

A LOOK BACK: 25 YEARS OF CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT ON SIX RIVERS NATIONAL FOREST

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ABSTRACT

In 1973 Six Rivers hired its first professional archaeologist. In the early days, the vast majority of work was surveying proposed timber harvest units and roads in order to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Today, public archaeology, interpretation, enhancement and research are increasingly important elements of what has become known in the Forest Service as Heritage Resources Management. The purpose of this paper is to trace the evolution of the cultural, historical, and archaeological programs on the Forest, to highlight some of the projects that have contributed to our understanding of the past, and to speculate a little bit on just where we are headed in the future.

INTRODUCTION

In August of 1977 I was one of five archaeologists hired into temporary positions by Six Rivers National Forest to survey areas that were to be affected by timber harvesting projects. The reason that we were hired at this time was due to increasing pressure on the Forest Service to comply with the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and a number of other environmental laws passed during the 1960s and early 1970s.

At that time, the discipline of archaeology and the archaeologists who were beginning to work for the agency were viewed with some suspicion and mistrust by many of the career employees, especially those working in the timber and engineering departments. The "real" job of a National Forest, as most employees saw it, was to produce timber and nearly everyone who worked on the Forest at that time was in some way involved in the timber harvest program.

Gary Maniery (now with PAR) and I were sent out to the Orleans Ranger District in northeastern Humboldt County. The other three archaeologists were sent to work on the Mad River Ranger District. (See Appendix I for a list of individuals who have worked in the cultural resources

program since its inception.) We were not exactly welcomed to the District. At that time timber was king and what everyone in the timber shop wanted to know when we first arrived was, "are you guys going to screw up our timber sales?" One forester offered us his idea of resource management, be it biological or cultural. He told us if he saw a rare plant within the boundaries of a timber unit or road he simply stomped it into the ground and if he saw an artifact he collected it or buried it so it would not mess up his timber sale. The message was clear, we were there for one reason: to keep archaeology from becoming a "problem" that might affect timber production. In those cases in which we actually located a historic or prehistoric site we simply recorded it, flagged it so it could be avoided, and moved on.

Nearly three years later when I was hired in the summer of 1980 by the Forest Service as a full-time archaeologist (after a summer on the Oak Knoll Ranger District of the Klamath National Forest in 1979 and five weeks on the Covelo Ranger District of the Mendocino National Forest in 1980) and returned to the Six Rivers National Forest, the more overt hostile attitude towards archaeology was already beginning to diminish. Still, during much of the 1980s the primary mission of those of us working in cultural resources was

simply to insure that archaeology did not become a problem, i.e. get in the way of the timber program or other projects. For the most part, we had little time and no direction or encouragement from management to do anything else.

Much has changed since I began my career with the Forest Service over two decades ago. Today, although budgets are in decline, the cultural resources program (now known as the Heritage Program) at Six Rivers is active, diverse, and strongly supported by managers and those in leadership positions. This symposium provides me the opportunity to trace development and evolution of the program at Six Rivers National Forest over the last quarter-century. Although I have interviewed a number of former Six Rivers employees for background information, I wish to make it clear that this paper presents my interpretation of the our program's history and any errors or omissions are my responsibility.

IN THE BEGINNING: 1973-1979

Looking back, it would be inspiring to write that the Forest Service cultural resources program came about because of recognition by the agency of the inherent value of managing and protecting the cultural resources found on National Forest lands. Unfortunately, however, that is not the case. The only reason that a cultural resources management program was finally implemented by the Forest Service was because of passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and other environmental laws such as the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Although the NHPA had been passed in 1966, it took several years for the intent of the law to have an effect on how the Forest Service conducted business. The new regulations (36 CFR 800) directed federal agencies to inventory and evaluate the significance of cultural resource properties that might be affected by undertakings. For the Forest Service this direction meant that National Forests must conduct surveys for cultural resources in areas that were to experience ground disturbing activities (affecting primarily the timber harvesting and road building programs) and was received with little enthusiasm.

The Forest Service Establishes an Archaeology Program

The first person to be hired as an archaeologist by the Forest Service was Carl Johnson in 1967. He was hired by the Regional Office in Region Three (Arizona and New Mexico) transferring into the position from the BLM. Interestingly, Johnson was not even an archaeologist; his training was in zoology. He had, however, worked as an archaeologist/interpreter for the National Park Service before transferring to the BLM. Prior to this time, the only position in archaeology in the entire Forest Service was held by the Recreation Staff Officer on the Gila National Forest in New Mexico (location of the Gila cliff dwellings). Although the record is unclear, it appears that up to this time most archaeological work (what little work there was) within the Forest Service was contracted out.

The first professional archaeologists were hired by the Forest Service in 1970. Don Miller was hired as the first Regional Archaeologist by the Regional Office of the Pacific Southwest Region in April with a reporting date of August. [For management purposes, National Forests are divided into a number of regions based on geography. Region Five, the Pacific Southwest Region, includes all of California and Hawaii; the Regional Office (RO) is located in San Francisco.] Evan DeBloois was hired in May of the same year as the first Regional Archaeologist for Region 4 (Intermountain Region). In addition, the Monticello District of the Manti-LaSal National Forest (in Southeastern Utah) hired a District archaeologist that summer. Thus, by the end of 1970 there were four full-time archaeologists in the entire Forest Service.

In 1974, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation published the first regulations detailing requirements of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Evan DeBloois notes that

Things changed rapidly thereafter.... Archaeological priorities gave way to project priorities. Conflict with management increased as sites found at the last minute threatened to delay important projects. The result was an increase in the workforce at the Forest level and an evolving role at the RO (Regional Office).

