DEATH
OF THE
PAST

A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE OF
CALIFORNIA

BY THE
SOCIETY FOR CALIFORNIA ARCHAEOLOGY

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Dear Friends:

Among the many elements of California's environment that are under siege by the modern world is the state's prehistoric past. Not content to destroy Indian cultures as viable living units, we are now busily bulldozing out the tattered physical remains of their one-time existence. These remains— the villages, camps, and ceremonial sites of Indian societies through many millennia— are important not only to living Indians themselves, but to all of mankind. It is only from the careful study of such evidence that we as archaeologists can reconstruct something of the human experience in this corner of the world, and it is only from such reconstructions that we as general social scientists can begin to understand how Man has functioned through the ages as a social creature.

This brochure outlines the present crisis in California archaeology. It will be a brief crisis: once the ancient sites are gone, there is no bringing them back. No rebuilding, no replanting. Time for saving the resources of the past is running out, but positive action can still be taken. Some of these actions are outlined in this brochure, and we hope they will gain your support.

Sincerely yours,

Tom King
President
CALIFORNIA'S VANISHING PAST: 
URBAN SPRAWL AND THE DESTRUCTION OF PREHISTORY

Michael J. Moratto

During the past two centuries our ancestors systematically wrenched American Indians from their traditional lands; they and we have continued to abuse these same lands while insisting that the Indians had no use for them; we have subjugated the Indians' polities, eroded their pride, and polluted their native cultures; and now, as an ultimate insult, we are destroying the record of their past.

A profoundly valuable part of our heritage is being senselessly devastated, almost without resistance, by the same agencies responsible for the decimation of our wilderness lands. I refer to the destruction of prehistory, the vanishing archaeological record of the hundreds of Indian societies which knew this country as their home during the past 300 centuries.

Before they were "discovered" by Norsemen a thousand years ago, the Indians north of Mexico were unknown to written history. Today, therefore, a knowledge of their ancient past can be acquired only from the meticulous study of abandoned camps and villages, ceremonial places, rock art, and other material remains that have survived the ravages of time and the elements. These remains form the bricks of which the anthropologist reconstructs prehistory. This idea was expressed very well by the late Dr. Adan Treganza in a recent Sierra Club wilderness conference:

"The historian's approach is through analysis of pictorial art and written documentation; the anthropologist studies the remains of ancient village sites, sifting through dead, unrecorded knowledge retrieved from mounds and remnants. He transforms it into contemporary meaning, bringing the past into focus with the present, giving perspective to man, time, and the natural world."

Every time an archaeological site is destroyed, another document is effaced from the archives of prehistory. Were this a
rare occurrence, there would be little cause for concern. But it is a sober fact that archaeological resources are being obliterated today at an appalling rate. The situation in California may be taken as exemplary and typical.

No one knows how many prehistoric sites there are in California because only a fraction of the state has been surveyed by archaeologists. On the eve of explorer contact—say, A.D. 1750—there may have been as many as 75,000 archaeological remains of various kinds, but this number has plunged to a fraction of the original as a result of irresponsible land development. As early as the 1850's and 1860's countless important sites in the Sierra Nevada and Klamath Mountains were eradicated by hydraulic gold mining and river dredging. Low-level urban growth, road construction, and small scale reservoirs took their toll of prehistoric sites during the closing quarter of the nineteenth century and earliest decades of the twentieth; but the wholesale devastation of the environment and its archaeological secrets has been a hallmark primarily of the last thirty or forty years.

As an example, the anthropologist Nels C. Nelson discovered about 450 Indian mounds, most in excellent condition, when he surveyed the shore of San Francisco Bay in 1908. Today archaeologists would be hard pressed to locate tattered remnants of forty. Only a scant half-dozen of the original 450 sites have escaped damage, and all of these are jeopardized by the same urban sprawl which has already claimed their peers. Urbanism in other parts of the state has been even more lethal, especially in parts of the Los Angeles Basin where less than 5% of the archaeological record is left intact.

To exacerbate the problem, it has become commonplace in recent years for developers to exploit archaeological resources on their lands for publicity purposes. In 1967, one Los Angeles area contractor, who was aware several months in advance that his housing project would destroy important prehistoric villages, waited until his model homes were erected before he notified archaeologists. Less than a week later, having capitalized on the publici-
ty value of the archaeological investigations during the "grand opening" of his tract, the contractor promptly ejected the researchers and bulldozed the sites.

In 1969, another enterprising firm advertised its coastal Northern California developments in a full page, color newspaper spread which advocated "Indian relic collecting" by the "kiddies" while dad and mom were to be inspecting real estate. Or consider the Marin County entrepreneur who spent the early 1960's bulldozing local Indian mounds and selling dump truck loads of the richly organic midden to be used as top soil by unwary home owners. This proved to be an unsuccessful venture, for while the Indian mounds had supported luxurient growths of natural vegetation, the alkalinity of the midden soil was found to be herbicidal for most domesticated plants.

