Resource Abundance and Social Change in Early Northern California I: Rethinking the Lonely Forager Premise

Greg White, Department of Anthropology, CSU Chico

Problem

In this and an accompanying article, I'll examine and test two theories of social change in prehistoric Northern California. The first is based on what I'll call "California intensification theory," and the second is melded from several sources, but incorporates solutions to problems in the first's attempt at explaining social change. The theories are presented as competing arguments of expectation, and test implications are generated in the form of alternative predictions for the sequence of regional development of key institutions and phenomena. Part 1 ends with a discussion of the suitability of Clear Lake basin as a test case. I'll make a case that the basin was characterized by unusual resource abundance, and further, that the ethnographic record demonstrates unmistakable signs of emergent cultural complexity. Part 2 will examine the archaeological record and review the Archaic Period evidence. These proposals aim to broaden the current argument in three ways: (1) to show that competitive relationships of the type ultimately leading to intensification, while currently thought to be a product of resource stress, are more likely to have occurred in the context of resource abundance, (2) to reject the principle of endogenous processes that has dominated theorizing about social change in prehistoric Northern California, and (3) to show that resource stress (population increase or resource depression) was not a necessary condition for intensification, but rather, intensified food production was a precondition for the potential for population growth and resource depletion.

California Intensification Theory as a Testable Proposition

California prehistory has been reshaped by the maturation of a distinctive type of economic intensification theory. It incorporates a broad range of archaeological and ethnographic evidence in support of a synthetic explanation of economic and social change. In the Northstate, the

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September ............................... August 1
December .............................. November 1

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Next Board meeting here in Poway in two days. Moreover, the Society is in good shape financially, with a contribution of $3,000 in our endowment fund (Benham Fund) for 1997.

The Annual Meeting will definitely be an unforgettable event thanks to Michael Sampson, Ron May, Dale May, and all of the committee chairs who have been working to make sure that everything is ticking. The San Diego Annual Meeting at the lovely Hyatt Islandia on Mission Bay promises to be one of the most exciting in the history of SCA. We have one of the largest programs ever, with many events planned, including over 30 symposia and workshops. The meetings will begin with the Plenary session on Thursday, with a line-up of some of the most knowledgeable California archaeologists. On Thursday evening we will have the Wine Tasting at the San Diego Museum of Natural History in beautiful Balboa Park. The Awards Dinner on Friday night has a lot of surprises, and we are fortunate to have Lynne Goldstein, editor of *American Antiquity* and Professor of Anthropology at Michigan State University, as our keynote speaker. After the Awards Dinner, the “Rockin’ Aces” will provide the ultimate in entertainment. We also have some great field trips arranged, so bring the whole family to San Diego where the sun usually shines, and join us for the 32nd Annual SCA Meeting.

I do not know if I can convey how impressed I am with the accomplishments that the SCA has made this past year, as well as in years past. It is really hard to believe that there are that many good-willed, intelligent, hard-working folks out there volunteering their time to make all of this happen. My two years on the Board have given me a level of respect for the SCA that is difficult to impart. I am tempted to end my message here — just pat us on the back and say see you in San Diego — but I cannot go out that quietly. I just want to add that I believe we need to make a concerted effort to improve the standards in California archaeology.

California has led the country in terms of environmental protection. Cultural resources are recognized and protected by state law here more so than many places in the world. Tremendous amounts of money have been generated as a result of this protection, and many people are employed. Although we are doing some of the best archaeology in the country — fine-mesh screening, micro-sorting, detailed analyses — we are not always producing the highest quality reports. I believe that the problem is in the system, and the system needs to be assessed and improved. Anyone, really anyone, can hang their shingle and go into archaeological consulting. On CEQA projects it is often the developers who are choosing the archaeologists. Moreover, review of reports by archaeologists is often limited, or nonexistent, with no system of peer review in many regions of California. I think we all need to work to improve this situation, so that we can hold our discipline to a higher standard. I would like to see all of the states in the nation turning to California and using our standards as the model. I believe that this is possible, if we reform the system. I encourage everyone to think about Cultural Resource Management and come up with ways to improve those standards. We must start a dialogue and admit that, although many firms produce high-quality reports, many others fall short, in part because they are not being reviewed by those with a background in archaeology, and because the developers choose their own consultants. I believe that the SHPO needs to take the lead on this, but that the SCA should encourage them in a direction that will make us all proud of CRM in California. Peer review, stronger and more enforceable guidelines, and minimum standards will help the situation. I plan to continue working on this goal in 1998 and hope that you will join me.

— Lynn Gamble
Opinion and Comments
Avocational Society Roundtable

**Author**

The Avocation Society Roundtable will be Thursday, April 9, 1998, at the SCA meetings. The purpose of the San Diego County Archaeological Society (SDCAS) sponsored Avocational Society Roundtable is to address issues that affect archaeological societies and how they operate. Several current issues that would be discussed include liability insurance, which is limited to the general membership for field trips and excavations; interaction with local, state and federal agencies, other preservation groups and CRM consultants for joint projects; public outreach/education, and Archaeology Week programs. SDCAS hopes that societies statewide will participate in this roundtable and open up discussions on other issues that the SCA board has not yet addressed. SDCAS would like to invite society members to provide input at this roundtable in hopes that it will generate new ideas and evolve into an annual gathering at SCA meetings. If anyone is interested in being a panel discussant, please contact Myra Hermann (e-mail: mjh@proc2000.sannet.gov).

Next T.E.A. — 1998

Paul G. Chace

**NEXT T.E.A., the reauthorization legislation to continue the programs created under the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA), including transportation enhancement activities (TEA), currently is being debated in Congress. Actually, several variant bills are processing through the system. The Congressional hearings held last fall with a variety of program supporters suggest that NEXT T.E.A should be very similar to the program created under the 1991 legislation. Importantly, favorable support has been heard for all ten areas of programs for TEA, which include highway-related archaeology planning and research, and historic preservation efforts.**

Within California, it is anticipated that once Congress has acted and designated funding levels for a new six-year cycle of ISTEA programs, there will be a rush of announcements to receive TEA project funding applications into the new planning cycle. New projects need to be defined and structured now, to be ready for quick submission to the California Highways planning program. Best guesses are that this invitation for new project funding request will occur in mid-1998. The following two-year Caltrans planning cycle for renewed requests for TEA projects should begin two years later, in the summer of 2000.

It is anticipated that the NEXT TEA project funding forms and requirements will be somewhat similar to those already developed by Caltrans. The previous TEA “Guidelines, Transportation Enhancement Activities Program,” are available from Ms. Marsha Mason, Caltrans, TEA Program, c/o Office of Landscape Architecture, P. O. Box 942874, Sacramento, CA 94274-0001; by FAX at (916) 654-3770; or by telephone at (916) 654-5275.

The TEA program has emphasized large-scale projects, because of the rigorous Federal Highways Administration (FHWA) regulations involving federal funding, which under Caltrans’ TEA program have taken the form of reimbursement grants. An administrating agency with a proposed project needs to have completed their initial discussions with the Caltrans District technical assistance staff to develop a project application, and to have assembled the supportive documentation from archaeologists and regional public leaders. Local political support is important. The TEA program is competitive.

The “Guidelines...” for “Archaeological planning and research” projects specifically have included “research [and] experimental activities in archaeological site preservation and interpretation; planning to improve identification, evaluation and treatment of archaeological sites; problem-oriented synthesis...; local and regional research designs... This category includes rehabilitating archaeological dig records and curation of artifacts previously recovered along transportation corridors to enhance significance and public appreciation for the site through interpretive signs, displays, and publications.” The “Historic preservation” category has included the “acquisition, rehabilitation, interpretation, restoration, and stabilization...of any prehistoric or historic...site..., and artifacts and records related to it.”

Planning ahead to adopt worthy, large projects to qualify for NEXT TEA funds would be a good idea.

