dating technique developed by Stanley South of the South Carolina Archaeology and Anthropology Institute.⁵ The formula relies on the fact that the periods of manufacture of over a hundred pottery types are known. The first step in using the formula consists of counting all the fragments of each type from a site. Then we determine the mean manufacturing date for each type—the mid-point in the period when it was known to have been made. For example, if a kind of pottery was made between 1680 and 1740, the mean manufacturing date would be 1710, halfway between the two dates. These mean dates are assigned importance according to the relative quantity of each type of pottery at the site. An average of mean dates is taken, and the date that results should approximate the mid-point in the period when the site was occupied. The value of this

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technique is demonstrated in its use: it works. South applied it to a number of pottery collections from sites with known dates of occupation, with a resultant close match.

However, certain factors might introduce error in special cases. For example, if because of their social status, certain people either kept older pottery for a longer period of time or received "hand-me-downs" from their more affluent neighbors, the result would be an earlier date obtained from the formula than was actually so. This example is not purely theoretical. Excavations at the Parting Ways site, which was occupied by four families of freed slaves in Plymouth, Massachusetts, from circa 1785 through 1900, revealed a cellar that is thought to have been filled in upon its abandonment in 1850. The *terminus post quem* for the materials in the cellar is firmly established by a New England stoneware jar that bears the name of the maker, documented to have been working in Taunton, Massachusetts, in the 1840s. Yet the mean ceramic date of the cellar fill is 1794 by the South formula, while the actual mean occupation date would be circa 1822. In this case, independent archaeological and documentary information show clearly that the occupants of the Parting Ways site were very poor, and for that reason could only have come by the rather fancy ceramics they owned through some secondhand way. However, what might at first appear as an erroneous date from the Mean Ceramic Date Formula could also be viewed as a potentially useful technique for the interpretation of archaeological remains. We have seen that when there is not a comfortable fit between archaeological and documentary materials, further questions are called for. It follows that if the Mean Ceramic Date Formula were applied to sites for which the dates are independently determined, any major disagreement between these dates would require an explanation. The search for the explanation might well result in a better understanding of the materials in cultural or behavioral terms.

The introduction of tobacco to Englishmen in the late-six-

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teenth century led to a rapid development of the smoking-pipe industry. Pipes of white clay became extremely common, and sites in both England and America produce fragments of them by the thousands. Jean Harrington, an archaeologist working at Jamestown, noticed a definite relationship between the diameter of the bore of the pipestem and the age of the pipe of which it was a part. Pipes had earlier been dated on the basis of the shapes of their bowls, but such a method was useless if only stem fragments were available; they are always far more numerous than bowls or whole pipes.

Using dated bowls with portions of their stems attached, Harrington discovered that the older the pipe the larger the bore diameter of the stem. The earliest pipes, dating to about 1600, had stems with bores of 9/64-inch diameter. By 1800 this diameter had decreased to 4/64 inch. This change in diameter probably is due to the fact that pipestems became longer during this period, requiring a narrower bore diameter. This transformation in turn might ultimately relate to the greater availability of tobacco, which led to larger pipe bowls and potentially longer and hotter smokes. Lengthening the stem would remove the hot bowl farther from the mouth, and reducing the bore would cut down on the amount of matter transmitted through the stem to the smoker's mouth. Indeed, the early-seventeenth-century term for smoking was "drinking," and the method of smoking seems to have been much more hurried gulping of smoke from the small bowls typical of the period, with the relatively open stem bore allowing maximum transferral of the smoke to the mouth. The long, contemplative smoking of pipes with which we are so familiar today is probably of more recent origin.

Since the diameter of the stem bore slowly became smaller, apparently at a relatively uniform rate, this change provides the basis of a rather precise dating technique available to archaeologists working on Anglo-American sites of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Using this method, the archaeologist has only to measure the diameter of the bores of

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pipestems from his site and compare the average bore diameters against a table that gives the average bore diameters for a number of periods. The time periods and average bore diameters are as follows:

Diameter	Dates
9/64	1590-1620
8/64	1620-1650
7/64	1650-1680
6/64	1680-1720
5/64	1720-1750
4/64	1750-1800

Suppose we have dug a site in which 70 per cent of the stems have a bore diameter of 7/64 inch, 15 per cent are 6/64 inch, and 15 per cent 8/64 inch. This distribution would suggest that the site was occupied from 1650 to 1680. The few stems in the larger and smaller categories reflect either normal variation in bore diameter or a slightly longer time of occupation on either end of the period indicated by the majority of the stems. A refinement of this method using a simple and mathematical formula and yielding a single date, which can be thought of as being the middle of the occupation period, has been devised by Lewis Binford.⁶

Such a date is similar to that obtained from the Mean Ceramic Date Formula, and one can usually obtain both from a given collection. In most cases they will be approximately the same, lending mutual support. At present, the pipestem-dating method is applicable only to pipes manufactured in England. Dutch pipes sometimes occur also on Anglo-American sites of the colonial period, but as yet a comparable chronology has not been established for the Dutch examples. In situations where the possibility of fragments of both Dutch and English pipestems exists, some error could be introduced into the data from this source.

We can see from the foregoing discussion that the basis for chronology in historical archaeology derives in one way or an-

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other from the greater independent control that can be marshaled from historical sources. The same applies to the wealth of primary documentary material, such as deeds, maps, diaries, and first-person histories, which often provides direct chronological information. If a house can be shown from recorded history to have been burned in 1675 during King Philip's War, and located accurately by researching land titles, then the archaeologist has as secure a *terminus ante quem* as he could ever hope for.

The wall trenches of a building beneath a standing wall of an extension to the Quaker meetinghouse in Newport, Rhode Island, must predate 1730, since church records tell us that the addition was built in that year. Given reliable documentation of this type, the urgency of deriving an artifactual *terminus post quem* or a mean ceramic date is lessened dramatically, although such independent information has strong corroborative value.