On the other hand, there have been occasional altruistic land developers who have scheduled construction in cooperation with archaeological salvage operations, sometimes even funding the research. In general, however, the onslaught of ticky-tacky and macadam have been escalated to the point where we are now losing an estimated 1000 prehistoric sites every year in California.

Although the most destructive, relentless urbanism is not the only felon in the destruction of California's prehistoric past. Dam, reservoir, and canal construction projects have eradicated thousands of archaeological features during the past decade alone. And many thousands more are endangered by planned construction. In the case of the proposed High Dos Rios Dam on the Eel River, it is estimated that nearly 800 prehistoric sites will be forever smothered beneath the deep blanket of mud and debris which will accumulate at the bottom of the reservoir.

To be sure, some State and Federal agencies provide for limited "salvage archaeology" on major construction projects. However, there has been no significant change in the level of governmental support over a number of years "in spite of the fact that administrative and field costs have escalated enormously and the demands for money have increased greatly in recent years be-
cause of stepped-up activities in road building, dam construction and general urban expansion\textsuperscript{11} (Dr. Emil Haury, Report to the American Anthropological Association, 1970).

In California, the problem is further complicated because there is no state agency singularly responsible for archaeology. The Division of Parks and Recreation, with ludicrously deficient funding, maintains one tiny California Indian museum and ministers to service and stabilization archaeology within state parks and certain other public lands. The Division of Highways, while openly cooperative, has no staff archaeologist and, because of budgetary restrictions, is able to support salvage excavations at only a fraction of the sites which are destroyed by highway construction. Lastly, about twenty-five or thirty colleges, universities, and avocational societies conduct creditable archaeological programs, but these are poorly funded and must rely almost completely on volunteers for the bulk of their work.

The California situation is critical; only a small portion of the state has been searched for prehistoric remains; urban sprawl, water resource development programs, highways and vandalism have obliterated thousands of important sites; existing governmental agencies are inadequately funded and improperly structured to accommodate archaeological programs on a significant scale; the California Indians have no voice in the management of their own prehistoric heritage; and, above all, at least 1000 prehistoric sites are being destroyed every year.

To fight this loss, professional and avocational archaeologists throughout the state founded the Society for California (SCA) in 1965. Presently the SCA is formulating a legislative proposal for the revision and restructuring of all archaeological programs within the state. In essence, the SCA bill would establish a single, unified state agency with management jurisdiction over all California archaeological resources— an agency not unlike those already existing for the management of state forests, parks, water and mineral resources, etc.

Tentatively called the CALIFORNIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, this
EXPOSED PORTION OF A 6,500 YEAR OLD LIVING FLOOR
Archaeologists reconstruct the lifeways of past cultures in Caliifornia by carefully exposing and recording the arrangements of such features as living and work areas, house floors, hearths, ovens, storage pits, etc. The study of the arrangements of artifacts, burials and food remains within these areas enables the archaeologist to reconstruct the activities of the peoples of the past and to tell the rich history of California's changing cultures. Sweetwater Mesa Site, Los Angeles County.

agency would be charged with the following responsibilities.

(1) The development of a unified archaeological research and sites management program in accordance with the interests and objectives of California Indians and archaeologists.

(2) The establishment of a coordinated salvage archaeology program, integrating professional and avocational archaeological agencies, to meet the contingencies of accelerated site destruct-
ion in California.

(3) The establishment of ten to fifteen regional interpretive centers where archaeological findings would be made available to the general public.

(4) The founding of archival and publication series for the preservation and dissemination of information about California's pre-contact heritage.

In addition, the SCA legislative proposal would close gaps in existing laws governing site destruction and provide stiff penalties (up to $1000 in fines and up to six months imprisonment) for the wanton effacement of prehistoric features or sites. Possession or sale of prehistoric items acquired in violation of the law would also constitute a misdemeanor under the proposed law.

California congressmen will be evaluating this SCA proposal during the next legislative session. While it is not likely that the bill will meet serious resistance, it is also unlikely to become law unless popular support can be generated. It is hoped that responsible Californians will reflect upon the dwindling record of prehistory and take a few moments to relate their views to their Sacramento representatives. A positive statement of support for the proposed legislation will be a material contribution to the preservation of California's prehistoric heritage.

CASE HISTORIES

Compiled by the SCA GENERAL PLAN and PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEES

The case histories that follow have been gleaned from many parts of the state and portray the destruction and, in some cases, preservation or salvage of many kinds of ancient sites. They are unusual only in the fact that archaeologists or other responsible citizens became aware of them and were in most cases involved; in a vast majority of cases prehistoric sites are totally destroyed.
without ever coming to the attention of archaeologists, without any protest advanced on their behalf, without any attempt to preserve or study them.

