

PUBLICATIONS IN CULTURAL HERITAGE

CONVERSATIONS WITH JOHN FOSTER, DAVID L. FELTON, AND GLENN FARRIS: Thirty Years of Cultural Stewardship at California's State Parks



David L. Felton



John Foster



Glenn Farris

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By Clinton Blount, Interviewer, Albion Environmental, Inc.
Editor, Richard Fitzgerald; Series Editor, Christopher Corey

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For Pete Schulz, we wish we could have included you.

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Image courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, CA.

PREFACE

This 31st volume of our series *Publications in Cultural Heritage*, entitled *Conversations with John Foster, David L. Felton, and Glenn Farris: Thirty Years of Cultural Stewardship at California's State Parks* is presented as part of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of California State Parks. The original intent of these “exit interviews” was simply an effort to capture the vast institutional knowledge of three Senior State Archaeologists—John Foster, “Larry” Felton, and Glenn Farris—who all retired within a few years of each other. These three, along with Pete Schulz, formed the core of the “Headquarters” cultural resources staff who followed in the footsteps of Frances Riddell and carried the torch of cultural stewardship within California State Parks. Frances Riddell, or “Fritz” as he was widely known, and his good friend and colleague, Bill Olsen, were the first and second archaeologists ever hired outside of academia in California.

It is sometimes easy to forget that there was a time before “Cultural Resource Management” (CRM), especially today, when there are 475 registered professional archaeologists in California (by the far the largest group in the United States) employed in viable careers with various state and federal government agencies, as well as private consulting firms. The modern CRM industry is an outgrowth of the overall environmental movement and the legislation borne of it during the 1960s and 1970s. In response to the post-World War II population boom and the subsequent rapid destruction of California’s archaeological heritage, pioneers like Fritz Riddell, Bill Olsen, and Norm Wilson formed the non-profit Central California Archaeological Foundation (CCAF) in 1958, and in 1966, the Society for California Archaeology was established—but neither of these worthy organizations had legislated powers (laws and policies) to enforce any measure of historic preservation in California. However, with the legal mandates of National Historic Preservation Act, the National Environmental Protection Act, Executive Order 11593, and the California Environmental Quality Act, all enacted by 1970, the directive was clear that state government needed to protect, preserve, and manage sites of “historic significance” like never before.

As noted below in the Introduction, the initial efforts by State Parks were reactive. Fritz and his colleagues were heavily engaged in “salvage archaeology projects” outside of Parks, such as the massive undertaking of creating the San Luis and Oroville reservoirs. However, with those mega projects completed, during the 1970s the Parks “Heritage Unit” became more proactive, performing activities such as conducting base-line cultural inventories of the numerous existing and newly added parks. Fritz Riddell initiated this transformation of the Park’s policy towards the management of its own cultural resources, while Farris, Felton, Foster, and Schulz have brought it to maturation over the past 30 years.

Thus, the intent of this publication is to shine a light on these dedicated cultural resource specialists and, in particular, on their historic role in forging modern Parks

resources philosophy and practice with, and sometimes in spite of, the departmental hierarchy. It is my hope that by publishing these interviews, we can gain insight from their experiences and build a better framework of cultural stewardship for our irreplaceable California cultural heritage.

Richard Fitzgerald
Editorial Advisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea of capturing the personal and career histories of the Heritage Unit's senior staff started with Richard Fitzgerald, Senior State Archaeologist, and Patrick Riordan, then Assistant State Archaeologist. Rick has been the force behind the interviews and the publications from the oral history program. Rick shares an interest with many of us in the fascinating history of archaeology in California. I am grateful to him for his support and tenacity.

I would like to personally thank the following individuals for their contributions in creating this book. I am indebted to Stella D'Oro, who transcribed the interviews and took the first editorial swing at the interviews—painstaking work. Thank you to Margo Crabtree for her careful copyediting and attention to detail. Finally, many thanks to Heather Baron who designed the publication and made that important final editorial pass through the interviews.

Finally, Rick and I are deeply appreciative of the willingness of the interviewees to participate, and to participate so fully in the oral history program. John Foster, Larry Felton, and Glenn Farris (and Breck Parkman, Mike Sampson, and Rae Schwaderer, whose interviews will be presented later) all came to the interviews ready to speak candidly about their own background, their careers in the Heritage Unit, and importantly, about what they see as the future of the Unit. I hope we have done an accurate job representing their careers and contributions.

Clinton Blount
Albion Environmental, Inc.
Santa Cruz, California

INTERVIEW AND EDITORIAL METHODS

The interviews were conducted at the Unit's headquarters and laboratory in West Sacramento, sometimes called the Subaru building after a former tenant. The interviews ran between 2½–3½ hours and were recorded using a Marantz digital field recorder set at 16-bit recording. Two microphones were used, one mixed for the interviewer and interviewee and a second for the interviewee alone. The unedited digital audio files are archived at the Cultural Resources Division archives. The interviewer was Clinton Blount, anthropologist and ethnographer, who himself had worked briefly in the Heritage Unit in 1976 and 1977, most closely with John Foster and Fritz Riddell.

Stella D'Oro transcribed the audio files. Her instructions were to remove artifacts of spoken narrative such as “um,” “you know,” “and then,” etc. D'Oro also removed repetitive responses, repaired grammatical errors common to speech, made sentences, and took the first cut at paragraphs. The goal was to preserve the “voice” of the interviewee, yet create a readable account. Blount then reviewed the transcript against the digital audio files, removing additional repetitive material, generally shortening sentences, establishing paragraphs, and adding provisional headings.

The transcripts were returned to the interviewees for a full review. Each was instructed to edit as he saw fit, remove material that he did not want included, or add material that he felt filled out a topic. However, each was admonished to retain the spoken quality of the interview, and not to rewrite to meet the standards of written narrative. Each interviewee completed full edits, returning more streamlined transcripts, and in each case, with some additional material. The interviewees removed almost nothing of substance from the interviews.

The transcripts were then copy edited and proofread for internal consistency. The interviews contain numerous references to agencies, units, and programs, often as acronyms. We have inserted the full name for each the first time they are mentioned, creating an unavoidable break in the tone of the spoken narrative.

INTRODUCTION

JOHN FOSTER, DAVID L. FELTON, GLENN FARRIS—AN APPRECIATION

Every day archaeologists practicing in California pick up a monograph, an article, a report, or a site record and see names like David Fredrickson, Clement Meighan, William Wallace, Adán Treganza, Emma Lou Davis, Robert Heizer, Franklin Fenenga, Martin Baumhoff, James Bennyhoff, or Francis Riddell. To many of us these are people we knew as Clem, Marty, Dave, Fritz, and Jim—people with whom we spent time with in the field, the lab, working over reports, or just talking and thinking about California’s cultural history. We came to know their backgrounds, their driving interests, their biases, their strengths, and their weaknesses. But to others, they are just names on reports or articles, perhaps connected through a few stories passed down around a campfire or dinner in a field house, but in many ways as remote as Cora DuBois, Anna Gayton, Ermine Wheeler-Voegelin, A.L. Kroeber, Nels Nelson, C. Hart Merriam, S.A. Barrett, Max Uhle, E.W. Gifford, or L.L. Loud are to all of us.

As we read these monographs or scrutinize yellowed accession cards, we are right to ask about these scholars—Who were their teachers? What brought them to anthropology and archaeology? How did they see our rich cultural landscape? What did they think was important? What might they have suggested we do with our span of years in the field? We know very little beyond what is left in the published and archival record. For all our interest in human behavior, we have spent very little time looking at the history of our own field. Our leading scholars were not memoirists, nor, with few notable exceptions, a biographer’s subject. And since there seem to be no settled arguments in the study of California’s cultural history, we are continually pushing forward to the next interpretation of the data, perhaps devaluing yesterday’s ideas too quickly, when in practice they are the foundations upon which our work stands.

The California Department of Parks and Recreation has been a leader in conserving the state’s heritage—the long archaeological record before the Spanish and other colonists arrived, the Spanish Colonial and Mexican eras, the Gold Rush, and all the events that have led to the state we know today—diverse, multicultural, and dynamic. It is our purpose here to learn something about just a few of the many men and women who have guided the Department’s Heritage Unit in the modern era and who are retiring and leaving their legacy, and the legacy of their mentors, to the next generation.

THE ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

The Cultural Resources Division’s oral history program began in 2010 with the goal of capturing first-hand accounts of personal backgrounds and careers of senior staff from the

Division (at various times called the Heritage Unit) as they retired. The program remains informal, however, to date we have interviewed six retired or soon-to- retire senior staff: John Foster, David L. Felton, Glenn Farris, Breck Parkman, Michael Sampson, and Rae Schwaderer. The interview program began as a simple “debrief” of retiring employees, with an aim to building a Unit administrative history. We quickly realized, however, that we had the opportunity to ask the questions we would ask Kroeber, Barrett, or DuBois: Who were your mentors, what motivated you, what advice do you have for the next generation?

In this volume, we present interviews with Foster, Felton, and Farris, three of the many archaeologists most closely associated with Department’s central base of operations and planning in Sacramento.¹ We plan to make the Parkman, Sampson, and Schwaderer interviews available in the future. They represent the experiences of senior department staff working at the Department’s district headquarters—Sonoma, San Diego, and Monterey, respectively.

THE SETTING

The 1960s was a watershed decade for environmental awareness and legislation. The decade saw the passage of the Clean Water Act, Clean Air Act, National Environmental Protection Act, Endangered Species Act, and in 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). At the federal level the message was clear—the United States had decided to put a value on environmental quality that included cultural resources, and backed that decision with laws, regulations, guidelines, and penalties. Passage of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) in 1970 added the important state-level element. After years of fighting for a place at the planning table, archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians had the recognition they needed to make the case for serious investigation and preservation of cultural resources. How they leveraged that new social value to create strong preservation programs is the story of our interviewees’ early careers and the Heritage Unit in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

Historian Nadine Ishitani Hata succinctly sums it up in her study of the historic preservation movement in California:

These laws and policies enlarged the scope of archaeological preservation. Now archaeologists had a role in an agency’s planning procedures and could “recommend rerouting, relocating, or redesigning projects to preserve archaeological sites” in place. This was the preferred approach because it prolonged the “useful life of the properties and their data” and because it was less expensive than salvage archaeology.²

In addition to preservation, the new laws and their guidelines placed a value on mitigating the impacts of a project through recovering and analyzing archaeological data.

¹ We had planned to include Peter Schultz in the first set of interviews, but unfortunately Pete suffered a debilitating stroke just before the interviews began.

² Nadine Ishitani Hata, *The Historic Preservation Movement in California 1940–1976* (California Office of Historic Preservation and the Department of Parks and Recreation, 1992), 209. Historic preservation as a shared social value has a long and tangled history in California, and the Department of Parks and Recreation in all its incarnations has played a major role in that history. Fortunately, historian Nadine Ishitani Hata took on the task of untangling that history, and her work sets the stage for the entry of our interview subjects into the Heritage Unit.

This was a significant advance over the salvage archaeology approach, best exemplified in the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960 that relegated archaeologists to gathering up what they could in abbreviated field efforts and during construction of major water storage/impound infrastructure projects. Today, we often forget that significant archaeological sites were routinely destroyed without benefit of any treatment whatsoever. The archaeological community usually had little say in the matter and interest groups, including the Native American communities, had even less. Federal and state preservation laws were revolutionary in the way they both instituted protection and ultimately changed public perception about the value of shared cultural heritage.