In 1976 the archaeology program was renamed the Cultural Resources Management (CRM) program. This took place in a meeting between Evan DeBloois and Don Miller. They were rewriting the archaeology section Forest Service Manual and wanted to broaden the rather narrowly defined focus of the program implied by the term "archaeology."

Six Rivers Hires its First Archaeologist

The first National Forests to hire full-time Forest Archaeologists were in Region 5. In the spring of 1974, the Modoc hired Mike Boynton and within a couple of months the Six Rivers hired Jerry Wylie as Forest Archaeologists. The main reason that Wylie was hired at this time was to work on the Gasquet-Orleans (GO) Road project (see below). Prior to his arrival, cultural resources work related to the GO Road had been handled by John McGuire of the Lands Staff, but as the controversy grew it was decided that a professional archaeologist was needed to work on the increasingly complex project.

From discussions with several employees who worked on the Forest in the early 1970s, I learned that prior to the arrival of Jerry Wylie virtually nothing was done to record, inventory, or protect cultural resource properties. The very first letter in our department files (2360 Special Interest file) is a listing of "Archaeological and Historical protection needs" dated February 16, 1973. The letter is rather brief and it is apparent that little consideration or effort was given to assessing the extent of cultural resources on Forest lands or their need for protection. For example, on the Gasquet Ranger District (now the Smith River National Recreation Area) only two "historical" sites were identified as needing protection. Both sites are actually extremely significant and sensitive traditional and contemporary Native American religious-use areas.

The second person to be hired to work in the Six Rivers archaeology program was Kathy Heffner-McClellan in 1975. She was detailed to work with Jerry Wylie on the GO Road project from the clerical staff. She was finally transferred into the department to the position of social science technician due to her extensive knowledge of the local Native American communities. Part of her job was to develop an interview program and

implement procedures to insure informant confidentiality as well as to establish the record keeping systems needed to manage the archaeology data being compiled (such as reports, coverage maps, and site records). Many of these systems remain in place today.

During the early years, the Forest Archaeologist had a rather hectic workload. A large percentage of his time was spent conducting surveys in order to provide the Section 106 clearance for timber harvest projects. Given the size of most National Forests (usually about 1,000,000 acres or so), the number of timber sales, associated road construction, and the amount of work required to meet the intent of the law, it was only a short period of time before land managers realized that each Ranger District (Six Rivers has four) with a large timber program had more archaeological survey work than one person could accomplish.

Because of the increasingly heavy workload, in about 1976 Regional Archaeologist Don Miller helped to develop a program to use "paraprofessionals" to undertake archaeological survey work related to timber sales and other land disturbing projects. Paraprofessionals were Forest Service employees (for example, foresters, engineers, recreation specialists) who were provided with training in archaeology (including field survey methodology) and were then given the authority to accomplish archaeological survey work under the direction of the Forest Archaeologist. This program, though greatly reduced in size, still exists today, but is used on only a few Forests (including Six Rivers on which we have a number of very accomplished paraprofessionals) and usually for very small projects.

At Six Rivers, although paraprofessionals were used to accomplish some of the archaeological survey work for timber sales in 1976 and 1977, it proved to be impractical. The larger timber sale projects involved hundreds or even thousands of acres and required foresters to spend too much time accomplishing archaeological survey work rather than forestry work. In addition, many of the Forest Archaeologists questioned whether paraprofessionals were adequately trained to

identify sites and their commitment to protecting the resource. It was about this time that the various Forests in Region Five began to hire archaeologists in temporary seasonal positions (most at the GS-5 level). The primary purpose for these positions was to survey timber harvest units and road rights-of-way for proposed timber sales.

The amount of archaeological work on Six Rivers National Forest was steadily increasing as the direction to be in compliance with the NHPA became stronger in memos to the Forests from the RO and Washington Office (WO). Finally, on July 22, 1978, the Six Rivers Forest Supervisor issued a directive that in order to "...comply with 36 CFR 800 and Executive Order 11593, we are requiring that all proposed ground disturbing activities involve formal ARRs" (Archaeological Reconnaissance Reports).

With the increasing use of paraprofessionals and seasonal archaeologists, the job of Forest Archaeologist evolved into something of an administrative/management position. The Forest Archaeologist was responsible for hiring temporaries and ensuring the quality of their technical work. He was also responsible for evaluations on the potential effect to cultural properties of ground disturbing activities by Forest projects, evaluations of site significance (determinations of eligibility for the National Register), and for the preparation of reports required by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in order to be in compliance with the NHPA.

In addition, to the paraprofessional program and the hiring of temporaries, some work was accomplished by contracting out timber harvest sale projects to archaeological consulting firms. In these cases, the Forest Archaeologist was responsible for putting together the contract and contract administration.

Early in 1977, Jerry Wylie, the Forest Archaeologist, was transferred to the Boise National Forest in Idaho. Clark Brott was hired as a temporary (the first at Six Rivers) to fill in. One of his principle jobs was to work on recording and documenting the mining activity on Hurdy Gurdy Creek on the Gasquet Ranger District. It was also during this period that Jim Johnston (now on the

Lassen National Forest) working for Don Miler in the RO spent some time on the Forest helping to work on the GO Road project.