Each of the accounts has been drawn from the records of the institution involved in the discovery of the destruction; the source of the report is given for each.

ALAMEDA COUNTY- The Ohlone Cemetery

The Ohlone Indians of southern San Francisco Bay, who even lost their name during the Spanish period and are usually called "Costanoans", were buried during Mission times on a 2.5 acre plot in the present town of Fremont. It is estimated that some 4000 individuals lie buried in this cemetery. In 1964 plans were made for the construction of a county road through the site. Destruction of the cemetery was justified by the builders by the fact that the site was "abandoned" and that no crosses marked the graves. Preparations for roadbuilding were well under way when the American Indian Historical Society learned of the situation and launched a campaign to save the site. After much bickering, and with the assistance of the Catholic Church, which owned the site, the Historical Society acquired the property, stopped the roadbuilding, and is now protecting the cemetery which one day will be a park-like landmark. -American Indian Historical Society files-

ALAMEDA COUNTY- The Stivers Lagoon Site

Concerned citizens of the City of Fremont recognized that the site of a proposed shopping center and residential complex had produced numerous Indian artifacts and some burials during plowing and preliminary roadlaying. They directed archaeologists from San Francisco State College to the site. Initial excavations were undertaken by a field archaeology class from San Francisco State, but it was clear that volunteer workers could not obtain a reasonable sample of the extensive site before it was destroyed. Persuasion by the American Indian Historical Society resulted in a small grant from the developer that permitted the maintenance
of a crew in the field for a summer; the resulting larger sample revealed a type of site and a mode of burial never before encountered in the San Francisco Bay Region. Had it not been for interested citizens, who accidentally contacted a competent archaeological institution, the site would never have been known. Had it not been for an aroused and responsible Indian community, no adequate excavation would ever have been accomplished, and the lessons to be learned from the site would have been forever lost.

-Los Angeles County-

The Zuma Creek Site

The Zuma Creek site, a 2-5000 year old site on the Malibu coast, lay in the path of residential construction, but construction plans called for it to be buried under fill, not destroyed. The UCLA Archaeological Survey and other local archaeological groups, therefore, concentrated on other sites in more apparent danger. Then unauthorized bulldozing opened up the site and exposed human burials; soon swarms of souvenir hunters and vandals appeared and began to dig. Hard-pressed by other urgent salvage programs, professional archaeologists could do nothing to remove the vandals or excavate the site. Responsible local citizens organized teams, were briefed by professionals and members of trained amateur groups, and took the situation in hand. A good deal of information was actually gathered before—contrary to original expectations—the site was completely leveled by construction, but much more was lost. At times the site looked like a battlefield, pocked with ragged holes and strewn with fragmented human bone.

-UCLA Archaeological Survey-

The Paradise Cove site, a huge coastal village site about 2000 years old, was regarded by many specialists in coastal Southern California archaeology as a key site for understanding culture change in the Los Angeles area. A very minor excavation by a UCLA field class in the mid-60's had suggested that the site was a rich
complex treasure house of information on a little-known time period in local prehistory, but more pressing emergency situations at other sites resulted in no major investigation being launched at the site. In 1969, apparently assuming that the small sample excavation had exhausted archaeological interest in the site, the

VANDALS AND RELIC-SEEKERS DESTROYING THE ZUMA CREEK SITE
property owner destroyed the village to construct trailer park facilities. Local residents reported dozens of burials destroyed and hundreds of artifacts ripped out of the soil. By the time archaeologists arrived at the scene there was nothing worth doing, and the property owner was extremely hostile to any activities he thought might hold up his construction.

-UCLA Archaeological Survey Files-

MERCED COUNTY- The Dos Palos Site

Late one afternoon in 1968, word reached the Archaeological Survey at San Francisco State College that a potentially important site in the city of Dos Palos was to be destroyed the next morning by city street construction. Early the next morning a small team drove the 75 miles to Dos Palos, but could conduct no excavation because the site was covered by asphalt from a pre-existing street. The archaeologists were reduced to following the roadgrading equipment with tape recorders, trying to record the location of artifacts and features as they turned up. This procedure resulted in recovery of a surprising amount of information, but the bulk of the data that could have been recovered from the site was lost.