The historical archaeologist's approach to artifacts differs from the prehistorian's. Historical artifacts are vastly more diverse in terms of the materials from which they are made and their places of origin, which in North America commonly include such distant sources as China, the West Indies, and most of Europe. Much is known of their history and technology.⁷

On the one hand, then, the historical archaeologist enjoys the advantage of a detailed body of information concerning the artifacts, but, at the same time, it is essential that this information be controlled, which is no mean task. Yet it does remove the researcher from much of the formal analysis in which the prehistorian must become deeply involved. Given control of the necessary historical information, one can ultimately move on more easily and with a greater sense of security to the explanation of the artifacts in terms of the society that used them. After all, this is the end toward which all archaeology is ultimately directed.

Finally, historical archaeology places less reliance on the

natural sciences than does prehistoric archaeology. Not that the study of plant and animal remains, of soils, or of past climates has no place in historical archaeology; it emphatically does. But relative to its relationship to other disciplines, such as folklore or history, historical archaeology's reliance on the natural sciences is less than is that of prehistory. This lessened dependency on the natural sciences is but a reflection of the role played by the natural world in the history of human development. The earlier in time one goes, the more people were directly and intimately tied to their environment, so that such disciplines as paleontology and geology are essential to the proper understanding of life in the distant past. As culture became more complex, our removal from the natural world increased. Since historical archaeology treats only the past few hundred years of our multimillion-year history, it follows that this last, brief time would find us at our greatest remove.

The existence of artifacts and written records from the same society makes possible the use of historical archaeological materials for the testing and refinement of numerous methods and theories developed by prehistorians. An excellent example of such refinement is the use of New England colonial gravestone designs to observe stylistic change under conditions of rigorous control. This study, described fully in a later chapter in this book, not only confirmed in a positive fashion a dating technique—seriation—long a stand-by for prehistorians, but also showed how design changed for very specific cultural reasons. We have seen that probate inventories are among the most useful primary documents to the historical archaeologist. As documents for independent controlled checking or archaeological results they are excellent, since it is logical to assume that they should bear a close relation to that which is recovered from sites of the same period. On occasion they do not, but the disagreement only forces the archaeologist to ask more enlightened questions of his or her data. More often, the fit between archaeological collections and inventory material is comfortable, and this in

turn permits the archaeologist a greater assurance that the sample is somewhat representative.

Perhaps the most important and subtle aspects of the control afforded by historical archaeology are those factors that would be forever lost to the prehistorian but can be seen to have a strong effect on the nature of cultural change as reflected by the archaeological data. Such aspects of a past people as the way in which they perceived their environment, the world view that underlay the organization of their physical universe, and the way ideology shaped their lives, are as difficult to discover in prehistory as they are important. But in working in the context of historical material culture, the relationship between material culture and cognition begins to come into focus.⁸

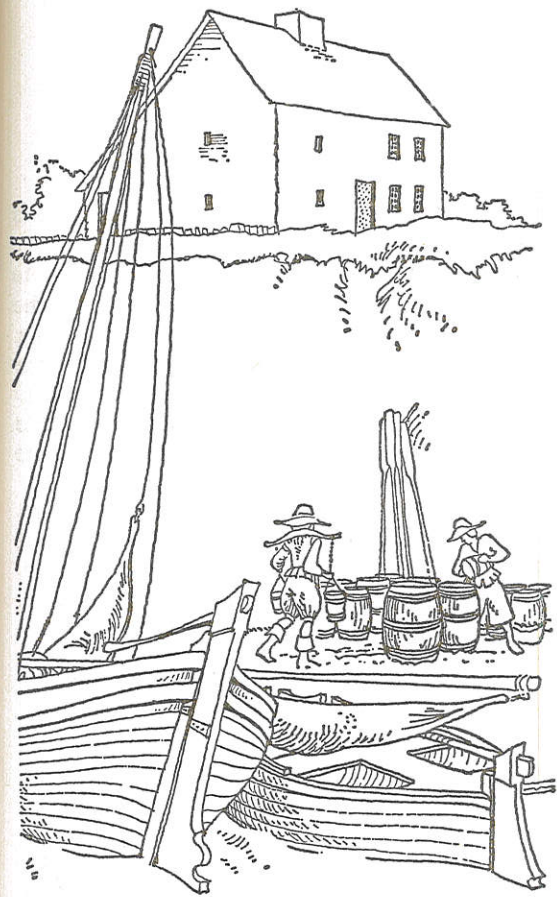
Such insights call into sharp question some of the basic tenets of prehistoric archaeology: that culture is an adaptive device, so that to be successful, it tends to a close fit with the environment; that the simplest, most efficient explanation of archaeological data is most likely the correct one; and that we are rational beings, whose actions can be understood only in terms of common sense. What historical archaeology teaches us is that common sense is culturally relative, that in the past people have done things and behaved in ways that to us might seem almost irrational but that to them may not have been, and that the phenomenon of culture change is far more complex and imponderable than we might suspect were we to rely only on the detailing of it by prehistorians. The simple fact that the Shaker sect of nineteenth-century America controlled the shape, physical arrangement, and even the color of their furniture for strong religious reasons tells us that there are factors at work on the form and function of the artifacts of the past that are beyond recovery, either by logic, hypothesis and deduction, or endless guessing. They are available, however, to the historical archaeologist if intelligent and imaginative use is made of the rich supporting materials, and at least can serve as a suggestion of a more diverse set of factors than have been heretofore considered in prehistory.