BEGINNINGS OF THE HERITAGE UNIT

Historic preservation, comprising the disciplines of prehistoric and historical archaeology and history, has had an uneasy history in the Department of Parks and Recreation. As Hata points out throughout her work, the Department suffered a series of identity crises: Should we be a recreation department maintaining beach and mountain playgrounds? Should we emphasize preservation of the natural environment, in some ways mimicking the mission of the National Park system? Should we be in the business of studying and preserving archaeological sites and historical buildings? The Department reorganized itself several times, emphasizing one aspect of the mission or another, although, as our interviewees point out, heritage resources were routinely given low priority.

Prior to the modern regulatory era, that is, the advent and implementation of NHPA and CEQA, the heritage function in the Department was largely in the service of California's great progressive boom of the 1950s and 1960s. Francis A. (Fritz) Riddell, who joined the Department in 1958, and his comrade Bill Olsen, were deployed on one or another of the state's grand infrastructure projects. John Foster explains:

Previous to my arrival, Fritz and Bill Olsen had been involved very heavily in doing the mitigation work for the highways program and the state water project including San Luis Reservoir and Lake Oroville, which involved extensive archaeological studies and big crews. It was a huge job but it was outside the realm of State Parks, really, because Fritz and Bill Olsen were the only State Archaeologists in the state of California that weren't assigned to some university. Fritz had been the first archaeologist hired outside the academic world in state government and Bill Olsen was the second one hired. So, when they needed an archaeologist to get the state water project approved, they took Fritz and took Bill Olsen, and that was their job. They had not done very much with the units of the State Park System and the archaeology there because it was deemed that the high priority was getting the state water project and the interstate highway system built, which meant doing considerable salvage archaeology.

While Riddell and Olsen were handling major reservoir and highway projects, heritage resources within the parks themselves received very little attention until other state agencies developed their own programs; then the Heritage Unit within the Department began to expand and address its own resources. Starting with a small headquarters group in Sacramento comprising Fritz Riddell, Bill Olsen, historian Paul Nesbitt, and new hire John Foster, the Unit began to add field staff and, at the same time, increased contracting to

academic programs for major projects. Again, John Foster sets the scene as the Heritage Unit ramps up in the new regulatory environment of the 1970s:

In 1975 we had a tremendous number of people in the field. Most of them were seasonals [nine-month employees] and they came and went. Some of them eventually became full-time employees. Many of them went on to other things and other careers, and maybe even other lives. Karl Gurcke was working at Fort Ross and Larry Felton was brought in to work there. Pete Schulz was in graduate school doing his dissertation, but he was also doing various assignments at the time that I arrived. We had a network of contacts in the universities that we used for various park studies. We were working with James Moriarity and Ray Brandes in San Diego. They were working on archaeology and history at Old Town San Diego. We were working with Clem Meighan and Bill Wallace on the archaeology of Anza-Borrego; Clem Meighan at UCLA and Wallace, who had recently retired from Cal State Long Beach. My first graduate class at Long Beach was Bill Wallace's last class, so there's just a little overlap there. Wallace was a great guy, very close to Fritz. So Bill Wallace was our archaeologist. We'd do projects out at Anza-Borrego. We had similar arrangements before my time with Adán Treganza at Fort Ross, for example. When I came on board, we got Dave Frederickson from Sonoma. He had worked with us up at Stone Lagoon. We had other arrangements with Dr. True from Davis and other people.

The 1970s was also a time of rapid growth in the number of state parks. The Heritage Unit under Riddell, Paul Nesbitt, and others responded with an interdisciplinary approach to resource inventory and planning for each of the new parks. Each of our interviewees looks back to this period as one of the most rewarding of their careers in part because of the productive camaraderie in the field, but also because they felt the approach was the best way to identify the values in a new park and make the most of the general planning process. Here Larry Felton describes the benefits and laments the demise of the approach:

We were doing surveys of properties that hadn't been surveyed before. Now, there were a couple of things that could trigger those surveys, namely a new piece of property that had not been classified, or property that needed to be surveyed as part of the general plan process. They have really dumbed-down the general plan process since then, and thorough surveys are not always completed. But at that time, we were fielding survey crews and generally doing pretty careful surveys. ...We also did surveys at Bodie, Malakoff Diggins, Sinkyone Wilderness [the "Lost Coast"], and others where we had sizable crews. Those were really nice because we typically had historians and archaeologists together on those crews. The reports we produced had historic synthesis as well as reasonably detailed resource inventories of sites, individual features, and buildings. ...Having archaeologists and historians work together on those crews was nice. ...We are very short on historians now. Since that time, the whole business of dealing with historic buildings and archaeological sites has gone off on two different tracks. ...Actually, I've argued before—and this might be heretical to some other historical archaeologists—that *historical archaeology's biggest contribution is perhaps in the questions that it generates but can't answer itself*. ...Although

our division's function is completely different now than it was for those general plan and development projects, the historians and the archaeologists are no longer integrated like we were at that time.

HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

The 1960s and 1970s were also the heyday of reconstruction and restoration, that is, recreating built environments to create an immersive visitor experience. Historical reconstruction in California has often been marked by inaccuracy and even pure fantasy. Many of the state's missions were hastily rebuilt without regard to original footprints or dimensions, interior details or overall historical landscape. Even parks such as Sutter's Fort have suffered withering criticism for fundamental inaccuracies. In response, again under Riddell's leadership, the Heritage Unit began to use historical archaeology as a first step in reconstruction. Significant reconstruction projects from the period include Old Town San Diego, the 49er Scene (Old Town Sacramento), and notably for Glenn Farris and Larry Felton, the Russian outpost at Fort Ross.

Here Felton describes his early work at Fort Ross trying to locate archaeological features to anchor accurate reconstruction, including some early experimentation with open area exposure, a technique now common in historical archaeology in California:

We were still adapting traditional California prehistoric methods for historical archaeology; one-meter units and arbitrary levels, but quickly discovered that we really needed to open big areas and excavate stratigraphically. We did a number of areas where we strung a series of small units together, trying to bisect an area where we figured that the side of a building had been. But we ultimately came to learn that the Russian buildings were built on great big in-ground posts, so just running a trench across a building line is not necessarily going to give it to you. You need to open up big areas [to find the posts that defined the building outline]. Some of them have eluded us forever. I'm not sure if we did come up with any really good evidence for the Kuskov House—it's the big two-story building up on a promontory.

Reconstruction also played a part in the mingling of historic preservation and commercial interests in the states' historical parks. Foster provides a broader view of the importance of archaeology in the Department's emphasis on recreating these historic environments, with a nod to the businesses or "concessions" that fill these environments:

It was decided that Fort Ross was going to be restored and we were going to restore that setting accurately by doing the archaeology, by understanding the buildings and the layout—and incorporating the history and the mapping, and the historic observations, and everything else, to make that as accurate a reconstruction or restoration as we could. That involved a large crew and a major effort. That was underway when I started.

The same thing ultimately was done in Old Town San Diego and in Old Sacramento.It was partially driven by the commercial need to reconstruct buildings to have businesses in them to help support the park and to have a comfortable place for tourists to come. I'm thinking now of Old Town San Diego and Old Sacramento restoring the 49er Scene in Old Sacramento, for

example. That involved mainly doing the archaeology of the footprint of a building, determining where the walls were, what the configuration was, what some of the activities were, recovering artifacts from the time period, and putting that whole story together.

By the mid-1980s, reconstruction as a primary goal had fallen out of favor as a priority not only in California but worldwide. Foster describes the shift in thinking:

Now over the course of time, historic preservation shifted strongly away from doing reconstructions and has more of a focus on preserving the original material from existing structures. During the 1980s, that became more of a focus. Today we don't do any real reconstructions, or very rarely we might do one. Most of the effort today involves preserving original historic fabric in original buildings that are historic-period buildings.

INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND FUNDING

The interviews emphasize two persistent conditions that affected the growth of the Heritage Unit: organizational conflicts with the natural resources units and underfunding and unstable funding sources. The status of the Heritage Unit and the historic preservation function within the State Park System has deep roots and had come to a head in the early 1970s, when, under the Reagan governorship, a task force tackled the question of whether heritage matters for the state as a whole should be handled within Parks and Recreation or in a new department devoted solely to that function, a heritage and history department. The task force recommended the latter to the state legislature in 1973, however the Heritage Unit remained in what was then the Resource Protection and Interpretation Division (and soon thereafter simply the Resource Protection Division). It was not until the 1990s and ultimately in 2000 when the Heritage Unit achieved a level of independence within the departmental hierarchy.

This arrangement placed the archaeologists, historians, and interpretive specialists in the same administrative structure as the natural resources staff and, as our interviewees note, at a disadvantage in staff numbers, resource priority, and funding. Fritz Riddell had recognized the problem in the late 1960s and early 1970s and had, according to John Foster, worked throughout his career in the Department to elevate the importance of heritage resources. After Riddell retired in 1983, the task fell to Foster, who worked to achieve funding parity with the natural resource units, a pursuit he never abandoned during his career in the Department.

A significant hurdle that Riddell and Foster faced was the policy of funding major development projects such as campgrounds, historical reconstructions, museums, and interpretive centers, but not devoting funding for the investigation and management of the resources themselves. Foster pressed hard for a dedicated fund and was able to have cultural resources included in the first statewide resource management program. While the program was developed to address natural resources concerns, Foster was able to secure a small amount of funding for research at the new Ahjumawi Lava Springs State Park in northeast California. Here Foster succinctly describes the need and how he pressed for funding that was not strictly driven by mitigation of the impacts of major development projects:

I was surprised that there was no fund to study the resources in order to manage them better. In fact, we didn't even know what we had in the parks

in terms of resources. The only ones we ever got a chance to study were ones that were being hit by some big-time development. ...That was still true when I started in 1975. There was very little of that. It took us quite a while to move away from the focus on mitigation of park development to a focus on managing resources, making informed decisions about what resources we had, what kind of threats they faced, what kind of responses were appropriate, and how could we manage this resource base so that we can turn it over to our successors in as good of shape as we got it. Of course that's a goal we rarely can actually accomplish, but that's the idea of a modern resource management effort. ...

That [the statewide resource management program] led us to the first program assigned to our division, which was the combined resources division. In that first allocation, I was able to get a very small piece for cultural. I got \$15,000 the first year and our first project was Ahjumawi Lava Springs. That one was related to documenting the fish traps and back-filling all those huge looters' pits that were out there at the time. It was a terrible thing that needed to be addressed. That was our first project in 1985, and then after that I committed to pushing and pushing until I was able to get cultural to not quite 50 percent. When I finally stopped pushing, we had gotten it up to a 53–47 percent split. I was a bulldog. I was friends with all these guys. They were my colleagues; they were my counterparts on the natural side, but I was relentless. I never gave up.

COLLECTIONS MANAGEMENT

The late 1970s and early 1980s also saw a serious push for the rigorous management of the Heritage Unit's growing collections. Large field projects such as the open-area exposures at Fort Ross were producing significant collections of artifacts. Larry Felton notes in his interview that these collections were processed in the field and the collections were then parceled out to several locations in Sacramento, including buildings such as the Big Four Building in Old Sacramento and a warehouse in West Sacramento. It became clear to all involved that collections management had to become a priority if the Heritage Unit was to carry out its basic responsibilities.

Recognizing the problem, the Heritage Unit applied for a federal grant under the Title 2 program—a “make work program” as Larry Felton remembers it. Here, Felton summarizes the value and shortcomings of this first effort at comprehensive collections management:

It was another year or so later before we got the Title 2 grant and hired bunches of graduate students from UC Davis and Sac State to re-house collections and, in some instances, to do analyses and try to get together a more complete set of collections records. Prior to that, there had been an accession book and numbers were assigned to individual collections from that log. Other than being listed in the accession book, there was not much effort put into maintaining more comprehensive accession or inventory records. Same with photos; photos had been accumulating but hadn't been systematically catalogued. ...That's when we first started using computers for anything.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) played a significant role in the Unit's collections management. NAGPRA mandated that repositories linked to any federal undertaking or federal funding review their own collections and attempt to identify present-day Native American communities to which ancestral remains could be repatriated. Again, Felton sets the scene:

There had been quite an effort to get better control of the Department's collections inventory in the early-mid 1980s, partly spurred by the question of how we should be dealing with Native American human remains. These efforts [by curator Betty Smart, Chris Swiden, and others] ultimately produced funding for some more curatorial positions. One of the things that a small group of curators had started to look at as part of this effort were computer systems for museum records management. By this time, there were starting to be some dedicated museum records management systems out there. I know the curators had gone to Canada to visit CHIN, the Canadian Heritage Information Network, which is still a significant player in the museum software realm.