During the summer of 1977 Ken Wilson was hired into a temporary position (as acting Forest Archaeologist) in order to do some timber sale survey work. In August of 1977, I was hired by Six Rivers, along with four other budding archaeologists. Most of us were either students or fresh out of college with little practical experience. In September of that year, Six Rivers hired its second full-time Forest Archaeologist, Joe Winter. In addition to managing the CRM program, one of the main reasons that Winter was hired (and that he took the job) was to work on the GO Road project.

It did not take long before many of us who had been hired as archaeologists on the Ranger Districts began to clash with those in charge of the timber program and our managers. At that time the main focus of the agency, especially in northern California, was to produce timber, and most positions of influence and power within the agency were held by foresters. Moreover, the Forest Service is steeped in tradition and, of course, as a new discipline within the agency, the archaeology program had no history, no traditions, no standing in the organization, and most importantly, no friends in high places. Although there were notable exceptions, we got little or no support from managers who were, for the most part, production-oriented foresters. Timber harvest units and proposed road rights-of-way were to be surveyed to meet the intent of regulations and of the law. Sites were to be flagged and avoided, not studied. One seasonal employee who worked that summer of 1977 recalled that the Mad River District Ranger approached him to ask, "Why are we bothering doing this?" (surveying and recording sites). The employee responded that it was required by law to protect archaeological sites. The Ranger refused to believe him until he was given a copy of the National Historic Preservation Act.

To be fair, many of us in archaeology carried our own biases, and at times, we pursued our work with an over-abundance of archaeological zeal. Many of us also failed to recognize and appreciate the practical knowledge of the foresters,

engineers and other Forest Service employees who had years of experience working in the woods. For example, inexperience (and perhaps our academic-oriented training) led many archaeologists to classify as significant every cultural property encountered. (One seasonal archaeologist on the Forest insisted on recording nearly every campfire ring he encountered even if aluminum beer cans littered the area.) It should also be noted that most of us hired as archaeologists at this time had virtually no understanding or training in timber harvest methodology nor of the kind or potential impacts of road construction to cultural resources that might have prepared us to better communicate with the engineers and foresters. And lastly, something that should have been obvious to the anthropologist in us, we, and for that matter the profession of archaeology, were newcomers; we had no sense of Forest Service history, tradition, and culture, yet we expected everyone working for the agency to immediately recognize the relevance of our profession and the importance of the resource.

The GO Road Controversy

During the early years of the CRM program at Six Rivers, the most notable controversy between cultural resource values and the production-oriented value system of the Forest Service was over construction of a road between Gasquet and Orleans (GO Road). When Jerry Wylie was hired in 1975 to work on the GO Road project, the road was already under construction. It was, in fact, complete except for the final 6.2-mile Chimney Rock section, threading its way along the crest of the Siskiyou Mountains on the divide between the Smith River and Klamath River basins. This final section was to connect the southern portion of the existing road, extending north from the small hamlet of Orleans, with the Gasquet section, extending south from the South Fork of the Smith River at Big Flat.

During earlier phases of the GO Road project the Forest Service had failed to adequately solicit and listen to the concerns of the local Native American communities about how construction of the road would negatively impact an area that possessed significant traditional and contemporary religious values. In the fall of 1977 the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the

Chimney Rock Section of the GO Road was published, recommending that the final section of road be constructed. A storm of controversy followed its publication over the failure of the Forest Service to adequately address, both under NEPA and the NHPA, the Native American values associated with the Siskiyou crest region. This controversy raged within both the anthropological community (over interpretation of the ethnographic data and of Appendix K contained in the EIS) and within the Native American communities. As a result of the controversy over the ethnographic data, Don Miller dispatched Jim Johnston to the Forest for several weeks in order to issue contracts, the first in the Forest CRM program, for a professional review of the ethnographic data contained in the GO Road EIS. These reviews criticized the earlier ethnographic studies as inadequate and in some cases as having reached conclusions on the effects of the project to contemporary religious-use sites that could not be supported by the ethnographic record.

With strong criticism from the anthropological community on the conclusions contained in the Chimney Rock EIS related to the effects of the project on contemporary religious values, and as anger, controversy, administrative appeals, and threats of court action by the Karuk and Yurok continued to escalate, it became evident that further studies were needed. As a result of the raging controversy, Six Rivers awarded a contract to Theodoratus Cultural Research to undertake an archaeological survey and ethnographic study within the project area, focusing on Native American use of the region for traditional and contemporary religious activities. Both Wylie and Winter spent much of their time at Six Rivers working on this project. Ken Wilson also spent a tremendous amount of time during his first three years on the job working on the GO Road project. He was responsible for the Section 106 compliance work, including the Determination of Eligibility (DOE), and determination of effect, as well as the cultural resource input for the final EIS.

A more in-depth discussion of the GO Road project is beyond the scope of this paper. It is, however, sufficient to note that publication of the Theodoratus Report (1979) did not end the controversy. Subsequently, the area was

determined eligible for the National Register as the Helkau District, and as part of the NHPA Section 106 compliance process a public meeting was held in Eureka, chaired by a member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the first and last meeting of its kind on the Forest. In fact, few other National Forests have ever held such a meeting. Eventually, the GO Road controversy ended up in the courts and was finally decided by the Supreme Court in 1988 (Lyng, Secretary of Agriculture et al. v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Assn, et al.). Although the final verdict was in favor of the Forest Service the final section of the GO Road was never constructed.

The End of the Decade

As a result of the increasing workload, in January of 1979, the Forest hired Glenn Gmoser as Assistant Forest Archaeologist. As the decade ended, Six Rivers, with three full time employees, had the greatest number of CRM positions of any National Forest in Region Five. At this time, there were 26 full-time positions within the CRM program in Region Five (Regional Memo, October 10, 1979).