So far, we have described some of the more important ways in which historical archaeology compares with prehistory. We must still consider one more aspect of historical archaeology: the relationship it has to the study of material culture. Material culture, it is often correctly said, is not culture but its product. Culture is socially transmitted rules for behavior, ways of thinking about and doing things. We inherit our culture from the teachings and examples of our elders and our peers rather than from genes, whether it is the language we speak, the religious beliefs that we subscribe to, or the laws that govern our society. All such behavior is reflected in subtle and important ways in the manner in which we shape our physical world. Material culture is usually considered to be roughly synonymous with artifacts, the vast universe of objects used by mankind to cope with the physical world, to facilitate social intercourse, and to benefit our state of mind. A somewhat broader definition of material culture is useful in emphasizing how profoundly our world is the product of our thoughts, as *that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior*. This definition includes all artifacts, from the simplest, such as a common pin, to the most complex, such as an interplanetary space vehicle. But the physical environment includes more than what most definitions of material culture recognize. We can also consider cuts of meat as material culture, since there are many ways to dress an animal; plowed fields; even the horse that pulls the plow, since scientific breeding of livestock involves the conscious modification of an animal's form according to culturally derived ideals. Our body itself is a part of our physical environment, so that such things as parades, dancing, and all aspects of kinesics—human motion—fit within our definition. Nor is the definition limited only to matter in the solid state. Fountains are liquid examples, as are lily ponds, and material that is partly gas includes hot-air balloons and neon signs. I have suggested in *Invitation to Archaeology*⁹ that even language is a part of material culture, a prime example of it in its gaseous state. Words, after all,

are air masses shaped by the speech apparatus according to culturally acquired rules.

The advantages of this general definition of material culture are twofold. First, since disciplines such as kinesics and linguistics have developed analytical techniques well suited to their subject matter, these techniques might well be of use to the student of material culture. Second, it forces us to look at archaeological information in the broader framework of whole material cultural systems, which might well permit sharper delineations of their corresponding behavioral systems. For example, we know from the study of proxemics, which deals with spatial relationships between people as they are dictated culturally, that all cultures have typical sets of "invisible" limits that dictate the placement of people in a social situation. We have all at some time or other encountered people who stood too close while talking; the resulting discomfort is due to the closeness violating our perception of the cultural rule that dictates a proper distance in such a situation. The same rules apply to the relationship, in a systemic way, between people and the architectural space they occupy. Thus any study of the size of rooms in an early American building must take into account this relationship, a subject discussed by Glassie in his excellent work on Virginia folk housing.

Since historical archaeology must deal with not only excavated material from the American past but also all that has survived above the ground, including old houses, collections of pottery, weapons, bottles, glassware, cutlery, and textiles, it is truly the study of American material culture in historical perspective. It stands in contrast to the study of history or the decorative arts not so much in terms of subject matter as in terms of its analytical approach. An appreciation for the simple details of past existence, which escape historical mention, and for simple artifacts, not deemed significant in art-historical terms, viewed from the perspective of a broad social-scientific base, characterizes historical archaeology.





Cultural Resources

Cultural resources can be defined as *physical evidence or place of past human activity: site, object, landscape, structure; or a site, structure, landscape, object or natural feature of significance to a group of people traditionally associated with it.*

Types of cultural resources often found in state and national parks:

Archeological resources: The remains of past human activity and records documenting the scientific analysis of these remains.

Historic structures: Material assemblies that extend the limits of human capability.

Cultural landscapes: Settings we have created in the natural world.

Ethnographic resources: Sites, structures, landscapes, objects or natural features of significance to a traditionally associated group of people.

Museum objects: Manifestations of human behavior and ideas.

Native American: Shell middens, camps, portage paths, ceremonial and/or sacred sites, plant gathering areas

17th-19th century settlement: Farms, mills, quarries, estates, cemeteries, lighthouses

Cultural resource management involves:

Research: Identifying, evaluating, documenting, registering, and establishing other basic information on resources.

Planning: Ensuring that information on resources is well integrated into management decisions and setting priorities.

Stewardship: Ensure that planning decisions are carried out and resources are preserved, protected, and interpreted to the public.

Recent and on-going park cultural resource projects in California State Parks:

Archeological Overview and Assessment
Native American Traditional Use Study
Marsh Creek Archeological Stabilization Project
Spooner Ranch Historic Water System Study
Pond Farm National Register Nomination
Bodie Documentation Program
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Native American Resources

California Indians and Their Environment Kent G. Lightfoot & Otis Parrish

Before California Brian Fagan

CALIFORNIA LAW PERTAINING TO LOOTING AND/OR VANDALISM OF CULTURAL RESOURCES

(Revised as part of SB 1034, 2010)

5097.5. (a) A person shall not knowingly and willfully excavate upon, or remove, destroy, injure, or deface, any historic or prehistoric ruins, burial grounds, archaeological or vertebrate paleontological site, including fossilized footprints, inscriptions made by human agency, rock art, or any other archaeological, paleontological or historical feature, situated on public lands, except with the express permission of the public agency having jurisdiction over the lands.

(b) As used in this section, "public lands" means lands owned by, or under the jurisdiction of, the state, or any city, county, district, authority, or public corporation, or any agency thereof.

(c) A violation of this section is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), or by imprisonment in a county jail not to exceed one year, or by both that fine and imprisonment.

(d) (1) Upon conviction, the court shall order restitution, unless the court decides otherwise pursuant to subdivision (c) of Section 1202.4 of the Penal Code, to either of the following:

(A) To the state agency, including any department of the state, a conservancy, or other instrumentality of the state, that has primary management authority over the public lands where the violation occurred, including public lands managed by the state under an agreement with another public entity.

(B) To the city, county, district, or other local agency owning or having jurisdiction over the public lands where the violation occurred.

(2) When determining restitution, the court shall consider evidence from the state or local agency to which restitution will be granted of the commercial and archaeological value of the property as follows:

(A) The commercial value of an archaeological resource involved in a violation shall be its fair market value. If the violation has resulted in damage to the archaeological resource, the state or local agency shall determine the fair market value using the condition of the archaeological resource prior to the violation to the extent that its prior condition can be ascertained. For purposes of this subparagraph, "fair market value" means the price that a seller is willing to accept and a buyer is willing to pay on the open market.

(B) The archaeological value of an archaeological resource involved in a violation shall be the value of the information associated with the archaeological resource. The state or local agency shall appraise the value in terms of the costs of the retrieval of the scientific information that would have been obtainable prior to the violation.