Consolidation of the collections and better control through advanced software applications led to an interest in opening up these significant collections to scholars. As Glenn Farris points out, the Heritage Unit faced the same questions as any museum that curated archaeological collections: "Gosh, that's an expensive thing to keep all those artifacts. Does anybody do anything with them?" Farris, after he took over management of laboratory operations, began to explore ways to make the collections available to scholars outside the Unit. Farris describes the recent trends in the use of the collections:

It was towards the end of the 1990s that there came an opportunity here in West Sacramento, with this development of the new Cultural Resources Division; we got some additional support for the archaeological lab, what we had long called the Arch Lab. This was a time of plentiful economic resources. I was brought in to be in charge of the lab itself in about 2000. So for the last eight years of my career, that's basically what I was doing, I was in charge of the archaeological collections. ...We'd have to try and make our defenses, but in fact, oftentimes the collections *would* sit there and gather dust. So I tried to get an active program going to work with various universities and bring in a variety of students, even undergraduates. I was especially fortunate to work with Professor Kent Lightfoot in Berkeley who had been doing a lot of his field schools out at Fort Ross starting around 1989. So Kent, in fact, *did* direct some of his students to take some of the various old collections that we had from Fort Ross that had not been fully written up, and go ahead and use them for various theses studies. A lot of good things came out of this collaboration. ...Often a student would come in and have a vague idea that they wanted to work on something in this general field or area, so you'd have to wrack your brains. Fortunately, having worked on many of these projects that were in the collections, I had a fair idea of what had gone on and could say to a student that this particular collection would be ideal for you if you're trying to do a project on shellfish use or this other one if you're trying to study lime kilns. That was very satisfying to work with students on that basis and to, at the same time, get a number of these

collections carried through to some level of write-up or publication.

CONFLICTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Our interviewees all expressed optimism about the future of the Heritage Unit, but had significant concerns about the place of heritage resources in the overall Department's mission. One of the consistent laments was the precarious position of the Unit in up-and-down funding cycles. In his capacity as a chief administrator, John Foster reflects on the endless effort of the Heritage Unit to establish itself as an equal partner with other resource management units. To paraphrase Foster, one simply has to keep fighting for a place at the table, just like Fritz Riddell did in the 1960s and 1970s. As Glenn Farris notes:

The main thing I would say in the negative that I kept running into again and again was that because the archaeologists and the historians weren't right at the table from the get-go, and continued to be one of the partners in the planning of these projects, that our part of the work was often marginalized and certainly, when it was suddenly decided that for one reason or another the project wasn't going to go ahead, then the floor was cut out from under us. ...It's sort of the fight between being a team player versus the role that you have to take of being an advocate for the resources. This doesn't always match up nicely.

John Foster provides a succinct assessment of the position of the Heritage Unit in the present day structure of the Department. Foster emphasizes the ascendant role of law enforcement in the mix of the Department's mission, and the effect it has had on the distribution of funds:

By any measure, the cultural program—the heritage program is the weakest and least-supported of the core program areas in the Department. Sadly, we are in a budget situation where we're constantly fighting over the bones of an inadequate budget. The cultural group usually gets just the scraps at the end of it.

I was here at Parks before the rangers were required to become peace officers. When that happened, and there was a need for it at the time, that shift to making all of the rangers peace officers meant that in today's terms, they can retire early, they all have to have Code 3 vehicles (they all have to be able to have lights and bust the bad guys), they have to carry a weapon, they have to have an AR15, they have to have domestic violence training; it's never-ending. It is a huge chunk of our budget to maintain the second largest state police force in California.

Of our interviewees, John Foster, again from his position as a senior administrator, provides the most direct recommendations for the future of the Unit. In his assessment, Foster looks back to the question posed in the early 1970s: Is the Department of Parks and Recreation the right place for the management of the state's heritage resources?

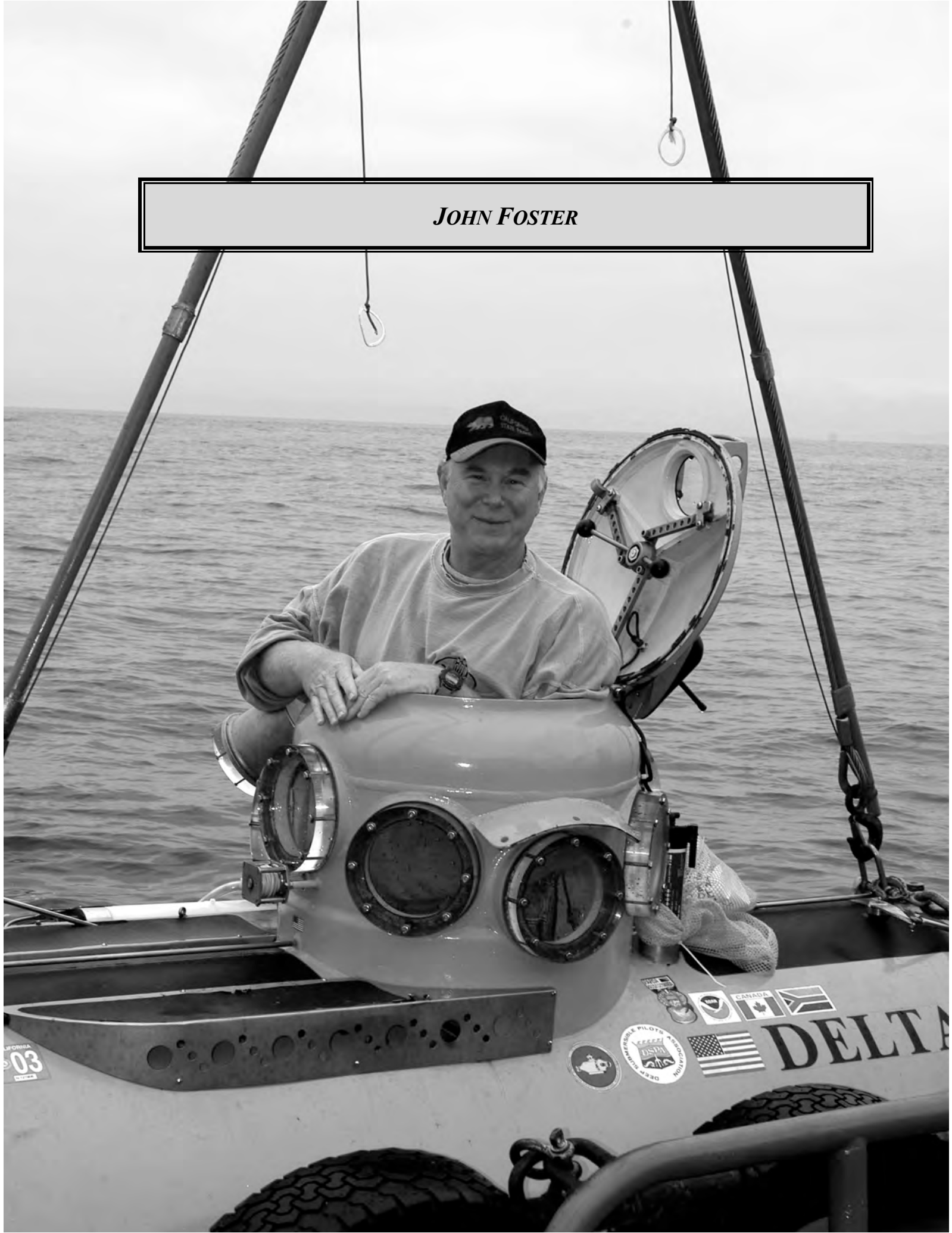
I think we need to take a look at how we can better allocate and manage Parks, and it may be that we need to explore some non-traditional organizational ways of doing it. ...In other words, maybe we ought to take the historic sites and the concentration of historic structures out of the realm of the existing District and make those part of an organizational structure that

focuses on that need. That need means we don't necessarily need a peace officer at every place but we need somebody who is taking care of the resources at every place, and interpreters at every place. That could also apply to the museums and other things. This again gets back to that idea of the task force report in 1973, which said maybe Parks isn't the best place to have the heritage assignment. Well, it's still in Parks but maybe it's not organized the way it should be in Parks.

Despite the challenges of underfunding and competition for support for heritage resources in the Department, Foster, Felton, and Farris had long and rewarding careers at Parks. Foster takes pride in his role as ambassador for one of America's premier park systems. He is equally proud of his work in underwater archaeology, and particularly his work at Ahjumawi Lava Springs interpreting the complex system of fish traps still maintained by the Ahjumawi indigenous people. Both Farris and Felton began their work in the Department with assignments at Fort Ross State Historic Park. Felton went on to work in Old Sacramento, Bodie, Malakoff Diggings, later becoming one of the preeminent interpreters of the adobe structures from California's Spanish Colonial era. Farris also spent much of his career exploring California's Spanish Colonial and Early American periods, and is known for his leadership in bringing scholars to the Department's rich collections.

Clinton Blount
Albion Environmental Inc.
Santa Cruz, California

JOHN FOSTER



*Photo on previous page
courtesy of John Foster.*

Early Influences

FAMILY

Clinton Blount (CB): Let's talk about your youth, your parents, where you were born, your very early years, and we will go from there.

John Foster (JF): I am a native Californian. I was born in Burbank. My dad was a New Yorker and he ended up being Howard Hughes' private pilot. He went into the Army Air Corps and when he was ready to get out, Howard Hughes was looking around for a pilot. He asked people in the flying service, "Who's the best pilot you know." Apparently a number of them said my dad. Howard called him up and hired him on the spot. For a little over a year my dad was Howard's pilot and flew him all over the place. He flew a bunch of the experimental planes and everything else. During that time period, I came along and was born in Burbank, California, September 1, 1946. So my dad, after a stint with Hughes and flying around his girlfriends and being involved in a couple of crashes in experimental planes that Hughes was working on, decided to go back into the Air Force and finish his career as an officer and pilot. So, as a result, our family [there were six of us], lived in 13 different states and Japan and traveled all over the country. We never really had a hometown or anything that we could really point to because we basically moved every two to three years. That was the life we knew. That was the only thing we did know.

My dad retired from the Air Force in 1963 and we moved from Arlington, Virginia to Palos Verdes and he started working again for Hughes Aircraft. That began our life as citizens of California. I do consider myself a Californian even though I had this long period growing up all over the states, particularly in the South. That was really quite interesting.

EARLY INTEREST IN ARCHAEOLOGY

I grew up in a variety of different places, including, when I was in the sixth grade, Sumter, South Carolina. One day, one of my school chums invited me to go out with him to his uncle's farm just outside of town and walk behind the plow as he was doing the spring planting. So I said sure. This guy says to me, "Bring a couple of coffee cans because we're gonna need 'em." So we get out there, it was on a Saturday, his uncle fires up the plow, and he starts plowing; and he was going through this tremendously rich archaeological site just turning up all kinds of stuff. At the end of the

day, we each had two coffee cans full of points. So that was my introduction to archaeology and now that the statute of limitations is past, I can admit to it.