Native American Programs Committee Update

Philip de Barros, Chair

First, a progress report on items mentioned in the last newsletter [SCA Newsletter 31(3):10-11]. The proposed workshop with the Mendocino County Tribal Chairpersons Association is moving along well. After an hour-long teleconference involving myself, Mike Jablonowski and David Perry from the Anthropological Study Center at Sonoma State, Pauline Girvin of the Mendocino County Intertribal Repatriation Project, project assistant and elder, Lou Knight of the Round Valley Indian Tribes of Covelo, and Delma Eyli, elder from the Coyote Valley Band of Pomo, it was decided that a 3-day workshop would take place on March 13-15 of this year. It will
SCA Committee Reports

utilize a Sourcebook that generally follows the contents of the one used for the Salinan workshop in 1996, but will include appropriate local materials. Invitees will include members from eight Indian communities that have a history of working together as well as some other groups from Mendocino, Marin, Lake, and Sonoma counties.

Ken Wilson called me last week to confirm that the Six Rivers National Forest will be conducting a 3-day workshop jointly with the SCA on February 24-26. The SCA is being asked to supply Sourcebook materials and a representative of the Native American Programs Committee (Ken Wilson) will be present. We also hope that an SCA Executive Board member can attend the initial session.

The committee chair is currently preparing an address list of more than 350 entries prior to mailing a letter informing California Indian community leaders about the availability of a MiniSourcebook containing information to help Native Americans protect their cultural resources by intervening more effectively in the CRM process. This list is being compiled from several sources and will undoubtedly contain some errors, omissions or out-of-date addresses. However, the list is being entered into a MicroSoft Labels program to serve as a permanent, updatable resource for future communication with California American Indian community leaders. Letters will be mailed out in late January.

The list of items to be included in the 150 page MiniSourcebook was determined through e-mail consultation with most NAPC members and includes the following: National Register Criteria summary; especially Criterion D; CEQA criteria summary; a 5 page glossary of CRM and archaeological terms; National Register Bulletin 38 on traditional cultural properties (TCPs); selected pages from CRM magazine no. 16 on TCPs; selected pages from Keepers of the Treasures; 6 pages of common acronyms; brief and expanded summaries of key CRM laws; actual law texts of NAGPRA, ARPA, and the Antiquities Act; 5-minute look at Section 106; the Native American Heritage Commission’s (NAHC) “Professional Guide” on the discovery of human remains; “Guide to Cultural Resource Management...” by yours truly; SCA Newsletter article on 1997 Rohnert Park symposium; summary chart of California Community College offerings in anth/Arch prepared by Rob Edwards; an SCA membership form; NAHC’s monitor guidelines; “what if?” monitoring scenarios; Ernest Siva’s statement on Archaeology and Indians; and an article from Common Ground 2(8), “Speaking Nation to Nation: Fulfilling Our Promise to Native Americans” (1997).

As for new business, it has been decided that a CRM workshop for interested members of southern California Native American groups will take place on Saturday, April 11, from 8:30 to 4:30 at the annual meeting of the SCA in San Diego. The very tentative agenda for this workshop is as follows:

Moderator: Philip de Barros, Chair, NAPC
8:30 OPENING BLESSING by Local Indian Representative.

- INTRODUCTION -- Purpose and Goals of Workshop. Purpose and Goals of the SCA Native American Programs Committee and SCA Workshop Program.
- INTRODUCTIONS -- Selected participants hold up personal artifact and explain what it means to them.
- WHAT ARE CULTURAL RESOURCES? What is an archaeological site? What are artifacts? middens? a feature? (slide presentation)
- HOW DOES THE LAW RELATE TO CULTURAL RESOURCES? What makes a site “significant”? 15 minute video on National Register of Historic Places significance criteria. What is a traditional cultural property?
- PHASES OF CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: Survey, Evaluation, Treatment or Mitigation. Distinctions between Federal and State regulations on the CRM process.
- WHAT IS A FLAKE? Flintknapping demonstration with emphasis on “flake” vs. “rock” identification.
- HOW TO LOCATE A SITE OR PROJECT ON A USGS TOPOGRAPHIC MAP?
- Lunch (12:30-1:30)
- IMPORTANT HISTORIC PRESERVATION LAWS - Brief Summaries.
- HUMAN REMAINS AND THE LAW
- MONITOR/CONSULTANT ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES: monitor qualifications; job description; notetaking and reporting; Who does monitor work for? Selected representatives from Local Indian Groups and from the Salinans of Monterey County
- “WHAT IF?” MONITORING SCENARIOS with Roundtable Discussion and Audience Participation. Representatives from Local Indian Groups and the Salinans of Monterey County and local CRM firms.
Update on 1998 Annual Meetings

Michael Sampson

As you probably know by now, the 1998 Annual Meeting will take place on April 8-11 at the Hyatt Islandia Hotel, located on Mission Bay in San Diego. Reservations for the hotel can be made by calling 1-800-233-1234 or 619-224-1234; the conference rate for the SCA is $76 per night. Questions about meeting registration should be directed to Myra Herrmann at 619-236-6827, or via eMail: mjh@proc2000.sannet.gov  The pre-registration packets are being mailed separately from the Newsletter; if you haven’t received yours by the first week of February, give Myra or me a call. A neighboring hotel, Dana Inn and Marina (619-222-6440), is offering us slightly higher room rates, in case the Hyatt fills. The Hyatt Islandia has a beautiful location on Mission Bay, nice rooms, a great pool, and other offerings such as discounted tickets to local attractions. The hotel is close to many fun destinations, such as, Sea World, Beaches, Old Town, Balboa Park, etc. SCA members should come early or stay a few days later to enjoy “America’s Finest City.”

The meetings will begin on Thursday morning (see Preliminary Program in this issue). The usual SCA Thursday night reception and Silent Auction is scheduled at the San Diego Natural History Museum in Balboa Park from 7-10 pm. This is always an ideal event during the annual meeting to socialize under a less formal atmosphere. The Museum has a terrific exhibit on reptiles planned for that time, as well as, the excellent permanent exhibits. The food and drink will be great, too. Transportation will be provided for the reception.

SCA members are encouraged to donate items for the silent auction; you can send them to me at the address printed in your Newsletter.

Donations may include offers of services, books, reports, art works, or other items. The silent auction represents an important way to help finance the numerous SCA programs, such as Archaeology Week, Native American Programs, public education initiatives, etc.

On Friday night, the Awards Dinner will feature Dr. Lynne Goldstein, Professor at Michigan State University and Editor of American Antiquity, as keynote speaker. Immediately following the Awards Dinner, there will be a dance open to all meeting attendees, with music supplied by a local country swing band. After the full day of sessions on Saturday, the Chinese Historical Museum of San Diego will host a reception for SCA members. Then, everyone will be invited to a no-host dinner at a local Chinese restaurant. Three different tours are planned to local historic sites — two on Saturday and one on Sunday (April 12). Local volunteers are working on arranging discounted fares for deep-sea fishing and scuba boat excursions. Such trips originate at a marina next to the hotel. We also hope to offer a snorkeling tour to a local submerged prehistoric site, guided by a local underwater archaeologist. Details on the exciting program of symposia and workshops planned for the 1998 Meeting are given in the Preliminary Program presented in this issue and on the SCA Web Page.

Any offers to volunteer during the Annual Meeting will be cheerfully accepted by Mike Sampson, Local Arrangements Chair, at the address given in the Newsletter. Active volunteers can be compensated by free meeting registration and free membership to the Society.

SCA Archaeology Week 1998

Beth Padon

Archaeology Week is a great opportunity to share our enthusiasm with the public by inviting people to see local archaeology. Archaeology Week 1998 is just around the corner! Our theme this year is “Piecing Together California’s Past.” The dates are May, 10-17, 1998.

I look forward to hearing about local archaeology week events from many of you. Last year, events included museum displays, lectures, interpretative hikes, school visits, artifact replications, hands-on demonstrations, and archaeology training for teachers. We had events in twenty-seven counties. To publish a statewide events program in time for the annual meetings, I need information about your event by March 15. I strongly encourage you to eMail the information to me at the following address: archweek98@discoveryworks.com

Or you can go online and fill out a form for the event. The form will be posted on the World Wide Web at http://www.discoveryworks.com/archweek.html For the events program, I need the Event Title, Event Description, Location and County, Sponsoring Organization, Date, Contact Person, Phone Number. Be sure to list a contact person so that people can call for the latest information about the event.