(C) The costs considered for restitution may include, but are not limited to, the cost of preparing a research design, conducting background research, conducting field work, carrying out laboratory analyses, and preparing reports that would be necessary to realize the information potential of the resource.

(D) The state or local agency shall follow the professional standards for determining commercial and archaeological value, in accordance with those procedures established

in the federal Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (Public Law 96-95), as amended, and in compliance with the Uniform Regulations set forth in Subpart A (commencing with Section 7.1) of Part 7 of Title 43 of the Code of Federal Regulations.

(E) For the purposes of restitution, the court shall consider the cost of restoration and repair of archaeological resources damaged as a result of a violation as well as the costs already incurred for emergency restoration or repair work, plus those costs projected by the state or local agency necessary to complete restoration and repair, that may include, but are not limited to, the costs of any one or more of the following:

- (i) Reconstruction of the archaeological resource.
- (ii) Stabilization of the archaeological resource.
- (iii) Ground contour reconstruction and surface stabilization.
- (iv) Research necessary to carry out reconstruction or stabilization.
- (v) Physical barriers or other protective devices necessitated by the disturbance of the archaeological resource to protect it from further disturbance.
- (vi) Examination and analysis of the archaeological resource, including recording remaining archaeological information where necessitated by disturbance in order to salvage remaining values that cannot be otherwise conserved.
- (vii) Reinterment of human remains in accordance with religious customs and federal, state, local, or tribal law, where appropriate.

(e) If human remains that are determined to be Native American are recovered as a result of an action brought pursuant to this section, the requirements of Section 5097.9 shall apply to those remains.

(f) (1) Notwithstanding Section 13340 of the Government Code, the restitution funds received pursuant to subdivision (d) by a state agency, conservancy, or other instrumentality of the state, are hereby continuously appropriated for expenditure by that state agency, conservancy, or other instrumentality only for the costs of restoring and repairing the archaeological resources that are the subject of the violation.

(2) The restitution funds received pursuant to subdivision (d) by a city, county, district, or other local agency may be expended by that city, county, district, or other local agency only for the costs of restoring and repairing the archaeological resources that are the subject of the violation.

SEC. 2. Section 5097.7 is added to the Public Resources Code, to read:

5097.7. Upon a conviction pursuant to Section 5097.5, the following items are subject to forfeiture in accordance with the following conditions:

(a) The archaeological resource that was the subject of the violation, and that is in the possession of the person, shall be subject to forfeiture.

(b) (1) A vehicle that was used in connection with the violation may be subject to forfeiture, if the vehicle to be forfeited was not merely a means of transportation to the site but was either of the following:

(A) The vehicle was specifically modified or designed to assist in the commission of the crime.

(B) The vehicle was used as part of a pattern or scheme to commit the offense.

(2) A vehicle that is subject to forfeiture shall be released to the legal owner or his or her agent pursuant to the procedures set forth in subdivision (e) of Section 21100.4 of

the Vehicle Code. A legal owner or his or her agent that obtains a release of the vehicle shall not release the vehicle to the person convicted of a violation of Section 5097.7.

(3) If there is a community property interest in the vehicle subject to forfeiture, the court shall consider whether there is another vehicle available to the party with that interest before ordering forfeiture of the vehicle.

(c) Equipment used in the violation may be subject to forfeiture.

SEC. 3. No reimbursement is required by this act pursuant to Section 6 of Article XIII B of the California Constitution because the only costs that may be incurred by a local agency or school district will be incurred because this act creates a new crime or infraction, eliminates a crime or infraction, or changes the penalty for a crime or infraction, within the meaning of Section 17556 of the Government Code, or changes the definition of a crime within the meaning of Section 6 of Article XIII B of the California Constitution.

5097.9. No public agency, and no private party using or occupying public property, or operating on public property, under a public license, permit, grant, lease, or contract made on or after July 1, 1977, shall in any manner whatsoever interfere with the free expression or exercise of Native American religion as provided in the United States Constitution and the California Constitution; nor shall any such agency or party cause severe or irreparable damage to any Native American sanctified cemetery, place of worship, religious or ceremonial site, or sacred shrine located on public property, except on a clear and convincing showing that the public interest and necessity so require. The provisions of this chapter shall be enforced by the commission, pursuant to Sections 5097.94 and 5097.97. The provisions of this chapter shall not be construed to limit the requirements of the Environmental Quality Act of 1970, Division 13 (commencing with Section 21000). The public property of all cities, counties, and city and county located within the limits of the city, county, and city and county, except for all parklands in excess of 100 acres, shall be exempt from the provisions of this chapter. Nothing in this section shall, however, nullify protections for Indian cemeteries under other statutes.

5097.99. (a) No person shall obtain or possess any Native American artifacts or human remains which are taken from a Native American grave or cairn on or after January 1, 1984, except as otherwise provided by law or in accordance with an agreement reached pursuant to subdivision (l) of Section 5097.94 or pursuant to Section 5097.98.

(b) Any person who knowingly or willfully obtains or possesses any Native American artifacts or human remains which are taken from a Native American grave or cairn after January 1, 1988, except as otherwise provided by law or in accordance with an agreement reached pursuant to subdivision (l) of Section 5097.94 or pursuant to Section 5097.98, is guilty of a felony which is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison.

(c) Any person who removes, without authority of law, any Native American artifacts or human remains from a Native American grave or cairn with an intent to sell or dissect or with malice or wantonness is guilty of a felony which is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison.

5097.991. It is the policy of the state that Native American remains and associated grave artifacts shall be repatriated. Native American Historic Resource Protection Act California Public Resources Code 5097-5097.993

5097.993. (a) (1) A person who unlawfully and maliciously excavates upon, removes, destroys, injures, or defaces a Native American historic, cultural, or sacred site, that is listed or may be eligible for listing in the California Register of Historic Resources pursuant to Section 5024.1, including any historic or prehistoric ruins, any burial ground, any archaeological or historic site, any inscriptions made by Native Americans at such a site, any archaeological or historic Native American rock art, or any archaeological or historic feature of a Native American historic, cultural, or sacred site, is guilty of a misdemeanor if the act was committed with specific intent to vandalize, deface, destroy, steal, convert, possess, collect, or sell a Native American historic, cultural, or sacred artifact, art object, inscription, or feature, or site, and the act was committed as follows:

(A) On public land.