It just did get me very excited about the prospects of archaeology and trying to get information out of this long-gone culture that left behind stone tools and clues about the past. All kids go through this stage; most of them grow out of it, but I never did. So when I went to find a major in college, I liked anthropology and that's been my focus ever since.

HIGH SCHOOL

I went to three different high schools. I started off high school in Japan, the Yokota Air Base. Then my dad was transferred to the Pentagon and so we lived in Arlington. I went to 10th and 11th grade at Yorktown High School in Arlington, Virginia. And then at the end of my junior year we moved back to California and I finished my high school at Palos Verdes High in Palos Verdes, which is a suburb, of course, of Los Angeles. So I went to three different high schools. When people talk about their high school buddies, I really don't have any high school friends because I went to three very different high schools. It was kind of tough.

I think that my experience in seeing a lot of the country, living in different places, and even in Japan as a kid, pushed me in the direction of anthropology. I think I was pre-programmed for that sort of thing. As I have later discovered, many anthropologists share a similar experience growing up. A lot of them are military brats and they lived all over the place and they ended up being interested in different cultures. The closest college major for that kind of interest is anthropology.

My mom was from Shenandoah, Iowa. She came from the Midwest and she moved, after graduating from the University of Iowa with a degree in journalism, to New York City and got a job as a writer. There she met my dad who was from New York, this brand new fighter pilot. It was a very interesting combination of the Bronx and Shenandoah, Iowa, a little town in southwest Iowa with 5,000 people. One thing I inherited from my mom is definitely an interest in, and love of, writing. All the kids in our family have it and have gotten into writing. My mom just died a few years ago and she was actively writing up until the time she died. She had published many articles in various magazines. She always loved writing and was quite skilled at it. She wrote about travel, cooking, flower arranging, life in Japan, life as an Air Force wife; just normal descriptions of life and things that were of interest to her. She was able to really express those very well. She left us quite a legacy of her writing, so much we're still going through, actually.

PALOS VERDES

I grew up in a family with a general love of reading. We didn't have a huge library or anything in terms of a huge book stockpile, but we read widely on many subjects. My brothers and I were interested in history, as well as natural history. We would often pick up books from national park visits. I was very interested in history from the very beginning. Growing up in Palos Verdes helped develop my interest in nature and history. Palos Verdes at the time was not this developed place that it is today, with homes on every terrace.

It was a wild place with all of these hills. When we were kids there were houses around, but there were also tremendous areas where you could find snakes, catch birds, catch lizards, and explore tide pools. When I lived at home there, a large fishing boat

managed to run into the Palos Verdes Peninsula and I was the first one to swim out to the wreck. As soon as the crew paddled away, I went out there and got the compass off the binnacle. That was the kind of thing we did in those days. My brother Dan was fanatical about wildlife and he would catch hawks. We had a number of birds in an aviary in the backyard. We had a cormorant that swam in the pool and we had a squirrel monkey that lived out in front that he had ordered from a *Boy's Life* magazine ad and had delivered to the bus station. My point is, it was a really wild place. I remember one time in high school we were hiking down Malaga Creek, famous nowadays for being the site of the Malaga Cove archaeological site, one the ancient type sites of Southern California. We were just hiking around. I was in high school. We found some bones sticking out of the bluff there. It turns out that they were fossil bones of a mammoth. The Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County came out and recovered everything. Anyway all these little things led me along this interest towards the career I finally stumbled into. It was my interest; it was my love from the very first. I feel very fortunate to have found a slot that I could fit into and it matched up pretty well with my interest over the years.

At Palos Verdes High, I went in to see my guidance counselor. Of course, I had only been back in California for a year; I didn't know anything about California. My high school guidance counselor gave me great advice. She said, "Do you like the beach?" I said, "Yeah." She said, "I think UC Santa Barbara is the place for you." Now you can't get that kind of counseling nowadays.

So off I went to Santa Barbara. I wasn't ready for Santa Barbara and I wasn't ready for college. I was home after one semester with terrible grades. I had to work my way back and it was a good thing, actually. It took me a couple of quarters, working and thinking about it. I eventually went back to Santa Barbara, transferred to UCLA, and got my bachelor's degree in anthropology from UCLA in 1969. Then of course, there was a little event called the Vietnam War raging at the time. My draft number was pretty low, so I knew I was going to get drafted.

NAVY PILOT TRAINING

So I shopped around and I decided that being a pilot was better than walking around in the jungle. So I decided to become a Navy pilot. I went off to Pensacola and started flight training. I went through initial flight school and soloed in a T-34, the Navy's primary trainer. Then came secondary flight school and a commission as an ensign. We were flying T-28s. I went in April. I was getting ready to finish secondary and go on to either jets or multi-engine, depending on where the need was.

All of a sudden, one day [there were 52 people in our flight class] they called us into a room and they said, "You guys are done. You guys are finished. You can stay in the Navy and we will put you out on a ship, but you're not going to be a pilot." It turns out they had too many pilots and they had pilots that were sitting around for a year and a half waiting a billet, as they call it, which is a flight assignment to a squadron somewhere. So they decided to take a big chunk out of the training pipeline and let that year and a half thing catch up. So one day we were pilots, and the next day we were *not* pilots. Of course, we had all signed up for a six-year hitch to be a pilot. I didn't sign up to go in the Navy, for God sakes, so we had to think about what we wanted to do. Out of 52 people, 51 of us decided to get out of the Navy; that was one of our options, an honorable discharge. They let us out. We could have

stayed in the Navy, but not as a pilot. One person did and was assigned to a destroyer out there someplace. So we got honorable discharges, went home, and I went back to school the next year at Long Beach State and started in a master's program.

LONG BEACH STATE, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

I'm skipping one little part...when I got back, I was in shock and I didn't know what to do. I needed a job, I married my wife Kathy, and she had expected we were going to be a military family. So did I. All of a sudden we were at home and I didn't have a job or anything, so I found a job. It was in a plastic plant factory. I worked there for three or four months and I realized that this was *not* what I wanted to do. I was going to go back to school and it gave me a chance to remember that what I really liked to do is anthropology and archaeology. That was my real interest. I found a place that had a good program and it was close by and I could still work and start school at night and eventually take it up full-time. That's what happened; I went to Long Beach State. I ended up graduating in 1973 with my master's from Cal State Long Beach. That led me to continue in a Ph.D. program at the University of Arizona, which I did. I spent two years there, passed all my exams, advanced to candidacy and was all ready to go except for my dissertation when my wife became pregnant with our first daughter. I knew I needed to get a job.

At the same time I saw this announcement for a job in Sacramento, State Parks. I competed for it, got that job and we moved from Tucson to Sacramento. I started work for California State Parks in August of 1975. That's what brought me here. I would say both at UCLA and definitely at Long Beach and also definitely at the University of Arizona, I was fortunate enough to have some of the best professors as my instructors and my mentors that you could possibly have in the field of anthropology and archaeology. Clem Meighan at UCLA, Frank Fenenga and other people at Cal State Long Beach, and at the University of Arizona Emil Haury was my major professor for my dissertation. Gwinn Vivian and Bunny Fontana and other folks were also very influential. One thing that stuck with me from my exposure to them...these were some of the top people in our discipline, at the time, anywhere. They all felt very strongly that it was our obligation as anthropologists or archaeologists to interact with the public. It's fine to have your academic orientation to publish papers and do something for your peer group, but that isn't enough. You need to also take that information, put it out there, and give it back to the people who actually pay our salaries in this business. I learned that from the beginning and I've tried to do that throughout my career and have been very involved in the public side of archaeology as a result. I think that's worked to my benefit.

LEIF ERIKSON

I do want to go back to one thing. Going back again to the sixth grade, I remember learning in school in South Carolina about the Vikings coming to North America; Erik the Red and Leif Erikson arriving and colonizing North America sometime about 500 years before Columbus. This was the first thing I could remember knowing, that I knew of consequence, that I knew my dad did not know. He was a New Yorker. His father had been a big cheese in the Knights of Columbus, Catholic family, big Columbus people. I learned that somebody beat Columbus to the New World 500 years earlier. This comes into play later on in terms of my own interest. So one day around the dinner table, I decided to spring

this on him. I said to my dad, “So, dad, who was it that discovered America again?” And he looks at me, gives me this scowl and says, “Well of course, it was the great mariner, Christopher Columbus. I thought you knew this.” And then I knew I had him. I proceeded to go into this great detail, learned about a week earlier, about Erik the Red, Leif Erikson going to Iceland, going to Greenland, going to Vinland on the North American continent, and so on. And my dad looks at me and listens and at the end of it he says to me, “Well all I know is once Columbus discovered America, it stayed discovered.” And right he was.

So my college days were finished. I had an M.A. in hand. I also had a chance to take actual cultural resource management classes at the University of Arizona—I took two of them. When I got back here to California, I couldn’t find anybody else who had ever had a class in cultural resource management at the time [1975]. Now, of course, this is taught very commonly, but it wasn’t in 1975. It was a fantastic couple of classes I had. We learned how to do budgets; we learned how to justify work; we learned how to do archaeological sampling. It was taking the theory of doing archaeology and putting it into a business context and explaining the techniques you need to use in order to sell it to a very wary buyer and to keep track of the costs that are actually involved in doing that kind of work.

Career at Parks

STARTING AT STATE PARKS

When I arrived in Sacramento and started work for California State Parks I was the only cultural specialist in the Department who had ever had any actual training in doing budgets, managing budgets, preparing and justifying projects, writing business letters, all the technical skills needed to turn that interest into something that involves public archaeology and getting the funding for doing it. So I really came very well equipped to do that part of the job. And that's, in fact, what Fritz Riddell, my boss and friend asked me to do from the very beginning. It wasn't really my job to go out and to do projects in the field so much. Mainly, it was my job to manage the program, to try to build it up, to establish the standards for how it's done and how it fits in the wider State Parks context. From the beginning of my career that was really my focus. I was Fritz's assistant; I was hired as an assistant archaeologist, State Archaeologist II they called them in those days. Fritz was the Archaeologist III, I was the Archaeologist II, we had a historian, and we had a secretary, and that was the headquarters group—the four of us. The other folks were assigned to the field and they were out actively doing projects and doing the excavations, bringing the material back, writing reports on it, and that kind of thing. My job was more administrative. It was more managerial, but that's okay. I was equipped to do that work and even though I would have probably preferred to have had more of a field role, it fell to me to justify and get the funding to allow the other people to do the archaeology and history. That's the job that I inherited there.

My predecessors, as Fritz's assistant, had been Bill Olsen for many years, and Paul Nesbitt. Bill Olsen had moved over to BLM and became the State Archaeologist in BLM; and then for a short time, Paul Nesbitt took over from Olsen. Paul Nesbitt became the historian and then I moved into that slot after about a year.

CB: What made you choose archaeology out of the other fields in anthropology?

I had the broadest interest possible, really. I was interested in all four fields of anthropology. Luckily, both at Long Beach and at U of A, we had these four-field requirements. You had to pass specific tests in physical anthropology, linguistics, cultural, and archaeology; all four, both at Long Beach for my master's and at U of A for my doctorate, which I didn't

complete so I only have a master's degree. But I passed the Ph.D. exams in my second semester there and when I walked into the room, people told me, "Uh, we're taking Ph.D. exams in here today." I said, "I know." I didn't know any of them, they didn't know me, and I passed three out of four on the first try. The only one I didn't pass was cultural. Ellen Basso who wrote it and read it said, "This was a good exam. I would have passed it, but I didn't know who you were."

Anyway, my interests were general; my interests were broad and *had* been all the way through. I'm mostly interested in archaeology, I'm very interested in ethnography, I'm somewhat interested in history, and I'm definitely interested in how those three come together. I'm less interested in physical anthropology and less interested in linguistics but I'm still interested in those too. I could never decide on one and leave the others; I always tried to keep up in all of them, but particularly in those three.