-San Francisco State College Files-

SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY- The French Camp Slough Site

The French Camp Slough Site was a complex of cemeteries dating from the little-known "Early Horizon", of about 4000 years ago. It was discovered by a contractor digging a borrow pit for the construction of Interstate 5 Freeway. Archaeologists from Sacramento State College were called in after skeletons began to roll up in front of the bulldozer blades, but vandals had arrived beforehand and destroyed a large number of burials in addition to those crushed by the heavy equipment. No funds were available to support an excavation, but the contractor did all he could within the limits of his contract responsibilities to protect the site and facilitate a salvage project. A volunteer crew from Sacramento State College, U.C. Davis, and other schools worked virtual-
DOS PALOS - A TYPICAL SALVAGE PROCEDURE

The archaeologists are frantically trying to salvage archaeological data and materials - the heavy equipment breathing down the necks of the investigators - the highway foremen watching with interest, a little concerned with the situation.
ly night and day to record and disinter over 100 burials— an estimated 5 percent of the total. The site was then totally destroyed.

MARIN COUNTY— Novato and San Antonio Creek

Mrn-192 was a huge shellmound near Olive Avenue in the City of Novato. It has now been almost entirely destroyed for fill purposes. Before its destruction in 1966 one small portion of the site was excavated by professional archaeologists with funds provided by the state because this minor part of the site lay within a highway right-of-way. The bulk of the site could not be excavated professionally, although it was to be destroyed for non-highway purposes. A volunteer crew drawn from Novato High School and the local community, plus college students from the Bay Area, recovered a small sample from this 12-foot deep midden before it was destroyed. While the local archaeological force was so occupied, another important site, the late-prehistoric village Mrn-196 near the mouth of San Antonio Creek, was entirely destroyed by a San Rafael earth-fill dealer whose avowed purpose was to remove all the ancient sites along San Antonio Creek for sale as garden topsoil. This despoliation was brought to the attention of the Marin County Board of Supervisors by concerned archaeologists and citizens, and Ordinance 1589 was passed to prevent destruction of ancient sites without prior archaeological investigation. Marin County is now the only county in the state with such an ordinance.

MARIN COUNTY— The Tiburon Site

One of the first sites to be excavated under Ordinance 1589 was Mrn-27, near Tiburon. Ordinance 1589 makes no provision for financial support of archaeological salvage, so a small crew of students and volunteers began a minor sample excavation—all that could be afforded under the circumstances. An elaborate cemetery, virtually undisturbed and 2000 years old, was discovered. The County and the developer were able to provide enough money to sup-
port two students for a month as full-time coordinators and guards, and a large crew was organized including housewives, school children, students from 6 Bay Area and Sacramento Valley colleges, and dedicated citizens from as far away as Walnut Creek and Sacramento. Working 12-hour days, after school, at lunch time, surrounded by heavy equipment and plagued by vandals, the archaeological group excavated almost the entire cemetery before they had to make way for the bulldozers. Working under such pressure, however, meant that much information was ignored and much more was lost due to overhasty excavation and recording.

-Northwestern California Archaeological Society Files-

FRESNO COUNTY- Gewatchiu

The prehistoric and historic Yokuts Indian village Gewatchiu was a huge earth mound rising out of the agricultural lands along the San Joaquin River until 1963, when its owner decided to push it into an adjacent slough to level the land. The site was entirely destroyed without investigation, except for the work of two avocational archaeologists. Mr. Marvin MacAlexander of Madera excavated 31 burials during the destruction of the site, and subsequently worked with a professional archaeologist to report on his findings. Though Mr. MacAlexander's data are very incomplete, he did try to record the locations of the burials, their general descriptions, and the artifacts associated with each. Mr. Phillip Roehr also excavated a number of burials and later described them in print, but he has not indicated whether he recorded locations or other crucial data. Aside from these two extremely incomplete volunteer efforts, no archaeological salvage was possible, and the site, with hundreds of houses, artifacts, burials, and the vital data on the relationships among features that permit archaeological interpretation, was lost to vandalism and land-leveling.

-San Francisco State College Files-

LASSEN COUNTY- The Rodriguez Site

Though this site had been well known to amateur collectors in
the area for many years, it was not until the late fall of 1965 that it attracted a substantial amount of attention. At that time work on a new section of county road, involving a cut through the site, was begun. As bulldozers sliced through the deposit, several house floors, caches, and burials were uncovered and scattered about. Most of this material was either destroyed or removed for fill, and the artifacts were carried off by local residents. This process of destruction was well under way before professional archaeologists were informed of the situation. By the time archaeologists from the Nevada State Museum arrived, the cut had been nearly completed, and there was little to do beyond recording general data, taking carbon samples, and removing the 17 burials then exposed.