Later that year, Joe Winter decided to end his career with the Forest Service. At that time the Forest hired Ken Wilson, who was working for the BLM in Redding as Resource Area Archaeologist. Like Winter, he was given little discretion in setting program priorities or in developing a CRM program that went beyond simply meeting the intent of Section 106 of the NHPA. I believe that one of the major barriers to a more progressive cultural resources program was the Forest Service budgeting system. At this time, the Forest Archaeologist had little control or input on the budget for cultural resources or, for that matter, the general direction of the program. At the national level there was no separate budget "line item" for cultural resources. Essentially, this meant that foresters, engineers and other commodity-oriented managers (at the Washington Office, Regional Office, and National Forest levels) made the decisions on how many Forest Service dollars were to be allocated to cultural resources and what they were to be used for. In effect, this budgeting system made the program totally dependent on ground disturbing projects (for example timber sales, land exchanges, and road construction) and the dollars appropriated to

accomplish Section 106 work. This system, however, provided little or nothing in the way of funding for any protection, enhancement, interpretation, or research projects despite direction contained in Section 110 of the NHPA.

Despite the relatively narrow focus of the Six Rivers CRM program during the 1970s, there were a number of important products produced. Joe Winter wrote several reports evaluating archaeological sites, among the more important, a summary of the materials identified from sites on Pilot Ridge. Along with Kathy Heffner-McClellan, he provided some important ethnographical overviews and studies, for example, the Red Cap Bridge study.

During this period Heffner-McClellan also made some significant contributions to the program. This included work that led to an agreement with the Hoopa museum on curation of artifacts collected on National Forest lands. She also conducted scores of interviews and developed the protocol to be used for the interview program; today there are over 350 interviews on file cross-referenced by subject. The development of this system to protect informant confidentiality is more complicated than it might at first seem, given federal public disclosure laws.

THE TIMES THEY ARE A'CHANGIN': 1980-1990

By 1980 the timber programs on Six Rivers and many other National Forests in Region Five were at or near their historical high point. Given the large volumes of timber that were being produced, money was seemingly plentiful and National Forests within Region Five began to hire archaeologists in earnest. By this time the number of full-time archaeologists in the region had steadily increased from the few permanent positions of the mid-1970s to over 40 full-time positions, including a Forest Archaeologist on nearly every Forest in California. During the spring of 1980 over 120 temporary archaeologist jobs were advertised for the National Forests within Region Five. In addition, many Forests were hiring Assistant Forest Archaeologists and even full-time District Archaeologists. It was at this time that

Glenn Gmoser was transferred to Lower Trinity as District Archaeologist and I was hired (July 1980) in the Supervisor's Office (S.O., in Eureka) as Assistant Forest Archaeologist.

Back to the Six Rivers

When I returned to the Six Rivers the vast majority of CRM work was still limited to surveying for timber sales. In general, my main duties were ensuring the productivity of our temporary work force by helping them record sites and deal with any problems they might encounter in the field. I also undertook archaeological surveys for special projects (for example, land exchanges) and I worked with foresters and engineers to try to modify projects in order to avoid and protect sites that had been identified in areas where they might be affected by ground disturbing activities (for example timber harvest units and road rights-of-way). In addition, during the early 1980s, the Mad River Ranger District contracted out the survey work for a number of large timber sales. Ken Wilson served as Contracting Officers Representative (COR) and I served as Contract Inspector. This duty involved visiting the survey crews in the field to insure that work carried out was acceptable and met contract specifications.

Upon my return to Six Rivers, I observed that the attitude of Six Rivers employees towards those of us working in the CRM program had improved. However, for the most part, the negative attitude towards the program remained. This negative attitude was not limited to the Forest. In the RO, the Regional Recreation Director, who was in charge of the CRM program (he controlled the budget and set priorities for all 17 National Forests in California) was not supportive of the program or the Forest archaeologists who were dependent on his vision and leadership. There were many clashes between him and Regional Archaeologist Don Miller over failure of the agency to provide the funding to secure an adequate number of CRM personnel just to keep the agency in compliance with Section 106. [When I talked to the archaeologists working for the BLM at the time, I realized that we in the Forest Service were not alone. One of the BLM archaeologists told me that a high ranking member of their Washington staff visiting his office had asked how many

archaeologists worked for the agency. When he was told 154, he replied, "That is 153 too many."]

From personal experience, I observed that the RO Recreation Director was less than supportive of the CRM program. I vividly remember one meeting of Region Five National Forest CRM staffs in Fresno in the early 1980s. An attorney from the Office of General Council, the consulting attorneys for the Forest Service, presented an overview of the NHPA and how it applied to Forest Service management activities. He spent a significant amount of time expressing his admiration from a legalistic perspective of the wording of the law, especially Section 106. He noted that it "must have been written by a very sharp lawyer" since in many cases laws are somewhat unclear in their language regarding when certain actions "should" or "must" be accomplished. He concluded that from his perspective this was a very well written law and the implementing regulations (CFRs) contained a definitive set of instructions on what needed to be done to adequately and legally meet the intent of the law. When he finished, the Recreation Director got up and indicated that he felt the attorney was over stating his case and that there were other "less stringent" interpretations of the law. The message he sent was clear: he did not support Don Miller's efforts to bring the Forests into compliance with the law.