SCA Business and Activities
SCA Business and Activities

Thanks to Thad Van Bueren, who is spearheading the poster for 1998, and to Blossom Hamusek for guiding the bookmark project through the schools. I also thank last year’s sponsors and look forward to listing them again in 1998. The 1997 sponsors included the SCA; the U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Land Management, California State Office; the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Pacific Southwest Region; the National Parks Service; the State Department of Parks and Recreation, Office of Historic Preservation; CalTrans; the Pacific Coast Archaeological Society, Costa Mesa; and Petra Resources, Inc., Irvine.

There will be an Archaeology Week Committee meeting at the SCA meetings in San Diego on Friday, April 10, at noon; we will begin planning Archaeology Week 1999. Our committee meeting is open to all. Also at the meetings, we will distribute posters, bookmarks, and events programs. Please plan to pick up your County’s materials and help save on mailing costs.

I would like to thank all the organizations and individuals who have brought us the displays, lectures, demonstrations, tours, open houses, hikes and other events and have made Archaeology Week so success-

ful. SCA Archaeology Week 1998 will be our seventh California Archaeology Week celebration. Come join the fun.

SCA 1998 Poster Session

The SCA 1998 Poster Session will follow on the heels of the SCA conference theme: “Public Archaeology: Footsteps Toward the New Millennium.” Presenters are encouraged to develop posters that follow the conference theme to the best of their abilities, but no poster will be excluded. Presenters must send a completed application including a title and a 100-word abstract to Ron May (e-mail: SCA1998@aol.com) March 15, 1998. The application form can be found on the SCA web page (<http://www.scanet.org>). If you are planning to participate, need a hard copy of the application or have any other questions regarding the poster session, please contact Myra Herrmann (e-mail: mjh@proc2000.san.net.gov; phone: (619) 236-6827) as soon as possible.

The Thomas F King Award for Excellence in Cultural Resource Management

Russ Kaldenberg

The Society for California Archaeology is honored to recognize Dr. Thomas F. King by establishing this award. Tom is recognized as a founding father of cultural resources management (CRM), not only in California but throughout the United States. His commitment to the preservation of the past, as well as his personal sacrifices, have made cultural resource management a significant player in the world of environmental studies. Since the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act in 1969 and the California Environmental Quality Act in 1970, hundreds of young men and women have made their livelihoods through identifying, managing, and resolving conflicts about cultural resources. Without Tom’s vision, dedication, and sacrifice, many of us would not have the opportunity for careers in CRM, a field that is still growing and, we hope, involving people who have chosen it because they want to make a difference, and because of lessons learned through or because of Tom’s national stature and leadership.

Tom is homegrown; he is a founding member of the SCA and has served as an elected official on the Executive Board, including time as the President of the Society. He left teaching and private consulting in California to coordinate archaeological contract work for the New York Archaeological Council, moved to Washington, D.C. with the National Park Service, then to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia), where he was chief of staff to the “State” Historic Preservation Officer. Returning to the United States in 1979, he served with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for the tumultuous decade of the 1980s. With his wife, cultural anthropologist Patricia Parker, Tom was largely responsible for defining a “traditional cultural property” as a particular kind of historic place that...
must be dealt with in planning. Early on, he saw the worthiness of partnership with Indian tribes and individuals, which has become the accepted way of doing CRM in the United States.

This award honors him as a stalwart of his time, a living legend, a founding father, a spiritual inspiration for all of us in the field of cultural resource management.

Nominees for this award must meet the following criteria:

1. Be a member in good standing of the Society for California Archaeology;
2. Be nominated by a peer who is also a member in good standing;
3. Have conducted outstanding work in the field of CRM, either as a career or in the form of an individual accomplishment. Examples of such work include (but are not limited to) the following:

   - Meaningful involvement of indigenous or other minority communities in cultural resources management;
   - Mediation of conflicts between modern land use and preservation of culturally important places or traditions;
   - Excellent applied interdisciplinary work, involving not only archaeology but such fields as planning, ethnography, architectural history, and sociology;
   - Development of innovative approaches to resource identification, protection, or management;
   - Development of a creative, effective, academic, community or private sector CRM program;
   - Creation of a major piece of intellectual property dealing with resource management;
   - Innovation in an approach to data recovery or data management;
   - Having been instrumental in decisions to preserve important resources for their cultural values, especially those at risk of loss, over a period of time;
   - Development of a specific program to enhance the preservation of California’s heritage.

The work for which an individual is nominated must show outstanding leadership in the field of CRM and be work of a kind that would honor the career of Dr. Thomas F. King. Please send nominations to Russell L. Kaldenberg, Committee Chair, C/O Bureau of Land Management, 2135 Butano Drive, Sacramento, CA 95825; telephone 916-978-4635; fax 916-978-4657; eMail rkaldenb@blm.gov. Nominations are due to the committee by February 1 of each year, but for 1998 they are due no later than March 1.
**Editor’s Note**

**Sharon Waechter**

After three interesting years, I will be turning the editorship of the *Newsletter* over to Dr. Greg White and his staff at CSU Chico. I do so for two reasons: because my fieldwork and other duties have made it difficult at times to put in as much time on the *Newsletter* as it deserves; and even more, because I think it’s important to encourage new voices and new ideas. (Anyone who knows Greg will agree that he never has a shortage of fresh ideas.) Greg will supervise both the editing and the production. We plan to work together during the transition, and my goal is to “pass the baton” completely by the September or December issue. I’ve enjoyed my stint as Editor, as it’s given me a chance to meet colleagues from all over California, and to keep up on what’s going on around the state. I relinquish the editorship with a small tug of sadness, but mostly with satisfaction at having served the membership for the last three years.

I want to thank several people for their help and support: past and present members of the SCA Executive Board, particularly Breck Parkman, Lynn Gamble, Mary Manieri, and Julia Costello; those who have helped me get particular issues of the *Newsletter* out on time — Donna Day, Debbie Jones, Pat Mikkelsen, and Laura Leach-Palm; and the Principals of Far Western (Amy Gilreath, Bill Hildebrandt, Kelly McGuire, and Pat Mikkelsen) for providing me with matching time and with free access to all Far Western facilities, out of their desire to support the Society. And I extend a special thanks to Doug and Carol Bryce, who have worked behind the scenes for the past nine years to produce a high-quality *Newsletter* — sometimes under very difficult conditions — and to get it to you on time.

And thanks to all the members, Native American readers, and others who have taken the time to let me know what they’ve liked, and what they haven’t, about the issues we’ve produced. I hope we’ve learned from each other. Please watch for a new address, phone number, and eMail address for future submissions, or contact me or Greg (<gwhite@facultypo.csuchico.edu> / (916) 898-4360) with any questions.

**Meetings**

**1997 Northern California Data Sharing Meeting**

**Jane Caputo**

The Northern California Data Sharing Meeting in Yosemite Valley was attended by about 100 people. Thirteen papers were presented on topics ranging from historic studies in Yosemite National Park, to accelerated obsidian studies to a Passports In Time (PIT) project on the Six Rivers National Forest. Two tours were led by Scott Jackson and Paul DePascale, one with a group of around 50 people to the base of Lower Yosemite Falls (visiting sites along the way), and the other with a group of about five to a flood-damaged site in El Portal. About 30 people attended the reception following the meeting, during which Ben Cunningham-Summerfield played Indian flute.

For the overall success of the meeting, I’d like to thank all the presenters: Craig Bates; Tim Keefe and Bruce Kahl; Tom Origer, Janine Loyd and SueAnn Schroder; Mike Rondeau; Jim Snyder; Shelly Davis-King; John Foster; Tom Burge and Bill Mathews; Ken Wilson; Jeremy Kempf, Pete Keeney, Richard Osborne, and Danny Recendez; and Will Moore, Sylvia Augustus, and Pam Lewiston. I’d also like to thank the following individuals: Ann King Smith (Redwood National Park); Heather Busam and Ken Wilson (Six Rivers National Forest); Sonny Montague, Scott Jackson, Paul DePascale, Laura Laird, and Ben Cunningham-Summerfield (Yosemite National Park).