(B) On private land, by a person, other than the landowner, as described in subdivision.

(2) A violation of this section is punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for up to one year, by a fine not to exceed ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), or by both that fine and imprisonment.

(b) This section does not apply to any of the following:

(1) An act taken in accordance with, or pursuant to, an agreement entered into pursuant to subdivision (l) of Section 5097.94.

(2) An action taken pursuant to Section 5097.98.

(3) An act taken in accordance with the California Environmental Quality Act (Division 13 (commencing with Section 21000)).

(4) An act taken in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. Sec. 4321 et seq.).

(5) An act authorized under the Z'berg-Nejedly Forest Practice Act of 1973 (Chapter 8 (commencing with Section 4511) of Part 2 of Division 4).

(6) An action taken with respect to a conservation easement in accordance with Chapter 4 (commencing Native American Historic Resource Protection Act California Public Resources Code 5097-5097.993 with Section 815) of Division 2 of the Civil Code, or any similar nonperpetual enforceable restriction that has as its purpose the conservation, maintenance, or provision of physical access of Native Americans to one or more Native American historic, cultural, or sacred sites, or pursuant to a contractual agreement for that purpose to which most likely descendants of historic Native American inhabitants are signatories.

(7) An otherwise lawful act undertaken by the owner, or an employee or authorized agent of the owner acting at the direction of the owner, of land on which artifacts, sites, or other Native American resources covered by this section are found, including, but not limited to, farming, ranching, forestry, improvements, investigations into the characteristics of the property conducted in a manner that minimizes adverse impacts unnecessary to that purpose, and the sale, lease, exchange, or financing of real property.

(8) Research conducted under the auspices of an accredited postsecondary educational institution or other legitimate research institution on public land in accordance with

applicable permitting requirements or on private land in accordance with otherwise applicable law. 5097.994.

(a) A person who violates subdivision (a) of Section 5097.993 is subject to a civil penalty not to exceed fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) per violation.

(b) A civil penalty may be imposed for each separate violation of subdivision (a) in addition to any other civil penalty imposed for a separate violation of any other provision of law.

(c) In determining the amount of a civil penalty imposed pursuant to this section, the court shall take into account the extent of the damage to the resource. In making the determination of damage, the court may consider the commercial or archaeological value of the resource involved and the cost to restore and repair the resource.

(d) A civil action may be brought pursuant to this section by the district attorney, the city attorney, or the Attorney General, or by the Attorney General upon a complaint by the Native American Heritage Commission.

California Public Resources Code 5097-5097.993

(e) (1) All moneys collected from civil penalties imposed pursuant to this section as a result of an enforcement action brought by a city or county shall be distributed to the city or county treasurer of the city or county that brought the action. These moneys shall be first utilized to repair or restore the damaged site, and the remaining moneys shall be available to that city or county to offset costs incurred in enforcing this chapter.

(2) All moneys collected from civil penalties imposed pursuant to this section as a result of an enforcement action brought by the Attorney General shall be first distributed to, and utilized by, the Native American Heritage Commission to repair or restore the damaged site, and the remaining moneys shall be available to the Attorney General to offset costs incurred in enforcing this chapter.

California Public Resources Code 5024.

(a) On or before January 1, 1982, each state agency shall formulate policies to preserve and maintain, when prudent and feasible, all state-owned historical resources under its jurisdiction listed in or potentially eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places or registered or eligible for registration as a state historical landmark pursuant to Section 5021.

California Public Resources Code 5024.5.

(a) No state agency shall alter the original or significant historical features or fabric, or transfer, relocate, or demolish historical resources on the master list maintained pursuant to subdivision (d) of Section 5024 without, early in the planning processes, first giving notice and a summary of the proposed action to the officer who shall have 30 days after receipt of the notice and summary for review and comment.

(b) If the officer determines that a proposed action will have an adverse effect on a listed historical resource, the head of the state agency having jurisdiction over the historical resource and the officer shall adopt prudent and feasible measures that will

eliminate or mitigate the adverse effects. The officer shall consult the State Historical Building Safety Board for advice when appropriate.

(c) Each state agency shall maintain written documentation of the officer's concurrence with proposed actions which would have an effect on an historical resource on the master list.

(d) The officer shall report to the Office of Planning and Research for mediation instances of state agency refusal to propose, to consider, or to adopt prudent and feasible alternatives to eliminate or mitigate adverse effects on historical resources on the master list as specified in subdivision (f) of Section 5024.

(e) The officer may monitor the implementation of proposed actions of any state agency.

(f) Until such time as a structure is evaluated for possible inclusion in the inventory pursuant to subdivisions (b) and (c) of Section 5024, state agencies shall assure that any structure which might qualify for listing is not inadvertently transferred or unnecessarily altered.

(g) The officer may provide local governments with information on methods to preserve their historical resources.

CA Penal Code 6221/2.

Every person, not the owner thereof, who wilfully injures, disfigures, defaces, or destroys any object or thing of archeological or historical interest or value, whether situated on private lands or within any public park or place, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

CA Penal Code 623.

(a)(2) Establishes as a misdemeanor the disturbing or alteration of any archeological evidence in any cave without the written permission of the owner of the cave, punishable by up to one year in the county jail or a fine not to exceed \$1,000, or both.