-U.C. Berkeley Archaeological Research Facility Files-

CONTRA COSTA COUNTY - The Almeida Site

During the summer of 1969, when most archaeologists were in the field working on research and salvage projects, a construction project in San Pablo began turning up burials and artifacts. The arch-
aeological site was a huge shellmound representing at least 2000 years of human habitation. Student volunteers from San Francisco State College and Contra Costa College raced to the scene and salvaged what they could, over the sometimes heavy opposition of the construction contractor. Builders and archaeologists nearly came to blows in the days that followed, and much publicity unfavorable to the contractor was generated. Letters flowed in from all over the Bay Area calling the destruction "disgraceful" and "a forfeiture of the public interest for selfish motives." The site, however, was destroyed. —San Francisco State College Files-

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE—SURVEY OF A "TYPICAL" AREA

The case histories just presented are not isolated instances. The following compilation is from the files of Fresno State College and reflects the level of destruction of archaeological sites in the region immediately accessible to archaeologists from the college. Consider that this is an essentially non-urban area, largely under Federal control. In urbanizing areas it appears to seldom even be possible to keep track of the daily destruction.

SITES CURRENTLY KNOWN TO BE DESTROYED OR DAMAGED IN THE FRESNO-SIERRA AREA

FSC-5 (Mad-211): Madera Co., Millerton Lake State Park. The site has been cut by a permanent fire-break which has disturbed one depression and crossed the midden. The break could have been relocated to avoid the site.

FSC-8 (Mad-208,209): Madera Co., between Oakhurst and Coarse Gold. East margin of site has been cut by State Highway 41.

FSC-19 (Fre-441): Fresno Co., Kings River below Pine Flat Dam. Site has been disturbed by Pine Flat Road (county). Possible loss of structures and certain disturbance of midden.

FSC-23 (Fre-435, 436, 437, 438): Fresno Co., Rodgers Ridge, Kings River. The site is in Sierra National Forest and
has been slightly disturbed by the Bear Wallow Trail. The U.S. Forest Service is trying to protect the site from further disturbance.

FSC-27 (Mad-215): Madera Co., Coarse Gold School grounds. The site has been extensively disturbed by the construction of the school and also cut by County Road 415. Fence posts have been set in mortar holes.

FSC-31 (Mad-217): Madera Co., Nelder Creek, Sierra National Forest. The site has been disturbed by Nelder Grove campground and associated road construction.

FSC-32 (Mad-218): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest. This site is located on Nelder Creek near the Sierra Beauty Sequoia. The site has been extensively disturbed by road construction and a U.S.F.S. toilet.

FSC-34 (Mad-220): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest, Poison Meadow Campground. The site has been extensively disturbed by the campground and the Bass Lake-Beasore road.

FSC-37 (Mad-231): Madera Co., Oakhurst. The site has been partially destroyed by the construction of the Oakhurst courthouse and the U.S. Forest Service Office.

FSC-38 (Mad-38): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest, Bass Lake. Site has been disturbed by road construction, sanitary facilities and other "recreational" activity. The road and toilets are within U.S. Forest Service jurisdiction.

FSC-40 (Mad-224): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest, Bass Lake. Site has been disturbed by the Forks campground and county road construction.

FSC-44 (Mad-223): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest, Westfall Fire Station. The site has been badly damaged by the construction of the fire station, U.S. Forest Service residences, a parking lot and State Highway 41.

FSC-45 (Mad-228): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest. Site is located just north of the Kelty Meadow campground turnoff of the Fresno Dome road. The site has been cut by the road and has been badly vandalized.

FSC-47 (Fre-202): Fresno Co., Huntington Lake area. Site is located south of Huntington Lake. It has been cut by Highway 168 and will probably be further damaged when this segment of the route is improved.

FSC-51 (No UC number): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest,
Placer Guard Station. The site is located between the station and the Placer campground. It has been disturbed by improvement of the campground as well as road construction.

(No UC number): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest, Placer Guard Station. The site has been cut by the paved road leading into the station as well as several other now abandoned dirt roads. The site is also being vandalized.

(No UC number): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest, Sweetwater campground. The campground has been built over the site bisecting the midden.

(No UC number): Madera Co., Sierra National Forest, Rock Creek. Site has been badly damaged by casual road and vandalism.

(No UC number): Kern Co., Kern National Wildlife Refuge. Site has been badly hurt by land leveling operations. Two prone extended burials were salvaged in Sept., 1970, but the occupation area is nearly completely gone.

(Tul-335): Tulare Co., Mineral King Game Refuge, Sequoia National Forest. The site is located just east of the Mineral King Guard Station. It has been disturbed by county highway construction and improvement of a picnic area.

Tulare Co., Mineral King Game Refuge, Sequoia National Forest. The site is located on Monarch Creek just downstream from where the road crosses the creek. The site had probably been previously disturbed by construction from the mining period in the area and now has an unsurfaced parking lot overlapping its northern edge.

Tulare Co., Mineral King Game Refuge, Sequoia National Forest. This site is located about 0.1 miles east of the Mineral King Guard Station. It has been partially disturbed by the county road.