**Chinese American Heritage Symposium 1998 Annual Meetings**

**Paul G. Chace**

One of the symposia at this year’s meetings in San Diego will be *Building Chinese American Heritage: Archaeology, History, Material Items, Performance...& Food*. An experimental approach, this symposium brings together project contributors from diverse heritage fields — with an audience including concerned Chinese Americans, along with Chinese-language media, to enrich impacts and extend outreach. This milieu encourages more eloquent, thoughtful, and useful interpretations of Chinese American cultural history, situating specific data and theoretical orientations. As a current political concern, such reconstructed
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heritage reflects on both identification with Americans’ personal citizenship, and on-going international relations. [Editor’s note: See the Annual Meeting Program, Symposium 25, for paper titles and authors.]

The Forum on European Expansion and Global Interaction (FEEGI)

The Forum on European Expansion and Global Interaction will hold its second biennial meeting at the Henry Huntington Library in San Marino, California on April 4-5, 1998. The Forum is concerned with the expansion of Europe and the worldwide response to that expansion, from its beginnings in the 14th Century to the middle of the 19th Century. The Forum seeks participation by scholars in all areas of the field and of interdisciplinary interests.

For further information, contact: Professor David Hancock, Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, Robinson Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138,

Phone: (617) 496-3685; Fax: (617) 496-2111; eMail: hancockd@umich.edu

Report on Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) Annual Meeting Atlanta, GA, January 7-11, 1998

Anmarie Medin

This year’s SHA meetings were the most successful so far, with almost a thousand archaeologists and 68 sessions. Topics ranged from the technically oriented, such as GIS use, to archaeological perspectives on slavery. The following is a brief summary of sessions that might interest SCA members.

In a public session on Saturday afternoon, the Society for Georgia Archaeology distributed a teaching packet with lesson plan ideas that could be redesigned for any grade level; the packet was entitled Historical Archaeology in Our Big Back Yard: Atlanta and Beyond. Georgia’s two-sided Archaeology Week poster featured a picture of a WPA dig on the front, and on the back, a list of state and federal agencies, academic institutions and museums, and archaeological consultant firms, as well as archaeological sites in Georgia that students could visit. A brief chronology of the state’s history was also presented.

Don Hardesty organized a session titled The Archaeology of Frontier Saloons: A View from the Comstock. The session centered around recent work of the public archaeology program in Virginia City, part of the Comstock National Landmark District. Papers discussed the potential differences in material culture between “two-bit” and “one-bit” saloons, children as part of the saloon environment, and shooting galleries as saloon entertainment. Several papers discussed the public archaeology program and the potential for developing ties with the local community as a method of discouraging site vandalism.

Mary Praetzellis of Sonoma State University organized the session Archaeologists as Storytellers II, the Sequel. Presenters were invited to tell a story or act a scene involving the people of their archaeological project, but couldn’t mention an actual excavation or show excavation slides. All participants will agree that Thomas Jefferson stole the show by describing his “novel techniques” for unearthing the mysteries of the past.

Several other sessions featured papers on projects in California. The session Sin City focused on the archaeology of prostitution. The Los Angeles Metropolitan Water District project near Union Station recovered remains associated with brothels from the 1890s and 1900s. Julia Costello, of Foothill Resources, tied the material culture to the lives of the prostitutes and their clients to get a look “behind the red lights.” In Discerning Health Care Practices, archaeologists presented papers on 19th-century health care and sanitation. Rebecca Allen and Christy Dolan, both of KEA, presented findings from an excavation in
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downtown San Diego. Dr. Horace Woodward’s privy contained an interesting mix of patent medicine bottles and advertising signs, providing an opportunity to discuss the growing distinction of subdisciplines in the medical profession in the late 19th century. In the contributed session Historical Archaeology of Colonialism and the Frontier, Julie Wizorek and Russell Skowronek of Santa Clara University presented a paper on their interpretation of changing uses of public space at Mission Santa Clara de Asis.

For further information on the SHA, including membership, contact the business office at P.O. Box 30446, Tucson, AZ 85715, or visit their web page at http://www.azstarnet.com/~sha/

Publications

Brazil Mound Public Report Available

Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc. is pleased to announce the publication of a booklet written for the general public entitled The Brazil Mound, Archaeology of a Prehistoric Village, by Sharon A. Waechter, with graphics by Tamara M. Ekness and J. Peter Mundwiler. The booklet was adapted from the 1996 document by Paul D. Bouey, Final Report on the Archaeological Analysis of CA-SAC-43, Cultural Resources Mitigation for the Sacramento Urban Area Levee Reconstruction Project, Sacramento County, California, prepared under contract with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The Brazil Mound, one of a network of large villages and burial mounds of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta area, is a valuable site for studying culture change in Central California. The booklet is being distributed to local libraries, universities, and museums, and is available from Far Western for $10.00 (P.O. Box 413, Davis, California 95617). It is also posted on Far Western’s new web site (farwestern.com).

Kraak Plate Design Sequence, 1550-1655

Clarence Shangraw and Edward Von der Porten

This small publication (18 pages, including line drawings) is now available from the Drake Navigators Guild, at their cost ($4 U.S., $5 elsewhere). For a copy, contact Edward Von der Porten at 143 Springfield Drive, San Francisco, 94132-1456, (415) 664-7701.

Field Reports

San Luis Obispo Chinatown

Robert L. Hoover

In 1987, a large archaeological assemblage was recovered during the construction of the Mill Street parking garage in San Luis Obispo. The materials were washed and bagged but remained in storage until 1997, when funds became available to sort, catalogue, and analyze the collection. The site, CA-SLO-64H, was the center of San Luis Obispo’s Chinatown, as well as the location of earlier mission-period features. Principal Investigator John Parker and consultants Roberta Greenwood, Sherri Gust, and Robert Hoover are directing over 200 volunteers and students in the sorting and cataloging process. So far, staff and volunteers have put in more than 3,000 hours of sorting time, and nearly half of the collection has been processed. The City and Cal Poly State University have cooperated to provide lab space, furniture, and computers in the campus’ former poultry unit.

Overall site maps have been created on computer from the many drawings in the field notes. The results clearly show how the various historic features related to one another. Feature 4 contained a pink plaster floor from the mission period, with many small *Olivella* shell beads and a variety of Venetian glass beads. Sherds of majolica, galera ware, and local mission wares also were found. Features 6 and 19 were Chinese trash pits, perhaps from domestic residences. A wide range of Chinese food storage jars, stomach bitters and soda water bottles, and kerosene lamp chimneys were recovered. The site contains an amazing number of Chinese opium pipe bowls, as well as porcelain sherds and Chinese bone toothbrushes.

The Chinatown project has provided a rare opportunity for the public to become involved in and appreciate archaeological research in their own community. Dr. Parker has already given 17 public lectures on the project and set up six displays, and he has been written up in six newspapers and one magazine. Public awareness has played an important role in this project. For further information on SLO Chinatown, contact John Parker at (805) 772-011.
Another Example of Cooperation Between Native Americans and Archaeologists

Francis A. Riddell

On October 17, 1997, the grave of a Native American was professionally exposed and recorded at archaeological site CA-LAS-80, located in Honey Lake Valley, Lassen County (Map 1). This recovery effort is notable for several reasons. First of all, it is a prime example of a coordinated effort between Native Americans, archaeologists, bureaucrats, and the recreational public. Secondly, the remains were in good condition and readily recoverable. What might have been a disaster was instead a text-book example of cooperation between a number of people representing a variety of interests and values.

CA-LAS-80, recorded by me in 1951, consists of a wind-scoured blowout area on a bluff above Long Valley Creek, not far from the small town of Herlong. I noted evidence of human remains at the time, so the finding of a complete burial being exposed by natural forces was not a surprise. What was surprising, however, was the fact that the grave was discovered by off-road vehicle recreationalists who realized what it was and reported it to the Lassen County Sheriff’s Department in Susanville. They exposed just enough of the remains to make sure they were human, then recovered them with sand and left them alone. The system worked; the coroner notified the Native American Heritage Commission in Sacramento, who in turn contacted the local Susanville Rancheria. Representatives of the Rancheria contacted me, because of my longtime involvement in such matters in the Honey Lake Valley region (e.g., Riddell 1950; 1960a; 1960b; 1978).