A memo dated March 11, 1980 shows just how controversial the CRM program was at this time within Region Five. Apparently, due to the problems that were taking place between management and members of the CRM staff within the Region, a review of the program was undertaken. Both managers and archaeologists provided written input. Managers perceived that there were a number of problems with the CRM program and staff. The following statements are quoted directly from the review.

- Do not see high relative value in CRM vis-a-vis other National Forest Resources
- CRM is single resource oriented and does not recognize other resources and uses
- CRM is more closely aligned with SHPO than the Forest Service
- Lack of trust in CRM

- CRM has preservation ethic (as opposed to commodity production-oriented conservation ethic of the Forest Service culture)

At the same time, again quoting directly from the review, archaeologists, and by this time a few historians and ethnographers, felt that:

- Management does not support CRM or
- Management does not provide sufficient time or funds to determine significance
- Managers do not see cultural resources as a resource
- Management is biased toward managing natural resources not cultural resources
- Management has a lack of commitment to CRM and does not fully comply with the law
- Management has bias about CRM people
- SHPO does not trust Forest Service management
- Feel a backlash against themselves personally because of their specialty

On Six Rivers, although the attitude towards those working in CRM had improved, there was little support for the CRM program itself. In 1981 I asked to have time off to attend the Society for California Archaeology meetings. Today archaeologists are encouraged to participate in such meetings with time and per diem paid. Knowing the attitude of our supervisor, at that time the head of the Lands staff, towards archaeology (and me personally for that matter), I requested time off to attend the meetings but indicated that I would pay my own way (the Forest at that time was actually flush with money but I knew better than to even ask). His reply was that he saw no need for me to attend any archaeology meetings and that I could not have the time off unless I took annual leave.

During the early 1980s, the CRM program and budget at Six Rivers National Forest and at the Regional level were administered by individuals who viewed the program, and, to some extent, those in it, with disdain if not outright hostility. The CRM program in the Region existed because managers had no choice due to the law. There was little or no support to see an expansion of the program in order to provide funding for research or the enhancement and interpretation of cultural resources.

The Pilot Ridge Archaeological Project

The Pilot Ridge archaeological project proved to be a milestone in the CRM program at Six Rivers. In retrospect, it is clear that this project provided the transitional link between the Section 106 clearance-oriented work of the first decade and today's more broad-based and integrative approach to the management of cultural resources. The Pilot Ridge Timber Sale and the associated road building projects provided the impetus for a series of archaeological surveys, excavations, and studies that were to take place over a period of nearly a decade. The project involved millions of board feet of timber and the opening of roadless areas through construction of a 16-mile road to be used as a major logging haul route for future timber sales.

Jerry Wylie had conducted limited survey work in this area in 1975 and recorded a number of prehistoric sites along the crest of Pilot Ridge and South Fork Mountain. He noted that many of the projectile points he had encountered were identical to projectile points first identified at sites further to the south at the Borax Lake Site in Lake County. Borax Lake wide-stem projectile points have considerable antiquity (3,000-5,000 years B.P.) In 1978, Joe Winter also identified a number of sites on Pilot Ridge containing Borax Lake projectile points. In 1979, he summarized the work to date on Pilot Ridge (Winter 1979 on file Six Rivers National Forest). Wylie and Winter were both correct in hypothesizing that these points indicated that the complex of ridges in the region had been utilized intensively by humans for thousands of years.

Given the number of prehistoric sites already recorded on Pilot Ridge and the need to provide Section 106 clearance for the proposed road, the Pilot Ridge Project became one of the priorities for the newly hired Forest Archaeologist, Ken Wilson, in 1979. At that time, Wilson decided that a more complete survey of the proposed road line would be necessary and that the entire crests of Pilot, Last Chance, and Whiting Ridges, and the northern 3 miles of South Fork Mountain needed to be intensively surveyed. To accomplish this task, the Forest hired three temporary archaeologists during the summer of 1980 (see Appendix I) to work under Gmoser (then Lower Trinity District Archaeologist). Their job was to visit

and rerecord known sites and to survey the entire 16 miles of ridges that were to be affected by road construction and logging.

The work that summer resulted in the recording or rerecording of nearly 100 prehistoric sites. Numerous artifacts were identified, including more Borax Lake projectile points. It was obvious by now that this high altitude region about 15 miles inland from the Pacific coast had the potential to provide significant information on the prehistory of the region. It also meant, given the potential significance of these sites, that in order to comply with the NHPA, additional work was needed before the timber sale project could proceed. A strategy was devised that was meant to allow the road construction project to move forward while protecting the values of the archaeological sites. The CRM staff developed a management plan in partnership with the road design engineers. This plan called for on-the-ground discussions between the archaeologists and engineers on the most effective way to avoid sites while maintaining the integrity of the road design. Where protection and avoidance of a site was not possible due to design constraints, we formulated a data recovery plan to mitigate the adverse effects of the project. This cooperation between archaeologists and engineers resulted in the avoidance of dozens of archaeological sites while adding little or no cost to the road construction project. Our collective efforts proved that a more cooperative and collaborative approach to reconciling resource conflicts at the earliest stages of project planning was not only possible but desirable. Our success encouraged other project managers to include archaeologists in the early stages of the project planning process and thus was a major step forward for the CRM program at Six Rivers.