Tulare Co., Atwell Mill Ranger Station, Sequoia National Park. Corrals and a barn were built on the southern portion of the site by CCC workers. The county road crosses the site and the rangers residence and driveway probably overlap the northern portion of the site.
THE STATEWIDE PICTURE

In 1969 an extensive questionnaire was distributed throughout the California archaeological community by the SCA's General Plan Committee; the resulting data were summarized in outline form* and present a frightening picture of destruction and irreparable loss in virtually all parts of the state. The summary conclusions of the survey were as follows:

1. Archaeological sites are being destroyed all over the state. Archaeologists cannot keep up.

2. Interest in archaeology is burgeoning within institutions and among the general public. As a result many field programs are being instituted with very little funding or qualified personnel.

3. Planning and coordination of all programs, in all areas, is very limited.

4. No part of the state has been adequately surveyed for archaeological resources.

THE NEED FOR COORDINATION- A CASE STUDY

The destruction of archaeological resources is only the most tangible and obvious element of the archaeological crisis in California today. Equally serious is the fact that even when a site is "salvaged", the information recovered often is not useful to science or to the general public. This is because archaeology deals with very complex phenomena, and if thought is not given, in detail, to research planning in advance it is quite likely that the really important information will be ignored or lost during the excavation. Further, it is vitally necessary that

* FIRST DRAFT OUTLINE FOR AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ELEMENT FOR THE CALIFORNIA STATE GENERAL PLAN, AVAILABLE FROM THE ARCHIVES OF CALIFORNIA ARCHAEOLOGY, P.O. BOX 176, DALY CITY, CA. 94016, $1.25.
archaeologists constantly communicate, compare notes, and cooperate; racing from salvage job to salvage job, or to teaching, studying, or holding down a regular job, the archaeologist in California is seldom able to work with his colleagues to synthesize, predict, or plan. This not only results in poor scientific data, but provides almost no feedback to the public whose taxes support what funded salvage there is. In 1967 this situation was be-moaned by a non-archaeologist, a regional planner who wished to include archaeological resources in his planning program for a river valley in south-central California. His complaint, which follows, presents the situation in microcosm.

KAVEAH RIVER ARCHAEOLOGY: THOUGHTS TOWARD A PUBLIC POLICY

Eric Barnes

A solution is needed to the problems created by a large idle inventory of archaeological resources in a small river basin in a big California county that is growing rapidly. There is an issue between DESTRUCTION and DEVELOPMENT as policy alternatives. I here sketch out a reasonable development solution in the belief that there is still time (or Karl Mannheim’s "radius of foresight") within which agency cooperation can contravene chaos.

Within Tulare County is a small river that begins high in the Sierra snow fields and flows down from the pines through the oak-studded golden foothills to the broad cultivated Central Valley. The combination of the water supplied by the Kawea River and a Mediterranean climate has meant long growing seasons for plants, and prosperity for the people. To the ancient hunter-gatherer Indians, the temperate Kaweah River basin was a true paradise. Until the American invasion mandated their removal to reservations a century ago, these peaceful people lived off the abundant land, harvesting bumper crops of acorns; schools of fish, flocks of pigeons, herds of deer, and fields of wildflower bulbs. These resourceful Indians were harmoniously and optimally adapted to a
bounteous natural environment and they celebrated their existence with lavish polychrome paintings on prominent rocks. Many spectacular examples of these abstract works of art may be seen today at scattered locations. They are probably the earliest, and certainly among the finest, expressions of man's recognition of California's promise. These distinctive paintings, along with other remains of these early people's activities, should be preserved for future generations to appreciate. But their continued existence is presently threatened. Legislative provisions and conscious programs for the development and enhancement of these remains are in the public interest.

What is the root of the problem? Basically, it is regional growth. The 1960 population of Tulare County of 168,000 is expected to double by 1980. The impact of this growth upon land in the Kaweah River basin will be sizeable. There will be new housing projects and sub-divisions, new irrigation canals and reservoirs, expanded croplands, new industrial sites; and additional roads. The physical requirements of growth in the basin region will require that a total of over 200 square miles of land be converted to combined agricultural, industrial, and urban uses by 1980.

Here is the conflict: the areas of most intensive projected land use are the very areas where the basin's prehistoric remains occur with the highest density. The majority of important villages and painting sites are situated along the same stream margins planned for new development. A prime example is the year-round recreational center to be undertaken by Disney Enterprises at mile-high Mineral King. This large project will require that a four-lane access freeway be engineered through that portion of the river basin which is richest in archaeological resources. The shape of the problem is clear: future growth which fails to take these irreplaceable remains into account will impair or destroy them. The coming conflict can be seen and can be mitigated through diagnosis and treatment now before it becomes too late.

As this development is a regional phenomenon, so the problems
it creates are of regional magnitude, and any treatment must be regional in scope. But no other principle could be in more radical contrast to the actual practice of agencies and archaeologists who have worked in the Kaweah region.