It was urgent that the burial be recovered immediately, before it could be destroyed by unthinking visitors to the site. Although ORV enthusiasts did visit the grave site, they were careful not to disturb it. For this they are to be highly commended. It was also fortunate that I was able to leave for the scene on short notice and to get an experienced artist and avocational archaeologist, Donald F. McGeein, to go with me to assist in the exposure and recording. We drove directly to the site from Sacramento and were met there by a small group of people representing the Susanville Rancheria, the Bureau of Land Management, and the ORV community. Also there was a local archaeologist, Kate Lanier, who assisted in the recovery activities. The Susanville Rancheria was represented by Mr. and Mrs. Leo Guitierrez and Myron Miller. The BLM had earlier visited the site to obtain locational data, to determine if the grave was within their jurisdiction their representative on the scene was Tom Cox, an enforcement officer. The ORV community was represented by Michael Sifty, the father of the man (“Shane” Sifty) who had made the original discov-

er and left it undisturbed, and by Frank “Red” McGuire, who declared himself to be one-third (sic) Shoshone.

The remains were of an elderly adult male buried in a flexed position on his right side. The left leg had been displaced by natural forces and was not in articulation. But most of the remainder of the skeleton was in order and in good condition. The skull was in an excellent state of preservation, a miracle considering that the remains were in

Although ORV enthusiasts did visit the grave site, they were careful not to disturb it. For this they are to be highly commended.

The remains were carefully removed and placed in a cardboard carton with the associated artifacts, with suitable Native American observances being made (burning sage, etc.). The box was deeply buried nearby by the Native Americans present. It was possible to photograph and otherwise record both the burial and the associated artifacts (beads). However, it was not possible to make more than rudimentary observations of the skeletal material itself. The sagittal sutures were nearly obscured, and several molars were missing and the sockets from which they had come were displaced by natural forces and were not in articulation. But most of the remainder of the skeleton was in order and in good condition. The skull was in an excellent state of preservation, a miracle considering that the remains were in

the midst of an ORV playground. In association with the burial were two types of *Olivella* shell beads. There were six Type A1a (small spire-lopped) and 22 Type C4a (split, end-perforated) beads (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987, 116-7 and 123). The latter, however, are larger than those noted by Bennyhoff and Hughes.

Regarding the temporal significance of the Type A1a beads, Bennyhoff and Hughes state that they are “most common during the Early period and Phase 1 of the Late period in central California, but can occur in any period” (p.117-8). As for the Type C4a, they say it can be “assigned to the terminal Middle period on the basis of seriation with site-associated types” (p. 125). Without a 14C date for the burial as reference it, can be provisionally surmised that the burial at CA-LAS-80 dates to around A.D. 1000.

The remains were carefully removed and placed in a cardboard carton with the associated artifacts, with suitable Native American observances being made (burning sage, etc.). The box was deeply buried nearby by the Native Americans present. It was possible to photograph and otherwise record both the burial and the associated artifacts (beads). However, it was not possible to make more than rudimentary observations of the skeletal material itself. The sagittal sutures were nearly obscured, and several molars were missing and the sockets from which they had come exhibited signs of rather serious infection. The robust femora appeared to be slightly bowed forward and the linea aspera of both were quite prominent. The brief period of review available to us suggested a robust man in his late 50’s or early 60’s, who may have had his health seriously challenged by the infected teeth. The teeth themselves were exceedingly worn down, and the man had an edge-to-edge bite. The individual was longheaded (dolichocephalic) and had a harmonic face; that is, the face was long, in harmony with his dolichocephaly.
The only negative aspect to the recovery of this individual, at least from an anthropological point of view, is the fact that a serious study could not be made of the man. In addition, bone samples for radiocarbon dating and for mitochondrial DNA analyses could not be taken. It is indeed lamentable that these remains could not have been a part of the important studies in progress for this region (Kaestle 1997). Native Americans in this part of the Great Basin are in serious debate as to who inhabited the Honey Lake region prehistorically (Muller 1997). Some adamantly state that the early people were Californians, and not Paiute (Simmons, et al 1997); the Paiute question this assertion (Dixon 1997). If only the Native Americans and the anthropologists could extend their working agreements to allow further studies of these early remains, there might be answers to the questions the Native Americans themselves raised. This controversial subject (Californian or Numic?) has been noted by McGuire (1997) on his research in nearby Secret Valley. A broadening of mutual respect for one another’s viewpoints, the Native American and the anthropologist, must come about before significant details of ancient man in California and the Great Basin are permanently lost.

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Remembering Clem Meighan
by David S. Whitley

The last year has been a difficult one for archaeologists with connections to UCLA. It has seen the passing of Ted Gutman, Jim Hill, and Clem Meighan, a group that did much to define the diversity of archaeology at the university, and to make it great. In different ways, each was a strong influence on the UCLA archaeological experience, the education of students, and, in my case, an archaeological career. Although it seems trite to have to say it, their deaths mark the end of an era for those of us who began our careers in the old wooden Archaeological Survey building out on Westwood Plaza. Clem’s passing also marks the end of an era for California archaeology.

My relationship with Clem began with an undergraduate field class at the Malibu site, in the early 1970s. This was the only formal class I took from Clem, but it was hardly the limit of what I learned from him. After the class, he had me hired as course note-taker for the old Class Notes company for his California archaeology and ethnology classes. He seemed to know that, since I was working my way through college, I needed money more than credits. The job helped me finance two more quarters of school (always a quarter-by-quarter proposition back then). Even more, it allowed me to quit my job as a night-time bank janitor. I haven’t waxed a floor since.

Clem’s biggest influence on my career came from some advice he gave me when I was starting my Ph.D. work. I was discussing possible dissertation topics with him, and he said “The quick way to success in the profession is to do me-too archaeology.” I guess this could be called “back-handed advice,” because he was actually challenging me to be creative and to do something different. Clem knew I had been doing rock art research in my spare time, and he suggested it as my dissertation topic. I jumped at the chance. Rock art had been one of my passionate interests since I visited the French Paleolithic caves as a 12-year-old — and it was as far from “me-too archaeology” as you could get in 1980.
Though this incident influenced the rest of my career, I think it’s more important for what it says about Clem. During the 1970s and 1980s, many archaeologists perceived him as one of the “traditionalists,” tied to “old-fashioned” descriptive, empirical research. Yet while Clem certainly valued such research, it was his suggestion that I study prehistoric art and religion for my dissertation. The intellectual free-rein and support he gave me in doing so allowed me to develop my interests in post-processual archaeology, the current cutting-edge of the profession. Clem’s recognition of the importance of prehistoric ritual, art, and symbolism, and his urging me to study them, in fact put him ahead of, rather than behind, the intellectual trends of that period. Rock art was of course important to Clem, as demonstrated by his creation of the UCLA Rock Art Archive, and his own research in Baja California and Costa Rica.

This brings up a largely unrecognized paradox about Clem’s intellectual and professional life. In his retirement he dedicated much of his time to the American Committee for the Preservation of Archaeological Collections (ACPAC). He quickly became the national spokesman for the profession during the period when NAGPRA became federal law. NAGPRA has resulted in the removal of archaeological burial collections from museums and their reinterment by tribal groups. Many in our profession have opposed NAGPRA, because it seems to devalue archaeological research, essentially saying that American Indian religious beliefs are more important than scientific knowledge. Whether one agrees with this perspective or not isn’t really the issue; what matters is that many archaeologists were unprepared for the implications of NAGPRA, and were essentially incapable of responding to it. In their teaching and their research, they had consistently failed to afford religion and belief any significance. Cultures, in the view of some archaeologists, are adaptive systems, and the important topics of study are subsistence, economy, and technology. Art, religion, ritual and belief are, from this perspective, not worth studying. When American Indians stood up and claimed that archaeologists had been disrespectful of their traditions and beliefs, very few archaeologists could honestly argue to the contrary. Meanwhile, it was these religious beliefs that were causing archaeologists to lose their museum collections, and hampering their abilities to do fieldwork.

Clem of course knew otherwise. He taught Native American religion and ritual in his courses. He did research on art and symbolism. He worked with native informants. And he knew that beliefs mattered. This is what made him such an effective national spokesman for the profession and allowed him to argue honestly for the importance of scientific knowledge. Unlike most archaeologists, he knew where NAGPRA could lead, because he understood the power of beliefs and religion in people’s lives. And he could defend our quest for scientific knowledge as something apart from religious belief but still important, because, unlike many in the profession, he had never claimed that Native American religion was of unimportant.