Why California Indians Matter

THE INEVITABLE QUESTION IS COMING. I (K.L.) am standing in front of the California Indian Gallery in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. A group of undergraduate students from a section of the Introduction to Archaeology course is touring the exhibit. An earnest, but somewhat skeptical looking student, lags behind the others; all signs indicate she is about to launch the relevancy question. "I love all this great old stuff," she gestures animatedly at the brightly colored baskets, soap root brushes, and strings of shell beads collected by ethnographers in the early twentieth century, "but what can you really learn by studying them?" She stops for a moment, adjusting the earpiece and volume of her razor-thin iPod, before continuing. "And what relevancy does studying Indians have for our lives in California today? I mean, this stuff is really ancient history." Before I can find my voice to defend my lifetime efforts of studying this "old stuff," she has turned her attention to her cell phone, on which she is retrieving a slew of text messages. It is going to be another long day on the Berkeley campus.

Ah yes, the relevancy question. This is not an isolated incident. Anyone who works with California Indian materials in classrooms or in public education programs has heard various permutations of this question many times before. Our experience suggests that California Indians are commonly perceived by the denizens of the Golden State to be historical anachronisms that have little relevancy in our fast-paced contemporary world. Museum specimens are all fine and good, but they refer to chapters in the state's history that have little bearing on us today. This common perception is fueled by the widespread untruth that most, if not all, of the "real" Indians suffered extinction in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, following their entanglements with Franciscan missionaries, Russian fur traders, Mexican ranchers, and Anglo-American settlers. Although disease, violence, and homelessness caused massive hardship for all

Indians throughout the state, especially during the dark decades of the 1850s through the 1870s, thousands of Indians *did* survive. After falling to a nadir of an estimated 16,000 to 17,000 in number in 1900, the population has rebounded to about 150,000 people who recognize their Native Californian roots.¹ Furthermore, California boasts the largest number of federally recognized Indian entities for any state in the nation, a total of 108 at last count. In addition, a number of other tribal groups are recognized by state and local agencies but are not yet officially recognized by the federal government. But beyond an occasional visit to an Indian casino, most Californians have limited contact with contemporary Native people and remain largely ignorant of life within Indian communities across the state.

Another factor that has fueled this question of relevancy is an outdated perspective that many of us retain about traditional Indian cultures. Those of us who attended fourth grade in California schools probably built a sugar cube model of one of the 21 Franciscan missions and learned something about the interactions between the padres and Indians. But beyond that, our understanding of past and present Indian people may be pretty sketchy. Moreover, because most Native groups in what is now California traditionally practiced a lifestyle based on the exploitation of wild plants and animals for food, medicine, and raw materials, the general public has a tendency to view Native Californians as historical characters in a play that permanently closed more than a century ago. Portrayed as simplistic hunter-gatherers who foraged for what they needed in the bountiful environment of California, this view has perpetuated a negative stereotype of California Indians as rather primitive, dirty, un-inventive, and lazy people (see Rawls 1984). As pointed out throughout this book, nothing could be farther from the truth. But the stereotype lives on.

The truth is, the people of California have always been a little bit different—moving to the beat of a different drum. California Indians, in particular, have always been the exception to the rule.² These Pacific Coast people do not fit any of the classic anthropological models devised to explain the evolutionary progression from simple, mobile hunter-gatherers to larger, sedentary, and more complex agrarian societies. In ethnographic summaries of historic hunter-gatherer peoples, they are either ignored or described as being anomalous compared to the more typical small

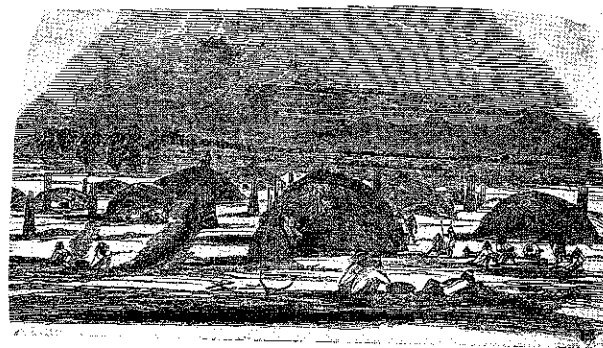


Figure 1. Indian village near Yuba City by unknown artist in mid-1800s.

nomadic bands of foragers found in other nontemperate regions of the world (e.g., Lee and Devore 1968). Although technically they are hunter-gatherers, many Native California communities exhibited traits more typically associated with well-developed agrarian societies. That is, they enjoyed sizeable population densities, had relatively sedentary villages, amassed significant quantities of stored food and goods, and maintained complex political and religious organizations (fig. 1). We now refer to these kinds of groups as “complex hunter-gatherers” to distinguish them in the anthropological literature from the better known mobile foragers or “generalized hunter-gatherers.”³

So what makes Native Californians so unique? For one thing, agriculture never played a significant role among California Indians. This is rather exceptional for complex hunter-gatherers worldwide, the majority of whom made the transition to an agrarian base and/or a herding economy in late prehistory. Consequently, the study of complex hunter-gatherers from other temperate regions of the world (eastern North America, Europe, Near East, Southeast Asia) is primarily archaeological in nature. Some scholars, in fact, suggest that the rise of agriculture may have taken place among complex hunter-gatherers in regions of relative abundance (Price and Gebauer 1995b:7–8; Smith 1995). Initially serving as dietary supplements among a broader range of foodstuffs, it is argued that these plant and/or animal domesticates eventually formed the nucleus of intensive food production practices. Most complex hunter-gatherers worldwide either

experimented with the domestication of indigenous plants and/or they eventually adopted foreign domesticates into their mix of hunter-gatherer strategies (see Habu 2004:117–118; Price and Gebauer 1995a).

Yet with the exception of the Southern Deserts Province, agricultural economies never took hold in Native California. Unlike Indian groups in eastern North America who grew “floodplain weeds,” such as sunflower, squash, marsh elder, and chenopod (Smith 1995), there is little evidence in California for the widespread domestication of native plants. It is significant that most of the complex hunter-gatherers in eastern North America eventually adopted varying combinations of corn, beans, and squash into their economies. Some hunter-gatherers in the adjacent Great Basin and American Southwest also incorporated these foreign crops into their menus (Keeley 1995:262–263; Wills 1995), making these foods known to people in California through trade and population movements. But with the exception of groups along the Colorado River and adjacent desert areas, Native Californians made little use of them. Consequently, the study of complex hunter-gatherers in California can be based not only on a lengthy archaeological record, but a rich corpus of ethnographic studies, Native oral traditions, and Native histories and observations spanning to the present.