After the inventory was accomplished, all of the sites along the entire complex of ridges were determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places as the Pilot Ridge Archaeological/Historical District (Gmoser and Keter 1981). Next, we (Wilson, Gmoser, and Keter) selected 13 prehistoric sites for test excavation based on their location and potential impacts from road construction, as well as the types of artifacts identified on the sites. We then contracted with Sonoma State University to

undertake test excavations on these sites to determine their subsurface content. This work was accomplished in the fall of 1981. Based on the results of the test excavations (Weigel and Fredrickson 1981), in the summer of 1982 a contract was awarded to Sonoma State to excavate 10 sites (Hildebrandt and Hayes 1983). In 1984 and 1985 Sonoma State archaeologists excavated additional sites in the area (Hayes and Hildebrant 1984, Hildebrant and Hayes 1985). The total cost for these four contracts was over \$300,000 and total costs for all of the archaeological work associated with the Pilot Ridge project was in the neighborhood of about half a million dollars.

The archaeological data generated as a result of the Pilot Ridge project, (including important work on the historical environment of the region using pollen analysis, still provides the foundation for interpretation of the regional prehistoric record and is recognized as one of the most important studies to date in contributing to our understanding of the prehistory of this region of California.

The Changing Situation

In retrospect, the mid-1980s can be seen as that period when the CRM program at Six Rivers came of age, as we began to expand the program beyond the limitations of simply accomplishing Section 106 project clearance work. The most important force driving change at this time was the steady decline in timber production on the Forest. For a number of reasons, among the more notable the spotted owl controversy and water quality issues, the timber sale program began to decline dramatically. Graph 1 depicts the steady decline during the 1980s in the number of acres that were surveyed for archaeological resources each year on Six Rivers National Forest. Timber harvesting projects accounted for nearly all the acreage surveyed. In 1980, near the peak of timber production on the Forest, we surveyed 23,606 acres. By 1983, as the number and size of timber sale projects began to decline, the number of acres surveyed fell to 6,612, a decrease of 60%. By 1991 only 436 acres were surveyed on the Forest, with almost no acres surveyed that year for proposed timber sales.

In addition to a declining timber program, our CRM budget was also shrinking as a result of an overall reduction in the Forest Service budget fueled by the "Reagan Revolution." Our initial reaction at Six Rivers to these events was that they were temporary and that things would return to "normal." Initially, we gave little thought to enhancement work since budgets were declining and in the past we had always been so busy with Section 106 work that we had little time to think of anything else. It was also at this time that Glenn Gmoser ended his career with the Forest Service due to the lack of money and work to support a District Archaeologist at Lower Trinity.

Thus, by the mid-1980s, and given our past focus on responding to the needs of project planners, we were presented with a new set of problems and opportunities. The problem was that the program (perhaps more importantly our budget) was so oriented towards responding to timber harvest projects that we were not prepared for change. The opportunity, of course, was that freed from the constant need to keep up with project work, we were given the chance to move our program in a new direction. In addition, and quite significant in fueling change, was increasing support for the CRM program by Forest Service leaders based on the inherent value of the resource. It was becoming clear that for a number of reasons, among them the increasing influence of the environmental movement, publication of Forest Plans, and increasingly strong enforcement of laws like the Endangered Species Act, that the Forest Service as an organization was shifting to a more balanced approach to management of National Forest lands and moving away from the more production-oriented paradigm of the past. One of the results of this shifting emphasis in management of Forest lands was the hiring of botanists, wildlife and fisheries biologists, hydrologists, soil scientists, geologists, and other resource professionals. This change in management emphasis and the influx of young resource professionals also resulted in a demographic change in the make up of the organization.

On top of all of the conflict and change and the steadily decreasing timber program, cuts to the Forest Service budget by the Reagan administration resulted in a general reduction in

funding for the CRM program. On Six Rivers, in 1987, Kathy Heffner-McClellan left the department to accept a new job on the Forest as Tribal Program Coordinator. This position was created so that the Forest could become more active in working with local Native American groups on contemporary land-use issues. Thus on Six Rivers the CRM staff was down to two full-time archaeologists with an occasional temporary working on a Ranger District. Region-wide the period of the mid-1980s also marked a downward turn in the number of CRM positions. Although there were only two of us working in CRM at Six Rivers, given the lack of timber survey work, we did have more flexibility and it was at this time that we began to expand our program in new directions.

The Archaeological Resources Protection Act

One of the most important new initiatives we undertook at this time was to increase our efforts to afford recorded sites better protection from artifact theft and site disturbance by unauthorized activities. Recognizing our need to deal with this problem Wilson and I took a one week course in enforcement of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) along with a number of individuals working in law enforcement. Not long after we attended the ARPA session we put our training to good use. In 1988 a prehistoric site was damaged by heavy equipment illegally constructing a small pond and access road across a prehistoric site. After discovering the violation and documenting damage to the site through subsurface testing to evaluate potential significance, charges were filed against two logging companies. In 1990 the case (Eel River Sawmills, Inc., et al v. USA) went to court. The judge ruled in favor of the Forest Service. This case was precedent setting as it was the first to be prosecuted under the civil, as opposed to the criminal, section of ARPA.

The defendants in the case were directed to pay over \$40,000 (later reduced to \$33,000 when the defendants agreed to drop an appeal) to the Forest Service for damaging the site. This money was used to mitigate damages to the site. In 1993, Dames & Moore under contract, with the help of the CRM staff and a number of volunteers, undertook data recovery excavations at the site (Nilsson and Bevill 1994).

The End of the Decade

By 1989, the Forest Service budget for CRM was beginning to increase. This occurred despite the continuing lack of timber sale survey work. Although the increase was small it was a recognition and acknowledgment by management that the program was an important and integral part of the Forest Service mission of "caring for the land and serving the people." Cultural resources were no longer viewed as "problems" that hindered projects. Rather, Forest Service leadership recognized the importance of conserving and supporting the management and protection of cultural resource properties found on National Forest lands.