I want to raise one final paradox about Clem, NAGPRA, and the future of our profession. This concerns the important question of where North American archaeological research can head, during a period when religious beliefs and practices constrain what we can study and collect. Gary White Deer, a Choctaw, writes (in *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*, edited by N. Swidler et al, Alta Mira Press, 1997) about ways that we can all find common ground in the era of NAGPRA. He argues that we can come to an understanding, and an accommodation of our different interests, as soon as archaeologists accept the fact that some things are sacred to Native Americans. The problem with White Deer’s suggestion is that, for many archaeologists, “sacredness” has no meaning, no economic or “adaptive” value (whatever this may be), and thus no social importance.

Yet it is in the study of rock art, which Clem championed for decades, where White Deer’s request for common ground with archaeologists may be found. Such study emphasizes the importance of religion, ritual, and belief in our research — exactly what some Native Americans claim
Figure 1: California Intensification Theory Model of Expectations.

Articles

has been missing from it. It involves no “collection” of artifacts, only pictures and tracings, so it does not disturb the sites on the landscape. Yet it allows us to study scientifically the prehistoric past. (My own experience is that Native Americans respond very favorably to rock art research, for these very reasons). The paradox of Clem’s professional life, then, is that he was at once our national spokesman for the importance of archaeology’s ability to contribute to scientific knowledge, and a national leader in promoting the study of the things seemingly in opposition to science: Native American art and religion — the very source of the controversy between archaeologists and Native Americans. I don’t think this is a contradiction, but instead a sign of his intellectual depth and his far-sightedness. Both archaeologists and Native Americans, whether they realize it or not, will suffer from his passing.

Resource Abundance and Social Change

(cont’d from Page 1)

theory is built around widespread archaeological evidence for coincident change in diet, tool kits, mobility, social organization, and regional interaction, supported by a robust body of ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological evidence that population density was anchored to resource density (e.g., Baumhoff 1963) and social organization was integral to food acquisition and production (e.g., Gould 1979; Hildebrandt 1984).

M. Cohen established the basic terms of the intensification theory argument in 1981 (M. Cohen 1981). He challenged the long-held view that Pacific rim aboriginal people enjoyed an “affluent foraging” adaptation afforded by an environment well-supplied with a high density and predictability of vegetal foods. In a review of West Coast archaeological sequences, he showed that the vegetal food diets were actually a relatively recent innovation, and connected this to widespread evidence for significant population increase over time. The vegetal diets, he argued, were encumbered by higher processing costs when compared to the older, broad-spectrum diets. This indicated that higher population densities were not permitted by a reliance on vegetal foods, but rather, a reliance on vegetal foods had been forced by population densities overreaching the capacity of more efficient foods. He went on to link population growth to dimensions of culture change reaching well beyond the immediate evidence for dietary shifts. Population growth and consequent territorial circumscription required higher levels of production, he argued, resulting in increased vulnerability to natural events as well as increased intergroup competition and hostility, trade and exchange, and other mediating factors. Thus, demographic forcing produced changes in technology, organization, production, and interaction.

Intensification theory has advanced measurably with the introduction of models using microeconomic criteria, the most significant being neo-Darwinian diet breadth models from foraging theory. In the most rigorous example of the meld between diet breadth and resource intensification, Broughton draws attention to the vertebrate zooarchaeological evidence for Emergent Period resource intensification in the Bay Area and Central Valley (Broughton 1994a, 1994b). He argues that by the end of the Archaic Period in Central California human populations had overreached the available supply of high ranked medium and large-bodied animals. Thus, through time diets were increasingly dominated by higher-cost smaller-bodied game and fish. Broughton describes this process as “reduced foraging efficiency.” In the most influential example published to date, Basgall cites...
microeconomic criteria identifying acorns as a low-quality food, and a wealth of evidence demonstrating the relatively late development of acorn-dominated diets in Central California. Basgall concludes that “we can probably explain the intensification of acorn exploitation in terms of greater population density” (Basgall 1987:43). He argued:

Requisites of an acorn-based economy (intensified use of smaller tracts of land, decreased mobility, formal territorial demarcation) appear to be behind the organizational complexity evident in much of late prehistoric and protohistoric California (Basgall 1987:45).

Basgall’s generalization to other dimensions of adaptation from the staple food may be why his article is regarded as heralding a sea change in California theory. From this way of thinking, regional culture can be regarded as a product of local variation in the rate at which demographic thresholds were reached, determined by the density and distribution of certain key resources. Recalling Baumhoff’s (1963) postulates, the economics of the dominant part of the diet controlled the pace.

One of Basgall’s most important contributions stemmed from his recognition that the acorn intensification arrived at different times in different regions of Northern California which, he argued, indicated that the rate and scale of culture change was faster paced in resource-rich zones because higher human population densities would create more immediate threshold conditions (Basgall 1987). Beaton has identified the underlying premise of this argument: that the causal relationship between population density and social complexity “is intuitively (and demonstrably) straightforward—the more parts in motion, the more organizational structure is required” (Beaton 1991:950).

The proper role of regional exchange systems in this theory is more difficult to judge because intensification theory has focused on endogenous processes, looking for triggering conditions in the dynamics of local population-resource relationships. Beaton recognized the shortcomings of a theory focused on endogenous processes to the exclusion of all others when he introduced a distinction between intensification, “the sum of additional labor and material devoted to increasing the yield of currently exploited resources within the residential estate” versus extensification, “the sum of additional labor and material devoted to the capture of new resources either within or without the estate” (Beaton 1991:951). He postulated that, in Central California, the extensification option was determined by additional population growth and circumscription after intensification. Taken as an argument for the origin of regional exchange, his model recalls M. Cohen’s notion that exogenous concerns were also forced by endogenous demographic change and primarily involved attention to other’s resources rather than commodities. By implication, intensification preceded extensification, and trade was systematic and transregional only to the extent defined by the pattern of group-by-group energy needs.

Framed as an argument of expectation, intensification theory would predict the following sequence of archaeological signatures: (1) reduced foraging efficiency (increased diet breadth), followed by (2) intensification (new tools and organization), followed by (3) intergroup trade and exchange (extensification) (Figure 1). Further, intensification theory posits little or no role for multi-group co-use or coaccess to resources, and in fact assumes that territorial circumscription preceded extensification.

Alternative Theory

Accepting the basic argument that social complexity developed in response to competitive relationships, the causal chain describe above still has two problems. First, while the theory sees resource intensification as the initial response to resource stress, as we’ll see in the Clear Lake basin ethnography discussed below, the California archaeological and ethnographic evidence can also be read to indicate that the degree of resource intensification practised by a social group was proportional to the scope of authority (number of personnel affected) and extent of authority (perception of obligation) held by elites. This reveals what, on the face of it, is a fairly pedestrian notion: intensified food production could not exist in the absence of social differentiation.

However, it should also follow that social differentiation was a precondition for intensified food production. Social differentiation would have to exist in order for resource intensification (i.e., labor organized under authority), to be implemented, opposite of the intensification theory postulate. This highlights the second problem: intensification theory’s emphasis on resource stress itself as the impetus for social change. The Clear Lake ethnography discussed below will also help reveal that cultural complexity was proportional to resource abundance in prehistoric and ethnographic Northern California, with band-level organization predominant in the desert and the intricately dissected uplands of the Coast, Sierra, and Cascade ranges, and more politically centralized and complex societies located in the Delta, the Bay Area and immediate coast ranges, and the Northwest Coast region. Thus, intensification theory is left to argue: (a) that the higher population densities afforded by resource abundance generated a greater variety and degree of competitive relationships under special conditions of resource stress (climate change or immigration), producing social differentiation (allowed by Basgall 1987), or (b) resource abundance itself generated a greater variety and degree of competitive relationships (absent resource stress), producing social differentiation. My measure of these alternatives is simple: of the two, (a) is encumbered by special circumstances unlikely to apply to all cases, while (b) is not, and is thus more likely to be correct.