Another thing that stands Native California apart is its population. Even without the infusion of agriculture, California’s hunter-gatherers boasted population densities among the highest in any American region north of Mexico at the time of initial European colonization. None of this makes sense according to theoretical models about the rise of agriculture that are predicated on either population pressure or socioeconomic competition, or that view agriculture as an outgrowth of experimentation by complex hunter-gatherers in areas of diverse and rich food supplies (Hayden 1995; Price and Gebauer 1995b:7). Little wonder that at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology when you tell other academic types that you work in California, they typically give you a quick look of pity before moving rapidly away to join colleagues working in less perplexing areas.

Tremendous linguistic and cultural diversity, which defies simplistic summaries or the pigeonholing of groups into the accustomed anthropological constructs, presents another unique



Map 1. Native Californian languages.

characteristic of Native California. One of the most linguistically diverse areas of world, it is estimated that somewhere between 80 to 100 Native languages were spoken about the time of European settlement—approximately 20 percent of all the languages articulated in North America (map 1). Most of the major stocks of North American languages are represented. As a consequence, anthropologists have defined and mapped a complex smorgasbord of ethnolinguistic groupings across the state. There is no surer way to initiate a mass exodus from a college course on California Indians than to require students to memorize ethnographic maps showing the location of these many varied groups.

What complicates the geopolitical landscape of Native California even more is that most of the day-to-day interactions of California Indians took place within polities (political communities) that were small in both spatial area and population size. Thus, what emerges in the study of California Indians is a crowded landscape packed with many modest-sized, semi-autonomous polities, each of which supported its own organization of elites, retainers, religious specialists, craft experts, and commoners. None of this fits neatly into the classic anthropological concepts of bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states that have been employed to define other Indian groups across the Americas. The difficulty of making sense of the iconoclastic California Indian societies in light of mainstream models and concepts has certainly contributed to the marginalization of their study within the broader fields of North American archaeology and anthropology.

Our purpose in writing this book is to build upon the original work of Heizer and Ellsasser (1980) to present a new synthesis of California Indians. The first part addresses why the Native people of the Golden State are different and why this should matter to us today. This front-end information is crucial for understanding the second part of the book—a guide to Indian uses of natural resources in the six provinces of California (Northwest Coast, Central Coast, South Coast, Northeast, Great Central Valley and Sierra Nevada, and Southern Deserts). In taking a fresh look at California Indians, our perspective is that rather than forcing them into models and concepts developed elsewhere, we should pay special attention to those cultural practices and organizational forms that make them different from other complex hunter-gatherer groups and agrarian societies. The seemingly

unique hunter-gatherer lifeways that developed in California may have much to contribute to our world today. This rethinking is based largely on a powerful resurgence now taking place among many Native Californian groups, in combination with recent insights provided by historical ecologists, anthropologists, ethnohistorians, and archaeologists. The renewed interest in California Indian histories, cultural practices, spiritual beliefs, languages, arts and crafts, and food ways is profoundly changing our basic understanding of the historical lifeways of our state's first people.

This ongoing research is providing new insights about long-term interactions between California Indians and the environment. Rather than simply exploiting the richness of California's many habitats, it is now generally recognized that indigenous populations helped create and shape much of the ecosystem diversity by means of various kinds of cultural activities and indigenous management practices that can still be seen today. By enhancing the productivity of grasslands, scrub stands, oak woodlands, conifer forests, and montane meadows, California Indians contributed to the construction of a rich network of habitats that provided a cornucopia of foods, medicines, and raw materials for clothing, baskets, houses, dance regalia, and other cultural objects. However, many questions remain about the degree to which Native peoples constructed anthropogenic landscapes in California's varied topographic and geographic settings, the kinds of techniques they employed to alter the environment, and the overall impacts they had on plant and animal populations.

Most recent perspectives on Californian Indian land-management techniques tend to equate them to agrarian methods employed elsewhere in North America, using concepts such as "protoagricultural," "quasi-agricultural," or "semiagricultural." For example, Kat Anderson (2005:253) has recently argued that protoagricultural management practices employed in Native California "were the same as those utilized in early agriculture to increase yields of the edible parts of domesticated plants." The basic idea is that California Indians practiced protoagricultural economies analogous, for most intents and purposes, to those employed by Indian farmers elsewhere in the Americas. The primary difference for Native Californians was that they were tending and cultivating wild (nondomesticated) crops.

What we propose in this book is an alternative perspective for

understanding the hunter-gatherer practices of California Indians and their interactions with the environment. What if California Indians practiced a very different kind of economy, one that was organized in a fundamentally different manner than those of advanced agrarian societies? And in providing a distinct alternative, what if Native California economies offered certain advantages over agrarian systems? In contrast to many highly developed agrarian societies whose members invest considerable labor per unit of area to grow a limited number of domesticates, we argue that Native Californians employed various strategies for enhancing resource diversity over the broader landscape. In this book we depict Native Californians as fire managers (or pyrodiversity collectors, to use the formal anthropological term), which distinguishes them from other agrarian-oriented people in Native North America. Employing this economy of diversification, we argue that Native peoples enjoyed considerable flexibility in choosing suites of plants and animals for exploitation across local regions, depending upon ever-changing environmental conditions and seasonal availability. Although fire management has certain limitations (as outlined later), overall it provides a more balanced menu with less risk and labor intensification than many contemporaneous Native agrarian programs that depended primarily on corn, beans, and squash. Furthermore, this kind of diversified economy has the capability of supporting relatively dense populations, complex political organizations, craft specialization, and sophisticated ceremonial systems.