At Six Rivers, by this time, the CRM program was viewed positively by the vast majority of our fellow employees and cultural resources were recognized by land managers as being worthy of protection. Thus, in a period of about 10 years the program had evolved and matured and we were starting to explore ways to go beyond our past limitations of merely being a support function responsible for providing Section 106 clearance work needed for other peoples' projects.

THE HERITAGE PROGRAM: THE 1990s

As the decade began, the agency was already slowly but inexorably moving towards a new paradigm for management of National Forest lands, Ecosystems Management. This new and evolving land-management philosophy called for a greater emphasis on forest health and a more holistic approach to management of National Forest resources. One of the guiding principles of Ecosystems Management (EM) is a balanced approach for the management of *all* resources found on National Forest lands.

This change in direction was partly in response to such environmental controversies as the listing of the spotted owl as an endangered species, effectively shutting down timber sale programs throughout much of Oregon and Washington, as well as on the "owl" National Forests of northern California: the Six Rivers, Klamath, Shasta-Trinity, and Mendocino. In addition, environmentalists were also bringing increasing pressure to bear on management of

the National Forests, and for the first time, citizens living in the larger urban areas of the country were beginning to influence the management of Forest lands through their elected representatives in Congress.

In 1993, President Clinton appointed Jack Ward Thomas, a wildlife biologist, as Chief of the Forest Service. This was the first time in its history that a forester or engineer was not at the head of the agency. This change in leadership confirmed what was in many ways already a *fait accompli*: that an emphasis on commodity-oriented production was no longer the driving force for management of National Forest lands.

The "Heritage Program"

In December of 1992 the WO issued a directive changing the name of the Cultural Resources Program to the Heritage Program. This directive under the signature of the Chief of the Forest Service, was an important event in the history of our program. The following paragraphs are quoted from the directive.

During the past decade, the Cultural Resources program has been moving steadily toward a balance of our support to other resources and the public outreach parts of our job as spelled out in the law. The enclosed strategy is not the beginning of this move; it is an acknowledgment of it, a recognition of the growth of the program at a time when all programs are struggling to find their niche....

We have traditionally focused our Cultural Resources program on support to other resources. This support must continue, but it must do so in a way that contributes to the understanding of our past and to the protection, interpretation, and accessibility of that past for present and future publics....

With this strategy, we change the name of Cultural Resource Management to the Heritage Program. We do this, not because Cultural Resource Management is a bad title, but because it has come to be synonymous with only one part of our program, support to other resources. We hope when you hear the name "Heritage Program" it conjures up visions of public participation, interpretive trails, timber sale

surveys, oral histories, campground programs, folklore, site protection, traditional ceremonies, site evaluations, law enforcement, historic reconstruction, living history, mitigation, and ecosystem management.

...I now ask you to make commitments to work directly with State-based heritage programs and to adjust the balance of work in the Heritage Program to reflect this broader emphasis. This strategy will move us into the future and put us in the forefront of heritage management.

This name change was more than cosmetic. It recognized the growth and evolution of the CRM program within the agency over the previous two decades and was a huge transformation from the project oriented beginnings of the archaeology program. In effect, this directive provided support for and acknowledgement of what in reality had already taken place during the late 1980s to the CRM programs at Six Rivers and most other National Forests.

The early 1990s on the Six Rivers

As the result of a small increase to our CRM budget in 1990, we hired Catharine Young to work in the SO. Young had worked as a temporary on the Lower Trinity and Mad River Ranger Districts for a couple of summers. Her main duties in the SO were related to developing a computerized bibliography for our library, updating our site location atlas and coverage atlas, and organizing our rather disheveled office. For two years we had no help in keeping up with our filing and database work and were months behind in processing various reports and site records. During the summer she also spent some time in the field working on the Lower Trinity and Mad River Ranger Districts.

It was also at about this time that we hired Jill Dondero, as District Archaeologist, to work on the Orleans Ranger District. Dondero was a career employee who was working in silviculture but had a degree in anthropology and had actually worked in CRM for a short time in the late 1970s on the Klamath National Forest. In addition to working on the Orleans Ranger District, Dondero also accomplished much of the CRM work on the Lower Trinity Ranger District and was instrumental in developing an agreement with the South Fork

Hupa to protect one of their important village sites located along the South Fork of the Trinity River from impacts caused by recreational use.

Although by 1990 there were a few historian positions within Region Five, Six Rivers had yet to employ its first historian. In August of 1990 Six Rivers hired Christine Savage Palmer in a temporary position (the appointment lasted almost 2 years) as Forest Historian. Her job initially was to record Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Forest Service administrative structures and to nominate the Smith River National Recreation Area (Gasquet Ranger Station) compound to the National Register of Historic Places. Given the past emphasis of our program on prehistory and the fact that to that date all of the full-time and temporary positions on the Forest had been held by archaeologists, the historian position provided a fresh and exciting new dimension to the Forest CRM program.

In addition to her historic research, Palmer also worked with Wilson to organize a reunion of CCC "boys" who had been stationed at the various CCC camps on the Forest during the 1930s and early 1940s. This reunion was a tremendously successful event with dozens of men showing up, some from as far away as Texas, and meeting old friends they had not seen in 50 years. The interviews conducted as part of this event and Palmer's other research have provided the Forest with a wealth of information related to the CCC era.