Typically, the agency and the archaeologist have been interested in only one site at a time. The scientist has been contracted by the agency on a fee-for-service basis to do limited pieces of work, now in Sequoia National Park for the Park Service, later for the Army Engineers at Lake Kaweah, at separated locations, at different times. The resulting research data has then been entombed in files of anthropology departments in the University of California system, or lost somewhere in the vaults of the Smithsonian Institution. It is with great difficulty that anyone not directly involved can learn who has done what, when, where, and how. Among the authors of the thirteen reports resulting from this piece-meal "program" since 1935, only one has made any extensive comparisons with the work or findings of another; the result has been a scholarly chaos.

Archaeological research in the Kaweah River basin is in a deplorable state, but it would be unfair to place the blame for this upon the scientists. Narrowness is caused by the conditions of their agency contracts. They were continuously being placed in the passive position of reacting to particular crises as determined by the agencies. Even when an archaeologist may have entertained regional research designs, his ideals were bound to be compromised by the arbitrary boundaries of his agency's jurisdiction, boundaries which often cut single sites in half, to say nothing of the crazy-quilt they make of natural integral regions. Had the archaeologists and representatives of the several agencies been put in conference, it is possible that a new structure for meeting regional needs would have emerged; but alas, this has never been done.

If conditions in the Kaweah River region were to remain static indefinitely archaeological laissez-faire could continue in its haphazard manner undisturbed, and perhaps eventually a capa-
A generalist might have been able to synthesize the bits and pieces into something intelligible. But as has been pointed out, the region is entering a period of fast-accelerating general economic growth. The old piece-meal archaeological approach is no longer a viable alternative because it cannot possibly cope with the new circumstances of regional challenge.

What the Kaweah River region needs is a long-range integrated archaeological program. This could be administered as an autonomous regional authority. As an independent government corporation, with special legislative enablements, it would have the virtues of initiative and flexibility and the power to act in a concerted fashion. It would execute the functions of planning, coordination, operations, and work review. Personnel and budget would be internal matters. The Authority might be organized on the model of an intimate participatory democracy. It would be charged by Congress with responsibilities for determining regional archaeological objectives, defining immediate needs and designing a course of action with a corresponding scheduling of effort.

The general objectives of a Kaweah River Archaeological Authority would be of two kinds. The professional objectives would include: the systemative exploration of the region for prehistoric remains with time preferences given to survey those areas in greatest potential danger from anticipated development; the maintenance of a central master file of regional archaeological resources; evaluation of this inventory for short- and long-range needs; programming of problem-oriented and emergency field work; and continuous publication of scientific results. The public objectives of the Authority would include: community involvement programs, public education programs, local employment offerings; advising to governmental agencies, the County and the cities of the river region with respect to public conservation and recreation goals. Thus, for instance, the Authority would work in close liaison with the State Highway Commission and various parks.
agencies in identifying major sites such as rock paintings for special treatment within existing or new parks. Other public opportunities for service to the region could be exploited as the Authority matured and the people of the region began to look to it for help.

The creation of a regional archaeological authority in the Kaweah River Basin would be a positive development alternative to the creeping destructiveness of regional growth. If such an experimental authority were successful in responding to the challenges of growth in the Kaweah River Basin, the regional concept of planned archaeological treatment might spread to other areas of the state and nation which already do, or shortly will, face similar problems and save a valuable portion of our common heritage.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE: A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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(Reprinted with the permission of the author from PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY, Arkansas Archaeological Survey Publications in Archaeology, Popular Series No. 2, 1970. Dr. McGimsey is the Director of the Arkansas Archaeological Survey and the University of Arkansas Museum, and is a major figure in current efforts to increase Federal support for salvage archaeology.)

The Need for a Program

Why should a state support archaeological research with its public funds? What should a state-supported program of archaeological research and development be designed to provide?

These two questions are crucial, but there is an even more basic question which underlies them: Why be concerned at all with the past? A brief answer can be derived from several areas. In one area there is the scientist's need for information about Man's past experience, the "laboratory" of human behavior. Only with this knowledge does he have a base against which he can compare Man's present actions, thus providing the information neces-
sary to enable some measure of prediction concerning how men will,
act and react in the future under given conditions. Our knowledge
of the physical world has increased many fold during the past sev-
eral generations, but our understanding of our fellow man has not
kept pace. This imbalance has reached a critical stage. It is
true that the immediate results of archaeological research can
rarely be applied directly to such problems as international re-
lations or population control, but the results do contribute ex-
tensively to our knowledge of man's use of and adaptation to his
environment and the development of cultures, and to the gradual
build-up of basic data which is essential if any measure of real
understanding of ourselves and our fellow man is ever to be
achieved. To a certain degree it is a part of the so-called
"pure" science upon which "applied" science must always depend.
The need for comprehending what makes human beings the way they
are is so great that we can ill afford not to exploit every pos-
sible source of that information. Archaeological research pro-
vides a rich body of just such data.