My dissertation was going to be on the prehistory of the Seri on the Sonora coast of Mexico. I did a number of field trips down there and recorded a number of sites on the Sonora coast. I had it all set up. I had a very good project. I thought I would get back to it and I hoped to get back to it from Sacramento. I left on good terms there with the intent of finishing, but it really wasn't to be. Once I started working and got drawn into the California thing, it was harder and harder to go back. Then your committee members start dying off and things change and pretty soon you've past that point in time. And I regret it. I honestly wish I had finished, but it wasn't really possible at the time.

Anyway, I've made the most of the experience there and I have a high regard for Arizona and learned a lot there. It was a great place to study. For one thing, it was at Arizona where I began my interest in maritime archaeology and coastal adaptation, I mean a serious interest. So I studied shell middens on the Sonora coast. I learned all the shells, I could type all the pottery, and I really got serious about looking at the material culture of these coastal people, the only non-agricultural people in Sonora; a very, very unique culture there. So that was to be my dissertation. It didn't turn out to be a dissertation, but it did turn out to be a career-long interest of mine, which I went back to a number of times and published a number of articles on. So I do feel like I accomplished what I set out to do in that way. I looked into going back several times and had a couple of serious talks about it but it just wasn't something that could be done without completely disrupting my present life and I wasn't really ready to do that.

I came in having gone to school in Southern California, having gone to school in Arizona, being familiar with southwestern archaeology, and never having worked in Northern California. In fact, I hadn't seen much of Northern California, to be honest. When I came in, most everybody who was around and working for Parks at the time was from Northern California. There were only a few of us, and a few more were added later, who had major experience in Southern California. So the one thing that Fritz asked me to do in addition to my administrative and management-type assignments was to be involved in Southern California archaeology, which he was less interested in. He was interested in it, but less so than he had been interested in Northern and central California. So that's one thing that I did for him, was to interact with the universities and the other experts in Southern California that were involved in helping us manage some of the archaeology down there.

Pete Schulz was here and Larry Felton was here when I first came. Pete was a grad student when I started here. He had worked as a seasonal, Eric Ritter had worked as a

seasonal here, Bob Orlins had worked as a seasonal, Sam Payen and a whole lot of other people all of whom had shared a similar background in terms of Northern California. I was the only one that had grown up and learned my archaeology in Southern California, which was quite a bit different, as it turned out. In that sense, I think I brought something that they didn't have at the time, which was more of knowledge about what lies beyond central California to the south and the archaeology down there.

CB: Was there a stigma with that?

I never felt there was a stigma. It was definitely two worlds. I would scratch my head sometimes because I would hear people saying things like, "I never heard that. I'm not sure I've ever heard that example used." But by and large, we shared the interest. Most of our professors had come out of the Berkeley school, whether it was Meighan at UCLA or Fenenga at Long Beach, or whether it was Baumhoff or True or whoever. They all were basically a part of the Berkeley school, so there wasn't a huge difference but it did come out at times with the particular examples that people would use. To me it was fascinating because I didn't really know anything about Northern California and I learned it pretty fast when I got to associating with some of the folks.

There's one other thing I would say. When I went back to school and took my first anthro class at Santa Barbara, I took Anthro II from Jim Deetz. He was my first teacher, and my goodness, if you ever met Jim Deetz—he was the most dynamic professor I think I have ever seen. He just turned people on to anthropology and archaeology in droves. He was just an incredible person—very interesting and lively and funny and engaging. That Jim Deetz experience...one class with him and I became an anthro major and that was it for me. I never fiddled around with any other majors; that was the major for me.

COLORADO

That started in my reentry back into Santa Barbara in 1967. That summer, after I had taken the class from Jim Deetz and had my first experience in the field with him at La Purisima [Historic State Park], I saw an advertisement for a summer job back in Colorado digging at a historic site; a fur-trading fort called Fort Vasquez out on the Platte River. So I thought to myself, "Wow, summer in Colorado, drinking beer at 18. Now this sounds *good*." So as soon as school was over I trotted off to Platteville, Colorado to join an excavation team that was working on Fort Vasquez. I got a couple of hours of introduction and was set to work in a trench digging to try to find foundations for a wall, which was part of the original fort. The crew chief that we were assigned to work for took ill or had to do something and he left. The big boss also left and they looked around to find somebody they could put in charge and, for some reason, they picked me.

So it was my job to lead this team of excavators to try to see if we could find the remains of this adobe foundation and wall, which was a part of Fort Vasquez. The area that we were exploring was literally in the middle of the interstate. It was that unpaved section of ground in between the two lanes. You had cars whizzing by at 79 miles an hour in each direction and we're digging in between there. It was interesting. So we get about a week into this thing, we get down four or five feet maybe, and we begin to find these impressions in the clay. The impressions were these rectangular adobe-looking bricks. So we started following this and here they were all lined up and I was so proud. We cleaned this trench up

and I had it all ready for inspection when the big boss came back to see how we were doing. I took him out there; we stood and looked at this beautiful exposure of these adobe bricks, and he jumps into the trench, pulls out a trowel and he cuts into one and there was nothing there. There was nothing below it. He dug it out a little bit and it was gone. Then he said to me, “You know what you have here? Caterpillar tracks.” When one of the big Caterpillars was here building the interstate, it had chopped out these beautiful adobe-looking. ...This was Colorado in the summertime. It was blazing hot—it was over 100 degrees out there and really dry. Anyway, that was my first exposure to historical archaeology. I never went back to Colorado and I’ve kind of stayed away from historical archaeology after that. That was when I was just learning it; it was a valuable lesson, I will say that. Luckily, we didn’t waste too much time digging up that Caterpillar track.

DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION

CB: How was the place organized? How was the Unit set up?

Fritz was in charge. There was one historian, Paul Nesbitt. There was Stella Luttig and me—we were the four core people in headquarters. Stella was a wonderful person, a really great person. In those days, secretaries were really something; they were educated and very able to do editing and typing and all of the things we didn’t have the time or the skill to do, they could do. I remember reading one time about secretaries and I found this to be so true. The advice was: be really nice and respectful towards the secretaries because they could probably do your job, but there’s no way in hell you could do theirs. And that is very true. Stella was one of those; she was fantastic and had been with Fritz for a long time as the secretary of that small group. She knew everything. She knew how to do a lot of the administrative tasks and in those days we gave her things to type and she’d type them and make corrections. There were just the four of us in headquarters.

Headquarters at the time was in the Resources building [in downtown Sacramento]. It was on the 11th floor and I had a view out my office window of the Capital. It was wonderful, but it was kind of an illusion. We were out there looking at the Capital and Capital Park; it was fantastic but it wasn’t where the action was. It wasn’t where the sites were—where the resources were being saved, or lost, or studied. I loved that view, but it reminded me that that was the view of the Capital, not the view of the resources. It was a nice place to start. It was a great experience for me to come in there. I think I did bring different skills that the group really needed. I knew how to do the budgeting and the tracking and I quickly started going to the budget meetings and justifying the requests for funding for different projects.

FRITZ RIDDELL

Fritz was very supportive of me; he was a great supervisor (Figure 1). He was somebody who I really admired. He had this encyclopedic knowledge of California Indians and California Indian societies, which I envied. I was astounded. Almost every day he would tell me something about California Indians that I didn’t know. I couldn’t believe somebody would have that detailed knowledge about such a complex group of societies all with their little differences. Fritz was a very wonderful person. Everybody liked him. Everybody who met him enjoyed working with him. He used humor to his advantage always. He would butter you up, he would crack jokes, and he would make you feel good

about talking about things. He was very effective that way. I tried to do the same kind of thing, but...some of it you can do, but I couldn't ever do it quite as well as he did it. He was a master at it. He really was very effective. On the other hand, he wasn't particularly good at doing the admin jobs. He didn't have the interest nor the ability to tackle complex budget things and prepare tight arguments on various things, trying to justify projects. So he was happy to hand that kind of assignment over to me and I was happy to do it and I did it for a number of years. That worked out real well.



Photo courtesy of John Foster.

Figure 1. Francis (Fritz) A. Riddell and John W. Foster, Sacramento 1983.

CB: Where did the Unit fit into the Parks system as a whole when you first got there?

We were part of the group called the Resource Protection Division. Our chief at the time was a man named Jim Tryner. He had been a District Superintendent, he was a WWII Veteran—he was a Navy pilot, so we shared that experience. He had a plane, a Cessna 172 that he flew all over the state. In those days it was a little less complicated. He could fly for the state to visit various Parks projects and to shoot pictures and to get overviews and that kind of thing. He needed a co-pilot oftentimes, and I volunteered to be the co-pilot. So from Jim Tryner, our division chief who had a natural resources background, I got to see a lot of the state from the air and do a lot of flying.

RESOURCE PROTECTION DIVISION

At any rate, we were part of the Resource Protection Division, as it was called at the time. It was a very small group. The natural resource people had a few more people than we did but not too many more. Together we were assigned to set the standards and be the experts in our field to advise the Department on policy and questions related to natural or cultural resources. Cultural was never seen and structurally never was at the same level as our natural counterparts. Fritz was not at the same level as Fred Meyer, who was his

counterpart on the natural side. Fred was one step higher. Fritz was always aggravated that cultural was not seen as being an equivalent to the natural. And he had an absolute valid argument because we had the same level of responsibility (to keep the resources intact and to keep them from getting disturbed unduly), but they paid the natural people more to do that than they paid the cultural people. There was and still is an imbalance in the Department today. It's something that isn't fair but that's the system we inherited and it stayed that way.

The cultural group within the larger Resource Protection Division was beginning to go through some changes. I don't want to go back into the earlier Fritz era too much because that's covered elsewhere. Previous to my arrival, Fritz and Bill Olsen had been involved very heavily in doing the mitigation work for the highways program and the state water project including San Luis Reservoir and Lake Oroville, which involved extensive archaeological studies and big crews. It was a huge job but it was outside the realm of State Parks, really, because Fritz and Bill Olsen were the only State Archaeologists in the state of California that weren't assigned to some university. Fritz had been the first archaeologist hired outside the academic world in state government and Bill Olsen was the second one hired. So, when the agencies needed an archaeologist to get the state water project approved, they took Fritz and took Bill Olsen, and that was their job. They had not done very much with the units of the State Parks system and the archaeology there because it was deemed that the high priority was getting the state water project and the interstate highway system built, which meant doing considerable salvage archaeology.

When I came on the scene in 1975 there was still a very heavy involvement in archaeology work that was outside the realm of State Parks. But shortly afterwards, highways started their own program and eventually [Department of] Water Resources developed one. I had a hand in helping them do that. I had a hand in helping [California Department of] Forestry begin their program; I taught their training class for a number of years. That began to allow us to switch over to more of a focus on the State Park System and the resources we managed.

One other thing I want to mention that was on everybody's mind when I arrived is there had been a report to the legislature in 1973 that had been commissioned under the Reagan administration called the "California Historical, Archaeological and Paleontological Task Force." It looked at the status of those three disciplines asking the question, "Is State Parks the right agency to handle that responsibility?" in other words, the responsibility for archaeology, history, and paleontology, including museums and so on. This was for the state. Remember, in California we don't have a state museum. The cultural assignment for the state fell to State Parks. Fritz was involved in that for many years and so were his predecessors.