Others have sounded the idea that social differentiation developed in the context of resource abundance, but they—
like the intensification theorists—emphasized endogenous processes (e.g., Hayden 1994). I assume that, by their very nature, all social systems are dependent on other social systems (Murphy 1970). Further, because resources were not distributed evenly in space and time, exogenous competitive pressures were directed to a greater degree (in both number and intensity) to groups living alongside resource abundance. It is likely that this kind of exogenous competitive pressure existed among the original, colonizing populations in Northern California, because the state’s first people would have also been the first to have neighbors. Even low-density foragers would have made land use and food acquisition decisions with reference to neighbors, or faced other conditions (e.g., marriage partners or information) resulting in competitive relationships with neighbors. While intensification theory dictates an original “lonely forager” population that ultimately self-organized in response to circumscription, as a point of departure, I argue that foraging groups early on would have established competitive relationships especially with regard to access to resource surplus.

How would exogenous competitive relationships result in organizational change, specifically, the differentiation of authority roles? Hayden points out that existing models of hunter-gatherer competition and conflict are heavily reliant on studies of the evolutionary ecology of animal populations, where competition is assumed to covary with resource stress. Humans, on the other hand, are able to “transform excess resources into other highly desired, scarcer goods and services” (Hayden 1994:225). Following Y. Cohen (1983), Spencer (1991), and Fredrickson (Fredrickson and White 1994), I argue that internal social differentiation should develop in proportion to the significance of external competitive relationships, with emphasis placed on roles that mediated conflict by converting it into wealth. California ethnography is replete with descriptions of the role of the tribelet head as mediator: administering visitor’s trespass and access, bartering for food and goods, and presiding over feasts. Simply put, the mediator’s goal was to meet the resource surplus by expanding the potential labor pool to include exogenous sources. Thus, internal social differentiation should develop in proportion to the significance of external competitive relationships, and external competitive relations would have been greater in the context of resource abundance. Once developed, administrative power and wealth would be in place to enable resource intensification, specialization, and other dimensions embodied in emerging social complexity.

Framed as an argument of expectations, the alternative theory would predict the following sequence of archaeological signatures: (1) inter-group trade and exchange (signaling social differentiation), followed by (2) intensification and specialization, followed by (3) reduced foraging efficiency (Figure 2). Further, this theory would posit that multi-group co-use or coaccess was common in the context of resource abundance, and in fact assumes that territorial circumscription did not prevail over a pattern of increasing economic interdependence.

**Defining Abundance and Complexity: Clear Lake**

In order to demonstrate Clear Lake basin as a suitable test case, it is necessary to show that the area was characterized by resource abundance and cultural complexity, and in the process fine-tune my definition of both concepts.

**Resource Abundance: Fish.** Clear Lake basin is set like a niche deep in the north-south folds of the North Coast Ranges. Draining eastward into the valley, the basin is also usually considered a biotic province of the Central Valley, albeit surrounded by a rugged upland with miles in all directions of mixed chamise and closed cone chaparral. The lake is quite shallow, averaging only 29.7 feet deep, and has...
low turbidity and warm, biotically rich waters. A number of streams drain into the lake, arranged like spokes from a hub. Stream flows peak in December and January, and drop dramatically by mid-spring to early summer.

To an extent, the Clear Lake faunal list would be familiar anywhere in the Northstate. For present purposes, most remarkable was the lake’s peculiar fishery, classed as a province of the Sacramento-San Joaquin fishery (Hopkirk 1973; Moyle 1976). Cyprinidae fisheries produced the most massive and significant runs, with rafts of shore-spawning blackfish along the lake shores between April and July, and the streams literally bank to bank with spawning hitch and splittail between February to April (Figure 3). The hitch runs were timed to correspond to the last rains of the season. This is thought to be an adaptation to heavy lacustrine predation, permitting the fry to develop in standing pools relatively free from predation by the piscivore splittail and Sacramento squawfish (Geary and Moyle 1980). The timing and context of the hitch run makes it completely different from anadromous fisheries. It occurred in the spring and summer when, elsewhere in the region, resource densities were most dispersed and depressed. Second, it occurred in small streams as the water dropped:

In past years there have been times when the streams have dropped so rapidly that the spawning fish were stranded. Kelsey Creek, tributary to Clear Lake, has been so choked with stranded fish that one could literally walk across the stream on the backs of fish (Murphy 1948:105).

Key to the distinction of this fishery is the predictability of the fish (corresponding to early spring rains), enhanced by their accessibility once in the stream. Fish were scooped out by hand or with a basket, and simple stake and brush dams were built downstream of the runs, trapping masses.

Resource Abundance: Obsidian. The Clear Lake obsidian sources—Mt. Konocti and Borax Lake—are the northernmost sources in the North Coast Ranges, and occur adjacent to a large territory lacking adequate flaked stone resources, the foothills and western Sacramento Valley. Mt. Konocti obsidian is (generally) the predominant obsidian found in archaeological sites west of Clear Lake, including the upper Russian River basin and immediate coast range (e.g., Basgall and Bouey 1984; Layton 1990). The Borax Lake obsidian source was a moderate to high-quality material far more predominant in archaeological contexts in the central and northern North Coast Ranges and widespread outside the region, ranging from the Northwest Coast to Monterey Bay, from the Bay Area to the northcentral Sierra (Fredrickson and Origer n.d.). Obsidian quarries situated on the Borax Lake flow are marked by masses of flaking debris and broken blanks and cores, attesting to extensive production (Heizer and Treganza 1944).

Complexity. Various ethnographic sources indicate that the Southeastern Pomo were characterized by several factors setting them apart from their neighbors: (1) reliance on labor organized under authority for food acquisition and processing (e.g., group hunts), (2) professional and sociopolitical roles not found in surrounding districts, (3) production of goods by specialists (some possibly full-time), (4) regular exogenous interaction and commerce, (5) residence in large offshore villages, (6) dependence on watercraft for food acquisition, commerce, and travel, (7) family-based ownership of tracts of land and particular resources, and (8) relatively rigid rules of trespass, generally solved by barter.

Link Between Abundance and Complexity. Further signaling resource abundance, the fish runs supported local villages at full capacity and also many temporary camps used by visitors including Northern Pomo, Cache Creek Patwin, Lake Miwok, Wappo, and Central Pomo, among others. These population concentrations were probably unusually high for Native California (Kniffen 1939:390), and were especially notable for their season of occurrence, when dispersal was the rule in adjoining districts. Basgall has suggested that the visitor’s optimum goal might have been fish-obsidian (Basgall 1979), an intuitively appealing notion that is even more likely to be correct given the nature of the food and season of occurrence: the rarity of a spring surplus (fat-rich at that), coupled with access to obsidian at a time when gearing-up for the season’s activities would be most imminent.

The signs of emergent complexity mentioned above are positively linked to resource surplus in the ethnography. The Southeastern Pomo commanded the Borax Lake obsidian source and several major stream sections. Visitors, alerted to the fish runs by word of mouth, arrived and bartered for access to stream sections, trading beads, goods, and other foods for dried fish and/or obsidian (Kniffen 1939:360; Barrett 1952:287-288; Vayda 1967). Members of a village might seek to control access, or otherwise benefit indirectly because “it was not uncommon for an expedition to buy from them salt, cakes, clam shells, or magnesite at fixed prices if the visitors were unfortunate in securing a good supply” (Loeb 1926:194-195). Notably, while trade settled resource and access claims, not all inter-tribelet conflicts were peacefully resolved, and warfare especially revolved around violation of property rights involving staple resources. Acorns are mentioned, as in a Koi battle with the Cache Creek Patwin (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:198, item 823). However, most battles appear to have been fought over fishing rights involving the cyprinid fisheries. Temporary coalitions were common. The Koi banded with the Lile’ek to battle “Habenapo allies over the attempt of the former to divert the course of Kelsey Creek and so gain control of the important fish supply” (Kniffen 1939:360).

Link Between Interaction and Social Differentiation. Kroeber recognized two levels of chieftainship: “great chiefs,” and “surrounding chiefs” (Kroeber 1925: 250-252). The “great chiefs” were tribelet leaders, a role that had considerable prestige and potential for material gain because...
they conducted trades, bartered for trespass, and counseled travelers. Further, they planned and executed ceremonies, apportioning food among visitors to a feast such that “the abundance of such a feast…redounded to the credit of the host village and advanced its prestige” (Barrett 1952:64).