There also seems to be a deep-seated human "need to know"
about the past. The day-to-day proof of this need is provided by
the tremendous popular appeal of problems such as determining De
Soto's route through the Southeast, publications such as American
Heritage, and preserved or reconstructed sites such as Mesa Verde
National Park or Colonial Williamsburg. The "whys" of this "need
to know" about our past need not concern us here. It is evident,
however, that a state which has lost its past is as poor as an
individual who has lost his memory.

On a completely practical level, archaeological sites and
materials represent a part of a state's non-renewable resources.
Archaeological research and development can relate directly to
problems of local and state economic development, for the practi-
cal value of developing a particular archaeological site as a
public attraction can be readily demonstrated. But more is re-
quired than the development of one or two sites as tourist at-
tractions. Adequate conservation requires foresight to conserve
as many of these resources as possible, for as each site is destroyed a fragment of a state's history is irrevocably lost. Without preservation, future investigation is impossible and we will have deprived ourselves and our children of an opportunity to participate in and learn from the past. The past belongs to the future, but only the present can preserve it.

**Why State Supported**

As mentioned, archaeological sites are one of the state's non-renewable resources, and since proper conservation of resources is a public concern, this conservation is the responsibility of the state. It is, of course, true that many of a state's archaeological sites, like much of its wildlife, are on private land, but private individuals can act to preserve these resources most effectively through their state government and with active state leadership. In fact, without state leadership it is doubtful that any effective program of conservation will develop.

The results of archaeological research are potentially of interest and concern to all citizens of the state, directly or indirectly. It is, therefore, both proper and logical that public funds be used to conserve and develop these resources. Private individuals and institutions should be encouraged, of course, to participate actively in the financing of archaeological research and development, but the average citizen can best provide his measure of support via the state government by means of which all participate. This also serves to reduce the cost to the individual to a reasonable and equitable amount while yet providing for an adequate program.

A properly established state program assures the state of an adequate level of scientific research—one that will result in maximum benefit at minimum cost to all its citizens. Only by means of a well-staffed state program is the public provided with a means for insuring proper protection and development.

Failure to develop a state's archaeological resources will mean failure to develop one of the state's principal "natural"
attractions. The cultural appetite of the tourist, from both in-state and out-of-state, is now being stimulated more than ever before, and it can be demonstrated that his interests center strongly on things of tradition and antiquity. For example, a recent study showed that Chicago's museums are the city's greatest tourist attraction, drawing more than twice as many people as the next most popular attraction—sporting events. The public is interested in archaeology, and preservation of the past pays—in cold, hard cash.

A developed state program of archaeological research encourages and develops additional financial support from both Federal agencies and private sources. Without a state program full participation in Federal programs is impossible, and grants of funds from Federal and private sources are most likely to be made to those programs which can demonstrate the presence of a stable, qualified staff and a history of successful completion of projects. State funds, properly invested, can prime the pump and result in support and development which will greatly supplement the state's initial investment.

In sum, the state which does not actively support an adequate program of archaeological research also fails to avail itself of a means of obtaining outside resources for the program itself and, in even larger measure, loses a rich source of direct and indirect income for its citizens which can develop because of the program's results. Of greatest importance, it deprives its present and future citizens of knowledge and enjoyment which are rightfully theirs, and of the enriched cultural atmosphere upon which history has shown time and again the quality of a civilization depends.

IS THERE A FUTURE FOR CALIFORNIA'S PAST?

What, then, can be done? How can we save remain's of California's history and prehistory for the enlightenment of future generations? Can we?
The SCA General Plan Committee, in its 1970 outline, proposed a program designed to attain three general goals:

A. Preservation and wise use of archaeological resources, including protection of individual sites, protection of whole site-groups and their environment as part of open-space and park facilities, and development of specific sites and areas for the interest of the people of California.

B. Improved archaeological salvage, covering all possible kinds of construction programs, allowing time wherever possible for proper advance planning, providing for the integration of salvage excavations into large-scale research aimed at important anthropological problems.

C. Coordination of interests, to allow the development of larger-scale programs in archaeology, sharing of resources, ensuring maximum return for use of archaeological resources, by scientists, educators, Indians themselves, avocational archaeologists, and the general public.

The legislation mentioned by Michael Moratto in the first part of this report is a crucial element in attaining these goals. If such legislation is written and passed, we will have taken a long step toward saving our past and learning from it. California is far behind in its concern for the past. The State of Arkansas provides over $250,000 yearly for the support of the Arkansas Archaeological Survey, which works effectively toward the goals outlined above. Can the richest state in the Union be so far behind?