There came a time when people began to ask the question, "Is this the right place for heritage or should it be in a separate department that's focused on history, archaeology, and paleontology?"—looking at the past and also having cultural museums. That was the assignment given to this task force. It was chaired by Robert Heizer. Mike Moratto was on it. A number of prominent archaeologists were involved; there were a number of other historians and museum folks, too. Fritz was assigned as the staff. He obviously was not the person doing the analysis. It was an independent group appointed by the legislature. If you read that report issued in 1973, so two years before I arrived, it basically said, "No, Parks isn't the right place for this. This thing is too big for Parks. Parks is all about beaches, Parks is all about redwood trees. Parks is really not about history." I mean, they do history, but

that's not really their focus. It was a very accurate reflection of the existing [in the 1970s] priorities of Parks at the time and it remains the same today. The Division of Beaches and Parks became the Department of Parks and Recreation, but there was no reference to, or emphasis on, history or prehistory or museums anywhere in the name. The issuance of this report to the legislature in 1973 proposed that those functions be taken out of State Parks and set up in a new department that would be named the Heritage Department or the Department of History and Heritage or something like that. The existing park units that were devoted to that subject would be transferred and that there would be another organization focused on the cultural mission. Well, that was being talked about when I arrived two years after the report came out, and for awhile it looked like that would actually happen and then there became less and less interest in it over time and nobody wanted to start a new bureaucratic entity so it just kind of faded away. But it was the first time I can remember hearing questions about the cultural role in Parks and is that really a good fit in a department that's largely devoted to redwood trees, beaches, and police officer-type public safety. It's still a relevant question today because we still are grappling with the competing interests that exist in our Department.

MORE ON FRITZ RIDDELL

Fritz was a fantastic person. He was so close to California Indian people. He knew so many Indians and if he ever saw anybody who was an Indian, he went right up to them and starting talking to them. We, as anthropologists, just do not do that. We *should* do it, but Fritz is the only one I've ever seen who actually did it. He would go right up and say, "I see you're probably an Indian. What is your heritage?" He would invariably know some of that person's relatives, and soon they're swapping stories and he'd be writing down various things...details. He always kept track, especially geographic names, place names, and relationships. He was an incredible person for ethnographic information, which was, through the course of his life, completely disappearing from the record. He felt it was our responsibility in Parks to help preserve the record of ancient California and he fought very hard to do that.

The other thing about Fritz—he was a great believer in allowing people the freedom in their job to explore different areas of the job and develop different specialties. Partially in compensation for the fact that I had more of the administrative role in my own particular job, he encouraged me to find other specialties that I could pursue and develop. It turned out that I developed my underwater archaeology interest and specialty partially through his encouragement, which is kind of where I want to go next in the conversation.

CABO GRACIAS A DIOS

In 1977 I had been working for Parks for a couple of years and my dad retired from his job at Hughes Aircraft. He decided that he was going to buy a boat and he found one in Florida that was perfect. He wanted to bring it down, through the canal, and up to California. So he made the plans for this, purchased the boat in Miami, and enlisted a crew of three—one of whom was me—to help him sail and crew this boat back to California. We anticipated this would be a great adventure and really were looking forward to it. The vessel was called *The Doris M.* It was a 55-foot motor vessel, single engine. It was a big roomy, beamy boat—it would have been a perfect boat in California.

So we took off in November of 1977 leaving Biscayne Bay, had a stop at Isla Mujeres, a stop in Cozumel, a stop at the Bay Islands in Roatan. We were on schedule to work our way down to Panama and through the canal back up on the Pacific side when we ran into this hellacious storm off the coast of Honduras. It was supposed to be after hurricane season, and this was not an actual hurricane. It turns out it was one of these tremendously high-intensity storms and our boat took a terrible beating trying to get around Cabo Gracias a Dios, which is the big cape which protrudes from the land mass presently owned by Honduras. It's an area of a lot of reefs and shallow areas; shoals, sand bars, and so on. Our boat got driven up into the shoals and started taking on water. We abandoned the ship, got into a life raft, which quickly got swamped and overturned in the swells. Of the four of us that went in, three of us survived. My dad didn't make it. My brother, Dan, and our friend Phil Hines was with us. We spent 11 hours in the ocean hanging onto this broken up life raft. Finally the tide turned and we were able to push past the bar in the mouth of this river and get onto the beach around midnight after being in the water 11 hours. We were completely exhausted and, of course, completely in shock.

Anyway, I don't want to go into that except to say that as a result of that incident, I had a lot of trouble being around the ocean. I had nightmares and I had this fear of being in the water, being around the water, being at the beach even, which isn't an uncommon thing for the experience I had. I would wake up swimming—I would imagine this struggle.

Fritz encouraged me. He knew that I was really struggling and he said, "Well, there's an opportunity here to specialize in underwater archaeology, to become a SCUBA diver. I know you have always been a snorkeler." And I grabbed that as a way to get over this fear that I had developed. In 1979 I went down to Scripps as part of a state class in beginning and advanced SCUBA diving. Our first exercise was to swim around the Scripps Pier; to jump in the ocean and swim around the Scripps Pier. I hadn't been in the water since Honduras, but when I made it around the Scripps Pier, I thought maybe I could do this. I went through, got my SCUBA certification and became a member of the Department's Dive Team. I love diving and I'm a good diver.

UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY

I have to thank Fritz for giving me that opportunity and the encouragement to develop a specialty to get over a problem I was having. It opened up a whole new world for me in terms of becoming the state's underwater archaeologist; I ended up writing the Underwater Antiquities Act for California. All of these things would not have happened if it hadn't have been for this tragic set of events and then for Fritz encouraging me to develop this as a specialty. I'm entirely self-taught as an underwater archaeologist (Figure 2). I've picked up a number of technical-type training courses, but basically my approach to it has always been underwater archaeology isn't anything real different; it's archaeology underwater. I *know* how to do archaeology. I know how to do it on land and I know how to do it under water too. So that's been my approach to people who say, "You didn't study that." Yeah, I *did* study it. I've studied archaeology a lot and I've worked all over the world in archaeology so I'm totally comfortable underwater doing archaeology, which you do the same way as you do it on land (Figure 3). That got me started in a specialty. Because we already had experts in prehistory and we had experts in historical archaeology and we were



Photo courtesy of John Foster, 2005.

Figure 2. John Foster Recording a Sunken Lumber Barge in Emerald Bay State Park.



Photo courtesy of John Foster.

Figure 3. John Foster Extracts a Tree Ring Core from a Submerged Stump in Lake Tahoe.

emerging as the leaders in those two fields, we didn't really need me doing another job as a prehistoric archaeologist or developing something there. We had plenty of expertise in that, but we had nobody who could do the underwater and so that's the assignment that I took up. I've managed to keep that going all through my career in spite of whatever administrative responsibilities I had, I kept that one specialty, underwater archaeology, developing underwater parks, the concepts and theory behind extending the park concept offshore to include the submerged landscape. All of those things grew out of this tragic experience and then Fritz's encouragement to make something positive out of it. It's been a very fortunate thing for me that Fritz was the person to help me do that.

PARKS AMBASSADOR

One other thing and this partially relates to Fritz and to my early career—I was asked early on when I came on board to be the ambassador for the Department, and particularly for archaeology, in interacting with other departments and with other countries and with other groups or committees or the legislature or Native Americans. It kind of became my role, to represent archaeology and history, to go to the meetings, to explain the purpose, to explain the need, to encourage people to become our partners, help us fund it, whatever it was. As a result, I helped Forestry develop their program; I helped Water Resources develop their program; I helped State Lands develop their program, and shipwreck management. I became assigned and took on the responsibility for working with the Commission of the Californias, which was a governmental entity, which involved working with the people in the governments of Baja California and Baja California Sur. So together we tackled a number of things that we had in common; mission history and preserving rock art sites (Figure 4) and this kind of thing. It turned out to be a tremendous thing for me. I was good at it—I enjoyed it. I learned to speak Spanish.

It's developed into something that I trace back to Fritz; giving me the confidence in representing the subject area, or the state, or the Department, or our discipline—whatever it was, to a larger group that might have a little bit different view of the world. And by using humor, by using logic, by using guilt —sometimes you use whatever you got—convince people to do a better job of managing heritage resources than they would have done without you convincing them. In general I've taken pride in doing that over the years. I'm still doing that in retirement in the Dominican Republic. I do want to say also, continuing on in terms of chronology, in 1983, Fritz had become ill with cancer and he needed to step down from his responsibilities as the State Archaeologist. He did so and continued to work for Parks for another year or so, but at that time, I became the Archaeologist III and replaced him. In 1983 I became the supervisor of the Cultural Heritage Section. It was difficult because everybody saw Fritz as our leader, and he had been our leader for years. He was a very visible, outspoken, recognized leader in our discipline and in our Department. It was a difficult thing to replace him; very much so, especially since it was necessary because of his cancer. He developed cancer of the saliva gland and had surgery, but in the process of the radiation treatments he had bone loss and bone damage from the radiation. These led to a disability with his facial structure. It wasn't the cancer that got him; he did beat the cancer, but his heart did give out after being retired for a while. I replaced Fritz and became the highest State Archaeologist at the time. We ended up adding several other Senior Archaeologist positions, I was one of three; but I was the admin person. I was in charge of the office and I



Photo by C. Corey, courtesy of John Foster, April 2006.

Figure 4. John Foster at Exeter Rocky Hill Pictograph Site.

was the one that developed the budgets and did the assignments for the most part; more or less continuing in my role but elevated up to being the supervisor of the group. That happened in 1983.

GROWTH OF THE DEPARTMENT AND OUTSIDE RELATIONSHIPS

CB: Who were the operative people in the Department when you first got here as far as fieldwork was concerned?

In 1975 we had a tremendous number of people in the field. Most of them were seasonals and they came and went. Some of them eventually became full-time employees. Many of them went on to other things and other careers, and maybe even other lives. Karl Gurcke was working at Fort Ross and Larry Felton was brought in to work there. Pete Schulz was in graduate school doing his dissertation, but he was also doing various assignments at the time that I arrived. We had a network of contacts in the universities that we used for various park studies. We were working with James Moriarity and Ray Brandes in San Diego. They were working on archaeology and history at Old Town San Diego. We were working with Clem Meighan and Bill Wallace on the archaeology of Anza-Borrego; Clem Meighan at UCLA and Wallace, who had recently retired from Cal State Long Beach. My first graduate class at Long Beach was Bill Wallace's last class, so there's just a little overlap there. Wallace was a great guy, very close to Fritz. So Bill Wallace was our archaeologist. We'd do projects out at Anza-Borrego. We had similar arrangements before

my time with [Adán] Treganza at Fort Ross, for example. When I came on board, we got Dave Fredrickson from Sonoma. He had worked with us up at Stone Lagoon [Historic State Park]. We had other arrangements with Dr. True from Davis and other people.

Quite a number of archaeologists in the universities were our substitute for the staff we didn't have. Whenever we could, we encouraged them to help us and work in the State Parks system. They worked on a project-by-project basis and a lot of times it was just a little bit of money for beans and time but not really enough to fully fund a project. It was whatever could be done at the time. I'm not remembering all of the people, but there were a lot of people that had worked with Fritz, Bill Olsen, and Bill Pritchard before my time as part of the crews that were working on the water project and the highways projects. That included people like Ric Windmiller, Bob Orlins, Bruce and Leslie Steidl—Sam Payen was another one. There were a whole lot of people who had worked before I came and worked for Parks. They went on to other jobs and had come back to State Parks over the course of time. In time other people joined us as we got more and more Park assignments and less involved in highways and water resources projects. We began to recruit and bring in people like Mike Sampson, Herb Dallas, Tom Wheeler, Phil Hines, Dan Foster, Breck Parkman, a lot of folks; historians as well, I don't want to overlook that.