The “surrounding” leaders included heads of kin groups and households. War chiefs and hunt chiefs were also recognized (Kniffen 1939:359). Chiefs of all kinds controlled material wealth, to the point that “[v]ery well-to-do persons usually hired their work done, but there was no established ‘wage scale’” (Barrett 1952:290). Payment was made in beads or commodities and “the greater the liberality of payment, the greater the resulting prestige” (ibid.). A wealthy individual:

could live in a fine house, wear the finest apparel and ornaments, and could have someone to wait upon him in every respect, even to the extent of bringing him a drink of water when desired (ibid.:160).

The question of specialists is quite interesting. The Pomo are widely recognized as “the principal purveyors of money to central California,” and bead-making specialists are recognized (Kroeber 1925:248). Other possible specializations are described in Pomo ethnography. Basketry must be included here (Kroeber 1925:244-247), and perhaps deep water lake fishing:

was carried on by professional fishermen. One or several individuals hired a fisherman to work for them . . . [The catch]…was divided among his employers according to the amount of each individual contribution (Kniffen 1939:350).

Still-hunters for deer (Kniffen 1939: 359) and net-making specialists are reported (Barrett 1952:153-154). This is reasonable given that the nets used to drag-fish from boats, fish the shoreline, or capture birds in waterfowl drives were up to 100-200 ft long, requiring considerable investment in time, skills, and materials (Barrett ibid.:135). Loeb (1926:179) reports flintknapping specialists, and Gifford and Kroeber mention paid dancers (1937:209, item 1011).

Link Between Social Differentiation and Resource Intensification. The Southeastern Pomo ethnography makes it plain that positions of wealth and power also had consequences to the organization of resource acquisition. The tribelet or surrounding leader’s control of the construction and destruction of fish dams is widely reported. Further, group deer hunts were systematically organized, coordinated by a “hunting chief who was in charge of all communal hunting activities…no hunt could be organized without his approval” (Barrett 1952:118). The hunt chief was a “regular official and not a temporary leader” (ibid.). The communal hunts consisted of group drives into a deer fence forming a “V” extending out hundreds of feet with a corral at the hub where snares or club wielding hunters were posted to dispatch the animals at close quarters (ibid.:123; Kniffen 1939:365). Group waterfowl hunts involved daytime drives requiring a net of 100 to 200 ft hung above shallow water held up by sticks lodged in the mud. Beaters drove the birds, ideally into the wind, and “[i]n this manner as many as a couple of hundred birds might be killed in a day” (ibid.:418). References to the capture of nesting sprig indicate that the waterfowl drives were done during the molt. There were large-scale hare drives involving beaters and a brush fence up to a mile in length. The fence contained “as many as fifty or sixty” openings each containing a snare (ibid.:129-134).

Part 2. In part 2, I’ll turn to the Clear Lake basin archaeological record and look at the relative sequence of changes in mobility, resource acquisition, production of goods, and regional interaction spheres. I’ll also look at the evidence for co-use and coaccess in Clear Lake basin, and review the growing body of evidence for co-access—and the varying interpretations—at several locations in the Northstate (Wickstrom 1986; Basgall and Hildebrandt 1988; Stewart 1993).

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March 25-29, 1998  The 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, in Seattle.  For information, contact Jonathan Driver, Program Chair, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia V5A 1S6, Canada, (604) 291-4182, fax (604) 291-5666, eMail driver@sfu.ca  Also visit the SAA web site at <http://www.saa.org>

March 25-30, 1998  Bead Research Symposium: Seed Beads and Beadwork, will be held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in conjunction with the Bead Expo '98. The Expo is a bi-annual event sponsored by the Center for Bead Research and Recursos de Santa Fe, a nonprofit organization. The Bead Research session on Saturday afternoon is free. Contact Anita Cohen-Williams at <sdpresidio@sprintmail.com> for information about the Research Session. Visit the Expo page on the Web at <http://www.thebeadsite.com>

April 1-4, 1998  The 67th Annual Meeting of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists will be held at the Salt Lake Hilton, downtown Salt Lake City, Utah. For program information, contact Clark Larsen, Research Laboratories of Anthropology, Alumni Bldg., CB# 3120, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 27599-3120, (919) 962-3844, or <cslarsen@email.unc.edu>.  For local arrangements information, contact Dennis O'Rourke, Physical Anthropology Program, National Science Foundation, 4201 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, VA 22230, (703) 306-1758, or <dorourke@nsf.gov>.

April 8-11, 1998  SCA Annual Meeting at the Hyatt Islandia Hotel, San Diego.  Room reservations can be made at 1-800-233-1234. For more information contact Michael Sampson, California State Parks, 8885 Rio San Diego Dr., Suite 270, San Diego, CA 92108, (619) 220-5323, or <msampson@parks.ca.gov> or Ron May, at <http://www.scanet.org>.  Proposals for symposia, workshops, poster presentations or volunteered papers should be submitted to Ron May at 6044 Estelle St. San Diego, CA 92115.

May 10-17, 1998  Archaeology Week. For information, contact Beth Padon at (714) 440-7020 or eMail her at archweek98@discoveryworks.com  Also see the Archaeology Week announcement elsewhere in this issue of the Newsletter.

June 11-15, 1998  Annual meeting of Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones used in Antiquity (ASMOsIA) will take place in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.  For more information contact the Dept. of Fine Arts, 465 Huntington Ave. Boston, MA 02115 or eMail <p.russel@mfa.org>.

August 1998  California-Oregon Trail Association (OCTA) Annual Meeting, Pendleton, Oregon.  For information visit the OCTA website <http://calcite.rocky.edu/octa/>.

August 23-29, 1998  The 8th International Council for Archaeozoology at the University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia. For information contact Rebecca Wigen at <rjwigen@uvvm.uvic.ca> or Quentin Mackie at <qxm@uvic.ca>.  Web site: <http://travel.bc.ca>

October 15-18, 1998  Society for the History of Technology (SHOT) will meet in Baltimore MA. For information visit their website at <http://www.auburn.edu/Academic/societies/SHOT>.

November 1998  31st Annual Chacmool Conference. Updated information will be available at the University of Calgary's website <http://ucalgary.ca/uofc/arky/chacmool.html>.

January 5-10, 1999  The Society for Historical Archaeology’s 1999 Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology will be held at the Salt Lake Hilton (Tel: 801-532-3344). Conference chair is Michael R. Polk. He may be reached at Sagebrush Archaeological Consultants, 3670 Quincy Avenue - Suite 203, Ogden, UT 84403, USA; Tel: 801-394-0013, Fax: 801-394-0032, eMail: sageb@aol.com.  The call for papers is now available on the SHA’s web site: www.sha.org

January, 10-14, 1999  The World Archaeological Congress will be held at the University of Capetown, South Africa. Symposium on the Archaeology of Colonialism will be organized by Dr. Claire Lyons. For information on the symposium, contact Dr. Lyons at the Getty Research Institute, 1200 Getty Center Drive, Suite 100, Los Angeles, CA 90049-1688 or at <comparch@getty.edu>. For information on the Congress, contact the Congress Secretariat at Global Conferences, P.O. Box 44503, Claremont, 7735, South Africa. Telephone: +27 (21) 762-8600, Fax: +27 (21) 762-8606 or eMail:<wac4@globalconf.co.za>.  The conference has a website at <http://129.78.16.135/~wac99/> Internet Journal of Anthropological Studies (IJAS) is accepting papers. Publication information is found at the IJAS homepage at <http://taylor.anthro.umt.edu/ijas/ijasweb.html>.

The internet journal ASSEMBLAGE is on line at <http://www.shef.ac.uk/~assem>.

An on-line organization dedicated to protecting cultural sites through letter and eMail writing campaigns, called P.A.S.T. (Protecting Archaeological Sites Today), can be found at <http://home.uleth.ca/geo/jasweb/jasweb.htm>.

Updated information will be available at the University of Calgary's website <http://ucalgary.ca/uofc/arky/chacmool.html>.

Calendar listings include notices for meetings, lectures, museum openings, educational opportunities, etc. All submissions are welcome. For frequent updates and more background information, visit the SCA web site <http://www.scanet.org>.  Please send calendar listings to Donna Day, Tahoe National Forest, PO. Box 6003, Nevada City, CA 95959-6003 or eMail day@ips.net
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