When Palmer left the Six Rivers in 1992, Wilson recognized the need to continue to provide support for a historian position on the Forest. In 1993, Pam Connors, historian on the Stanislaus National Forest, began to work on the Six Rivers on a part time basis providing support on projects involving historical properties. She currently spends approximately one-half of each year working for each Forest. Her first project was working with the recreation specialists and engineers on a facilities improvement project at a campground constructed by the CCC at Patrick's Creek on the Smith River National Recreation Area.

After Young left, our problem with keeping up with the processing of records and information returned. In January of 1994, Heather Busam, a

student at Humboldt State University, volunteered to work in our office updating our coverage and site atlases and filing and processing what seems like a never ending stream of reports, historical photos, historical documents, and numerous other records housed in our office. She was finally appointed to the temporary position of database manager in May of 1994. Since that time she has undertaken to bring us into the computer age by designing a number of databases to manage our records.

25 Years Later...

A brief review of the kinds of things we are doing today in Heritage Resources illustrates just how far the program has evolved. Today, only a small portion of our time is involved with Section 106 compliance work. We now focus most of our efforts on cultural resource enhancement and interpretive projects involving the public. We have accomplished numerous projects in partnership with local tribal governments, businesses, historical societies, and the general public. We have also undertaken a number of research projects related to documenting the historical environment of the region, and we have collaborated with other Six Rivers natural resource specialists in the development of watershed assessments for nearly every major watershed on the Forest.

Since its rather humble beginnings, the "Archaeology"/CRM/Heritage Program has become an important component of our Forest program of work. I believe that those of us who have worked in the Heritage Program over the last 25 years can be proud of our accomplishments in protecting, managing, interpreting, and conserving our cultural heritage on the lands administered by Six Rivers National Forest.

Notes

I would like to thank Evan DeBloois, Jerry Wylie, Jim Johnston, Kathy Heffner-McClellan, Larry Weigel, Glenn Gmoser, Ken Wilson, Christine Palmer, and Pam Connors for taking the time to provide me with names and dates and helping me jog my already rapidly degenerating memory!

**Appendix 1
Heritage Resources
List of Employees**

(G=Gasquet Ranger District/Smith River National Recreation Area, O=Orleans Ranger District, LT=Lower Trinity Ranger District, MR=Mad River Ranger District, SO=Supervisor's Office)

Temporary employees

1975

Clark Brott (SO)

1977

Ken Wilson (SO)

Gary Maniery (O)

Tom Keter (O)

Lawrence Weigel (MR)

Diane Watts (MR)

Pam Colarich (MR)

1978

Terry Jones (GAS)

Patricia Hicks (O)

Anita Hornback (O)

Brian Wickstrom (LT)

Faith Duncan-Pennys (LT)

Patty Erbe (MR)

Lawrence Weigel (Assistant Forest Archaeologist/MR)

1979

Lawrence Weigel (MR)

John R. Davis (O)

Steve Heipel (O)

James Roscoe (LT)

Andrew Yatsko (G)

1980

Jean Tooker (LT)

Kim Bird (LT)

Charlie Frakes (LT)

James Lancaster (LT)

Peter Donelan (O)

Micheal Dugas (O)

Cindy Skinner (O)

1981

G. Runyan (G)

Raymond Wilber (G)

David J. Sadow (LT)

Merry Lang (O)

1982

Donald Laylander (O)
Kieth Oshins (G)

1983

John Peterkin (O)
Kieth Oshins (G)
Walter Schlager (MR)

1984

David Bieling (MR)
Walter Schlager (MR)
John Peterkin (O)
Merry L. Haydon (Lang) (O)

1985

Walt Schlager (MR)

1986

Scott Williams (O)

1987

Scott Williams (MR)
Sam Morrison (O)

1988

Sam Morrison (OR)
Leslie Dyer (LT)
Cathrine Young (MR)

1989

Melvyn Brewster (SO)
Sam Morrison (OR and SO)
Leslie Dyer (LT)
Cathrine Young (MR)

1990

Christine Savage (SO)
Cathrine Young (LT)

1991

Cathrine Young (LT)
Christine Savage (SO)

1992

Cathrine Young (moved to PFT position in S.,O. summers at LT)

Jennifer Weatherbee (Volunteer LT)
Michael Messersmith (Volunteer LT)
Christine Savage (Historian-SO)

1994

Heather Busam (Volunteer then temp) S.O.

1995

Pam Lewiston (MR)
Michael Messersmith (MR)
Heather Busam (SO)

1996

Pam Lewiston (MR)
Renee Hall (MR)
Heather Busam (SO)

1997

Heather Busam (SO)

Permanent Full-Time Positions

Forest Archaeologist/Heritage Program Manager
Jerry (Henry Wylie) 1974 to 1977
Joe Winter (Fall of 1977 to 1979)
Ken Wilson (1979-Present)

Assistant Forest Archaeologist/Heritage Program Manager

Glenn Gmoser (1979-July 1980)
Thomas Keter (July 1980 to Present)

Full-time Positions CRM/Heritage

Glenn Gmoser (District Archaeologist, LT, 1980-1986)
Kathy Heffner (Anthropologist, SO, 1975-1986)
Cathrine Young (Data Base Manager, SO, 1992-1993)
Jill Dondero (District archaeologist, O, 1993 to 1996)
Kathy McCovey (District Archaeologist, O, 1996-present)
Pam Conners (Historian, 1/2 time S.O.-- 1/2 time Stanislaus, 1993-Present)

Graph 1
Total Acres Surveyed by Year