INTEGRATION OF HISTORIANS

There had been a complex arrangement between the archaeologists and the historians before I came. Aubrey Neasham had been the State Historian. He had retired from National Parks and had come to work for State Parks. He was a very, very highly regarded historian. He overlapped some with Fritz but basically when Fritz began his career in 1958, and then as a permanent in 1960, it was right about the end of Aubrey Neasham's career; so there was a little bit of overlap there. But there were a number of historians working for the Department during Fritz's period and even before that, not a huge number of them, but there certainly was a historian presence in the Department. When I arrived, most of the historic units (the State Historic Parks) had a Unit historian assigned there. These were not necessarily academically trained historians; very commonly they were rangers who got tired of rangership and had an interest in history and were given the assignment as State Historian. It was less formal in those days and you could move back and forth without much trouble. The rangers did not have to carry guns in those days, so it was not difficult to change positions. Bob Reece, Glenn Burch, Bonnie Porter, Bob Pavelic, and John McAleer were prominent among the historians.

There was the same kind of development occurring in the historian side too. I tried to encourage that and hired a number of historians into a Parks career and we worked in teams that oftentimes included an archaeologist and a historian, especially with respect to general plans and other things that involved both disciplines. That's something that needs to be explored a little further.

CULTURAL RESOURCES IN DEPARTMENT PHILOSOPHY

The other thing that I do want to point out, and I don't want to move backwards too far in time, but I know a lot of people might think that cultural came along later in terms of the whole State Park concept. Most people identify Parks with the redwood trees, or the Sierra Club, or the John Muir philosophy of conservation. I think the record shows that these

were parallel developments with heritage preservation; in other words, both on the national scene and in terms of the State Parks history, at the time, there developed an urgency to save the redwoods at places like Big Basin. There was also an urgency to preserve historic sites at the same time. These two things came together in 1928 as the State Parks system, first approved by the legislature.

But the plan that was developed by Frederick Law Olmsted and given to the legislature in 1927 shows very clearly the cultural component that was part of the original concept. It included not just the historic iconic sites like Columbia, Fort Ross, Sutter's Fort, the missions, and so on, but it also included in the concept (the Olmsted plan) examples of native societies of the different cultural areas and cultural types in California; Kroeber's six cultural sub-types. So Olmsted wanted parks devoted to each one of those lifestyles so that people would have a chance to understand the antiquity and diversity of the ancient people as well. That goes back to the foundation of the State Park System; it's not something that came along with CEQA in 1970. That's what people think, but it's not true. In fact, when we did the research a number of years ago looking at the Olmsted papers, we found his correspondence with Kroeber about this subject and it was very interesting. It is very contemporary with the thinking we have now, that it's part of our responsibility to acquire and preserve as well as interpret the diversity of ancient life in California, so people could understand it. The connection should be obvious, but some people don't quite understand it. The reason we have tremendous diversity in California ancient societies is the same reason we have the best state park system in the country; and it is the resources. The resources have been the magnet for humans since going back to ancient times. That's why we have this tremendous diversity in language and cultural types in our state, and it's also the reason we have this tremendous state park system. I always try to make that connection when talking to people about Parks and archaeology.

THE BERKELEY CONNECTION

CB: Did working with so closely with Berkeley have an effect on the way things were done?

I think it did, for one thing, there was a focus on descriptive archaeology. "Descriptive studies" is sometimes seen as a pejorative term, but I think good description is very important. That's what Heizer, and before him Kroeber, were all about, basically; more on the descriptive details, the intricacies of the cultures that they were studying, whether they were ethnographic people or archaeological. I think that translates into the more modern emphasis on the workings and the descriptions and the focus on typologies, on chronologies, on the relationships between ancient cultures, between ethnographic groups as well. Then it also translates into the coming of the Europeans and that interaction between European colonizations, the missions, and the gold rush immigrants and the native people. These are all themes that had their antecedents in the Berkeley school, and ultimately became important in State Park studies. I think there's a connection there, but I'm not sure I'm the best one to talk about it.

My focus had not always been on the particularistic. I was never much for being the bead classification person, rather the big picture. I love to look at the big picture things and see the trends over a large geographic area or a big span of time. I do think there's some connection between the so-called Berkeley school and how that translates into the public

archaeology that we have today. It's not highly theoretical, I would argue. It is more descriptive and particularistic, but I see that as a strength, actually, not as a weakness at all.

One other thing and this you could argue, but I do think that Fritz epitomized an empathetic side of anthropology that, in my experience, is not common in other schools—in the Southwest or in Chicago, the so-called Chicago school. Fritz just loved Indian people and he just couldn't help himself. It wasn't an academic interest; it wasn't to write a book or anything. He just loved talking to people about the old days and how they saw the world and everything else. Again, I think this is something that is closer to the Berkeley school than it is to some of the other traditions. Fritz definitely was strongly associated with that school and very knowledgeable about native people. I think sometimes his interest and specialty there causes people to overlook the fact that he was also very interested in and enthusiastic about the preservation of historic sites, historic places, and historic structures, as well. When I first started, all of his contemporaries in Parks called him "Bones." We'd get into the elevator sometimes and, "Hey, Bones. How's it going?" That really bugged him. But he'd smile, he'd laugh and joke, but he'd tell me later, "Boy, I didn't like that a bit."

Anyway, he was so known for his affinity with California Indians that people didn't necessarily remember that he also argued very strenuously for the preservation of historic sites and historic structures. In fact, he told me one time that when Interstate 80 was being built, it must have been sometime in the 50s or early 60s, the interstate went through Newcastle and destroyed a Chinese joss house. It could have been moved. It could have been saved. It was one of the original ones from the 1850s. Fritz was so angry about this, especially since the site had been looted. Relic collectors went in and dug at night. Not only did they destroy it, but then they looted it as well. He was so ticked off about that that he wrote back to Washington and asked them to put the first preservation language in statutes and contracts to help protect places like the joss house at Newcastle. I think that did have an effect on changing the course of the discussion, if nothing else. He was a preservationist and really believed strongly that we need to protect these places as touchstones of history. He was so right about that and I've come to believe it even more strongly today.

It's a human right. People have a human right to a past and that past has certain touchstones. Those touchstones need to be preserved and they need to be understood and they need to be interpreted so people have a sense of their place in today's world. That's a human right; that's not something that we have dreamed up for the purposes of academic study. That's real. Fritz believed that and I do too. In looking back over my career, that's what I've tried to do. The worst thing that you could do to somebody is erase their past so they have no connection and they have no roots. That's the worst thing that can happen to you. I think that's what makes our function so critical in the Department...for good or bad, State Parks inherited the job of being the keepers of the heritage of California. As such, it's important to us to preserve these sites, to acquire the right ones, and to keep them intact enough so that people can have access to these touchstones.

CB: What happened to the 1974 report that said Parks isn't the place?

It got put on the shelf. It was given to me to read my first week of the job. I read it and said, "Whoa, it sounds like we're going to change names and become a new entity." Actually, everybody at the time thought that was going to happen, but it quickly faded. We went on to other things. You know how the state government is. That was pretty much

forgotten and the Department went on to other things. I still think cultural is an uncomfortable fit in many ways in a department that's mainly interested in redwood trees, beaches, or peace officer stuff, but it's where we are and you do the best you can.

REASONS FOR PARKS PROJECTS

CB: What was driving projects?

They were driven mainly for the mitigation effort in compensation for damages caused by park developments, by facility developments in the system; and by the need to preserve and restore the historic sites. These were the big drivers, two things: recreational facility development and preserving or restoring historic sites, structures, and settings. [Those] were the two big things that caused people to need the specialties of archaeology and history. When I first arrived, we had just begun the big push to do the archaeology up at Fort Ross. Others can speak more intimately about the particulars there, but in general it was decided that Fort Ross was going to be restored and we were going to restore that setting accurately by doing the archaeology, by understanding the buildings and the layout—and incorporating the history and the mapping, and the historic observations, and everything else, to make that as accurate a reconstruction or restoration as we could. That involved a large crew and a major effort. That was underway when I started.

The same thing ultimately was done in Old Town San Diego and in Old Sacramento. Again, it was partially driven by the commercial need to reconstruct buildings to have businesses in them to help support the park and to have a comfortable place for tourists to come. I'm thinking now of Old Town San Diego and Old Sacramento restoring the 49er Scene in Old Sacramento, for example. That involved mainly doing the archaeology of the footprint of a building, determining where the walls were, what the configuration was, what some of the activities were, recovering artifacts from the time period, and putting that whole story together. That involved using history as well as archaeology as the technique. And the product was an interpretive product—a reconstructed building that people could see on the plaza or within the palisade at Fort Ross. It really made a huge difference. Now over the course of time, historic preservation shifted strongly away from doing reconstructions and has more of a focus on preserving the original material from existing structures. During the 1980s that became more of a focus. Today we don't do any real reconstructions, or very rarely we might do one. Most of the effort today involves preserving the original historic fabric in original buildings that are historic-period buildings. So it's a bit of a different focus today.

But I would say that when I came, the big emphasis was on the historic side, historical archaeology. We were developing a lot of new techniques and pioneering efforts in historical archaeology in California. There wasn't really anybody teaching historical archaeology. I think Moriarity was teaching it a little bit down in San Diego and there might have been one or two other classes offered, but by and large it was something that you took the general principles of archaeology and applied them to a historic setting. There was no Harris Matrix at the time.

BONDS AND PARKS FUNDING

CB: What about the bonds and acquisitions that were coming in at the time?

Parks developments and improvements were funded out of Parks bonds that were passed. We had a whole series of successful Parks bonds that were passed for hundreds of

millions of dollars. These provided the capital outlay funds to do the improvements in the State Park System; that would be to build a campground, to build a bigger parking lot, to improve the entrance station, to build an interpretive center. All of these things had impacts on the heritage resources and those drove the need to do archaeology. Similarly in the historic sites we had restoration work to do out of the Parks bonds and that occurred at Monterey, or Fort Ross, or Columbia. Oftentimes those involved very detailed archaeological projects and historical expertise to get these buildings restored as accurately as possible and also to provide information to tell the story that they represent in good detail with original artifacts as examples of what was done, what was used, what was experienced in earlier times.

Our focus really was in response to developments; not in response to the needs of the resource base. When I came in, it puzzled me that we had no opportunity to select which sites we were working on and which sites should be nominated to the National Register and which sites we should set aside or study or interpret outside of those that were getting hit by some park development somewhere. I began to ask Fritz about this.

I was surprised that there was no fund to study the resources in order to manage them better. In fact, we didn't even know what we had in the parks in terms of resources. The only ones we ever got a chance to study were ones that were being hit by some big-time development. The first study outside of mitigation-driven development work was done in 1968 when Fritz got a small amount of money and was able to do some initial surveys at various selected park units around the state. He brought in some of his buddies to take \$500 or \$1,000 to survey at Prairie Creek Redwoods or someplace like that. A number of important sites were discovered at the time. They were on state park property but they had never been recorded, documented, evaluated, or included in any kind of inventory or anything else. That was still true when I started in 1975. There was very little of that. It took us quite awhile to move away from the focus on mitigation of park development to a focus on managing resources, making informed decisions about what resources we had, what kind of threats they faced, what kind of responses were appropriate, and how could we manage this resource base so that we can turn it over to our successors in as good of shape as we got it. Of course that's a goal we rarely can actually accomplish, but that's the idea of a modern resource management effort.

CHANGES IN MANAGEMENT DIRECTION

CB: You were able to make some in-roads in that.

It took me awhile. Slowly over the course of time I was able to change the focus. Fritz knew it needed to change but he was never able to change it. When I took over in 1983, I promised myself I would figure out a way to change the focus. Within a year after I started as the Supervisor, I got my chance. There was a study that was done on the conditions of the resources in State Parks. When the authors of the study drew up the plans for it, they got it funded outside State Parks funding. They got a grant to fund this. I got into the meeting and said, "Hey, we need that for cultural too, because we've got the same problems." They wouldn't let me include this in the total scope, but they admitted that cultural had the same issues that we were dealing with; namely, that the conflicting parts of the State Parks mission—recreation, preservation, and use—were beginning to wear on the resources, yet we didn't have anything but anecdotal evidence that things were not being managed effectively. We were losing our resources.