In presenting a new synthesis on California Indians, we touch upon three major themes throughout the book that make the study of the cultural practices of California Indians and their interactions with the environment relevant to just about any person living in the Golden State today, especially skeptical students touring the amazing California Indian collections in the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

Theme 1: Indigenous Landscape Management

There is no question that California Indians modified the landscape to enhance the production of plant and animal resources. With the pioneering work of Lowell Bean, Henry Lewis, Thomas Blackburn, Florence Shipek, and others in the 1970s, the idea

that California Indians have been active agents in augmenting environmental productivity and diversity has been building steam. The most recent and fully articulated rendition of indigenous land management is outlined in Anderson's (2005) seminal book *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*, a comprehensive discussion of various methods of cultivation employed by California Indians, including pruning and coppicing selected plants, sowing seeds, weeding, prescribed burning, removal of debris from fields and tree groves, and so forth. She argues that it was through close encounters with the environment that Indian communities helped shape the composition and structure of local ecosystems, essentially creating and maintaining some of the state's signature plant communities such as coastal prairies, valley oak savannas, and montane meadows.

But questions are now being raised about the degree to which California Indians actually shaped the local environment. Vale (1998:231) cautions that the former myth of the pre-Columbian wilderness in North America is being replaced with a new exaggerated one: "the myth of the humanized landscape," in which Native people thoroughly modified extensive regions through fire management, cultivation, mound construction, building settlements, harvesting resources, and other such activities. Although he does not question some level of management of the land, Vale (2002) believes that only relatively small areas were typically impacted, and that natural, nonhuman ecological processes continued to shape large components of the environment. Similar points have been made about the vegetation of the Sierra Nevada and California chaparral habitats—that the basic composition and structure of these plant communities can be explained primarily by natural fire regimes, topography, precipitation, and so forth that had little to do with cultural practices of Native Californians (Bendix 2002; Parker 2002). These critiques point out the importance of critically evaluating the nature of the indigenous land-management practices that were employed across space and through time.

This debate is much more than just an academic exercise. In arguing that long-term human management produced, in large part, many of California's coveted vegetation types, Anderson and others maintain that without the infusion of Native knowledge and practices, we are at risk of losing some of our precious

landscape resources in the long term. They make a strong case for employing indigenous management techniques to maintain or restore coastal prairies, oak parklands, wetlands, and so on. These scholars raise an important point for Californians to consider today. Should we employ traditional landscape practices, such as intentional burning, to maintain many thousands of hectares of grasslands, woodlands, and forests in public lands across California? This question has significant implications for how we manage our public land reserves in California today.

Theme 2: Sustainable Economies

There is considerable debate about whether traditional Native California economies represented a sustainable program of harvesting wild crops and animal populations that involved minimal environmental degradation over the long run. This view, advocated by Anderson, Bev Ortiz, and other researchers working with contemporary Native people, stresses various conservation practices and cultural rules employed by Indian harvesters. They firmly believe that these cultural conventions, handed down over countless generations, allowed Indian people to live in harmony with the environment. But this position is challenged by some archaeologists whose studies of faunal remains from prehistoric sites indicate that, in some times and places, Native people overharvested animal populations. These scholars argue that the elimination of some of the larger species of marine mammals, terrestrial game, and fishes from local regions forced Native hunters to broaden their diet to include small game and fishes and other sources of food. The implications that overhunting had on local environments over many decades or even centuries is not clear, but it certainly challenges the idea that California Indians were in perfect harmony with the natural world.

Evaluating this complicated debate is important for Californians today. There is much interest about the creation of sustainable economies that can produce food and other resources in an environmentally friendly way. Some of this work on renewable resources is focusing on alternatives to industrial agribusiness farming by stressing smaller-scale organic farms that feature polycultural practices of growing integrated systems of overstory (agroforestry) and understory plant crops, intercropping, natural pest control systems, nontoxic fertilizers and herbicides, and

low-flow irrigation systems.⁴ But other alternatives to agriculture may also exist for creating sustainable economies, ones that may be of interest to future populations of Californians. Are there lessons to be learned from California Indian pyrodiversity practices in developing such small-scale, sustainable economies that we can incorporate into our lives today?

Theme 3: Harvesting California's Wild Resources

For thousands of years California Indians created regional economies for harvesting food, medicine, and raw materials from local plant communities and animal populations, and for producing objects from stone and clay. In the latter half of this book, we turn to the key resources that fueled the economic engines of Indian communities across different provinces of California. It is important to stress that cultural change and innovation has been an ongoing process in the state for many centuries, and that the tools, techniques, and practices underlining these economies continue to transform over time. Furthermore, Native harvesting economies are still employed across the state, with new innovations continually being introduced to collect and process resources.

Opportunities for many contemporary Indians to harvest foods, medicines, and basketry material are, however, becoming increasingly difficult with the continuing privatization of rural property and the implementation of various harvesting regulations on state and federal lands. This is another important issue for us to think about. Should Native Californians be allowed to continue traditional harvesting practices on public lands? Could these Indian harvesters play a more important role in the education of our state's children by providing a better understanding of the diversity and bounty of California's natural resources? And finally, should we be thinking more seriously about using the immense quantities of diverse wild foods and raw materials produced each year across California that remain largely untouched by humans? Given the high nutritional value of much of the wild foods, they could provide an important supplement to Indian communities and to some highly motivated and energetic non-Indian students and teachers.

So what about the relevancy question? We hope in writing

this book that we all can finally move beyond the question of relevancy and begin a broader dialogue within the state on some important and timely issues that concern California Indians and landscape stewardship practices, sustainable economies, renewable food sources, and the management of public lands. We can learn much about alternative ways of both protecting and using the rich natural resources of California by working with contemporary Native communities and by learning about past Indian cultural practices and lifeways through Native oral traditions, museum collections, archaeology, ethnography, and ethnohistory. In taking this perspective, we look forward in anticipation to the next time a student asks about the relevance of studying California Indian peoples and their material culture.

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