STEWARDSHIP 1983

The grant-funded report was called *Stewardship 1983*. It was funded—there was a slick book that came out, not a thick report. It outlined all of the damaging influences of overcrowding, overuse, lack of maintenance in State Parks, which was affecting natural resources. The report also said that we can see the same kind of damages extending to the heritage resources—the historical and archaeological resources out there. Even though I couldn't get it included in the scope of the study, because it was a natural resources funding source, I did get them to admit that the same need exists on the cultural side. The response to the issuance of that report in 1983 was the creation of the state-wide resource management program that was the first support-based fund, not Parks bonds, but a regular budget every year to address the needs of the resources, irrespective of development and other things, but just the resources and how to deal with their condition, the kinds of threats they were facing which were man-made and natural or both.

That led us to the first program assigned to our division, which was the combined resources division. In that first allocation, I was able to get a very small piece for cultural. I got \$15,000 the first year and our first project was Ahjumawi Lava Springs. That one related to documenting the fish traps and backfilling all those huge looters' pits that were out there at the time. It was a terrible thing that needed to be addressed. That was our first project in 1985, and then after that I committed to pushing and pushing until I was able to get cultural to not quite 50 percent. When I finally stopped pushing, we had gotten it up to a 53-47 percent split. I was a bulldog. I was friends with all these guys. They were my colleagues; they were my counterparts on the natural side, but I was relentless. I never gave up.

As a result we have the state-wide cultural resource management program, which is the only support-funded program that addresses the needs of the resources out there, all of the heritage resources. It's a huge need and very small amount of money, but it represents a sea change in thinking; moving from the sole focus on mitigation for park development to how to manage a resource base effectively. We went back to using a lot of the same people, a lot of the same university folks, and we asked them instead of working in front of bulldozers, to look at, to nominate sites, to evaluate sites, to figure out the most important sites that we need to be taking care of out there. It's always a battle because of the tremendous need.

There are, at the present moment, over 12,000 recorded archaeological sites in the State Park System. There are a good 3,500 historic structures. We haven't documented them, but there are many hundreds of historic landscapes that have very unique components and important aspects to them. All of these things are threatened by coastal erosion, by anything and everything. They all need care and we can only address a few of them, but we need to do those using the most effective tools we can come up with.

One of the things I inherited from Fritz, which I did continue, was the emphasis on incorporating university programs and trying to invite people to do studies in the State Park System and make it possible and easy, and sometimes even support those efforts so that we can use that information to help us manage more effectively. The feds went the other way. When ARPA [Archaeological Resource Protection Act] was passed, it made it very difficult for archaeologists to work on federal land. It's a very difficult and complex permit process, and they're just more inclined to say, "Well, we don't want you digging here. We're managing here." Well, you're not managing here. You're ignoring here, is what you are

doing really. I feel very strongly that the best management comes from an intricate knowledge of the resources. We don't do anything reckless; we don't excavate very much and when we do we're very careful about how we design excavations. But we use the archaeological techniques as well as historical research to draw out information about our resources, which is important in making management decisions.

DEDICATED RESOURCE MANAGEMENT FUNDING

CB: What were the goals of the resource management program when you got this funding?

We got our hands on some money. We had just acquired Ahjumawi [Lava Springs State Park]. It had these unique stone fish traps (Figure 5). Nobody had ever been out there. Of course, the Ahjumawi [tribe] knew everything there was to know about these fish traps, having built them and maintained them. We needed to do a couple of things: 1) we needed to record this cultural landscape that had these fish traps that were still being used by living people; and 2) we had these pits that had to be backfilled and stabilized or whole sites would be eroded away...it looked like a mine field with these great big looters' pits with human bone sticking out and all kinds of terrible stuff that had occurred on this ranch before we took ownership. So we had Chico State—they got our first contract with the first resource management project—record the fish traps and backfill all the looters' pits. It was a very



(a)



(b)

Photos courtesy of John Foster.

Figure 5. (a) John Foster Used SCUBA Equipment to Document the Fish Traps and Fish Behavior at Ahjumawi Lava Springs State Park, and (b) Stone Fish Traps at Ahjumawi Lava Springs State Park.

practical thing; it wasn't anything real academic. It was very basic, but it gave us the basis for managing that very special place in the future. We worked closely with the Ahjumawi. Floyd Buckskin showed us how to fish for suckers the traditional way.

That's the way we approached everything. It was always designed to have practical application in park management. These weren't necessarily the highly theoretical academically driven studies that some might have an interest in. I was more interested in, "What do we need to know about this resource and how can we do a better job preserving it for the future?" So we moved on and did this for rock art sites; recording them in detail [and] bringing in the experts. In Southern California, we had pictographs that had been spray-painted. We brought in the expertise to remove spray paint from the original paintings and were able to get a handle on this terrible graffiti that was going on in places like Lake Perris [State Recreation Area] and Anza-Borrego. This was all possible because we were dealing with a fund devoted to the resource base as opposed to park development of some sort.

That began in 1985. We started and progressively argued for and built up a bigger share of that for the cultural group. It was strictly force of personality. We never had enough resource money so I would always argue, "Why don't we just split this. There's not enough money on either side. There's 10 times as much need at any given time as we have funds to provide for, so why don't we just split this baby in half." I couldn't get the managers to do it, but I did get pretty close.

PARKS BONDS AND RESOURCE STEWARDSHIP

Parks bonds included funding for different categories of things, mostly development. They'd put \$100 million into recreational development and they'd put \$75 million into development of a museum, an interpretive center, and whatever. It was divided up into categories. There wasn't a category for resources. So I got together with my counterpart in natural resources and we proposed a stewardship program which would be bond-funded. So as well as sending money to the development side of the organization, we would send money to the stewardship of resources side of the organization. We drew it up and submitted it and I can't remember now which exact Parks bond it was. Nevertheless, it had gone up through the review and it had gotten ok'd, ok'd, and ok'd. Right up to the top, I found out it was going back to the author in the legislature as a category so that stewardship was going to appear in the next Parks bond as a category. But at some point in going up that food chain, cultural got dropped. It was going to be a category, all right. Stewardship was going to be funded out of a Parks bond for the first time, but it was all natural [resources].

I was crushed because we had developed this and given a lot of thought to it. I was determined that I was not going to lose out because I never even got a chance to explain what the cultural need was to any of these people; it was just eliminated. I still to this day don't know who did it. It turns out, though, that I knew somebody that worked in the senate Natural Resources Committee, the committee that reviewed the language that included the Parks bond, made it a bill, attached it to the budget, and everything else. So I took my little cultural stewardship thing over there on my own time [you couldn't do this as a state employee, I did this on my own time], and I went over there and I sat down with the Senate Natural Resources Committee people and I said, "Look, cultural has this important need. We need some money. It got dropped because they didn't want to jeopardize the need for the redwoods and everything else and I don't want to either. I want you to add this in

because it's really important. If you don't believe me, you just ask anybody, or go to some historic site and see what's happening to the buildings. Don't ask me, go look." And they did. They went up to Coloma and they saw all of these building that were falling down there and they were asking the Parks people [about them]. They said, "We don't have any money for this." They came back, the stewardship bill came out, Parks people opened it up to the stewardship chapter, and cultural was back in. We were back in business.

We got \$10 million the first bond and it's just grown from there. I did that on my own. I couldn't get Parks to...and again, this goes back to the uncomfortable place that cultural sometimes finds itself in a department that's more comfortable with natural resources, with redwoods and stuff like that. When it gets into the cultural area it's not nearly as comfortable. It's not that they don't intend to do the right thing, but the priorities shift quite a lot. Now stewardship is a regular part of Parks bonds and cultural stewardship is a regular part of Parks bonds. I think back at all of the humor and cajoling and the meetings that we had with Fritz trying to talk his counterparts into giving cultural a little more, giving us a break, giving us some funds, giving us a position. That's been a struggle as long as I can remember.

Just like Fritz never gave up, I never gave up either. If you set as your goal that they're going to give you money the equivalent of your natural counterparts or you're going to get this or that, you're always going to be disappointed. My goal always was, "I will do the very best job with whatever money you give me and I'll show you that it's valuable to give me that money." And by me, I mean give our program that money. I think that eventually was successful, even though I had to go around some of the obstacles to get it done. But I'm proud of that and I think of myself as continuing very strongly in the tradition that Fritz began in trying to find a place for cultural in this Department of Parks and Recreation. That wasn't necessarily the best fit but it's the only game in town so you do the best you can and you admit that there are some inadequacies to it; but it's still very important work and I'm proud that I was able to do it.

Directions: The Future

CURRENT MANAGEMENT TRENDS

One of the big trends during my career has been the change from being mitigation-oriented. We still do mitigation, but we don't do the level of development that we used to do. We're not building reservoirs or highways like we used to two generations ago. We don't build big campgrounds and big things like we used to in Parks anymore either. We do have mitigation needs, but our focus nowadays is to try and better manage the resources we do have and to keep them in a better and more preserved state than they would be otherwise. In doing that, we've tried to establish a cultural program in each district. We still have about half of the districts that have no archaeologist and no historian. We only have one district that has both an archaeologist and a historian, so we have big huge holes in what I have always referred to as the cultural safety net in the Department and that's very aggravating. In some park districts when you have an authorized 100 positions or more and you don't have a single person hired to do the cultural assignment and it's one of the core program areas of the Department, you've got to scratch your head and say, "Hey, wait a minute. How many more positions would we have to add to get the cultural person? Do you have to have 200? Then you'd hire one?" So I pushed right up to the end for this kind of thing, again continuing the emphasis on management, not mitigation, but we're not there. We're not close and I don't know when we'll ever get there. It's unfortunately an area where it's been very disappointing. We have good people in the field; I think they do a fabulous job, but there just aren't enough of them.

GENERAL PLANNING

CB: What about the general plan. I know there was a period of a lot of acquisition. How has that worked out over time?

The general planning process has worked out pretty well. There isn't supposed to be any major development in a park unit until you have a general plan; it's a requirement. Now, we've violated that many times, but all in all it's the one place in the process where you have a multi-disciplinary team look at a park landscape and decide what it should be, what should be built there, what the emphasis should be, what the name should be, and what kinds of interpretive offerings shall we have. It's a very exciting thing because it's really only one of those few times when different disciplines get

a chance to work together and produce synergy towards an end. That's really been exciting. I've done that and I've been involved in general plans. For a number of years, I was the main archaeologist on some of the general plans like Cuyamaca [Rancho State Park] and places like that. It was really fascinating because I learned a lot by going out with these park planners and with my resource ecologist counterparts. We looked at all these different aspects of a park landscape and focused on the plans.

The general plans cost a lot of money. That kind of effort is not cheap and it's hard to justify when we have so many other immediate threats that need to be dealt with. It's one of those things that is important, but we don't do very many general plans a year—a handful a year—and we have 278 units of the State Park System. It would take a long, long time. There are a lot of them without plans and then the plans are really obsolete after about 30 years so you're on a cycle where you're always way behind in this planning stuff. It's really too bad because they're all really important. We've had good representative participation in the general planning process. It's one of those things we'd like to do more of, but we just can't afford it right now.

CULTURAL RESOURCES AND THE PARKS MISSION

CB: What was the relationship between the heritage values and other values, such as recreation?

That particular thing is at the core of all of the problems, basically, that I've been talking about today. It's the inherent conflict between the different components of our mission. State Parks has five program areas. They're supposed to be all viable ones. There's the cultural program, the natural program, maintenance, public safety, and there's interpretation. By any measure, the cultural program—the heritage program is the weakest and least-supported of the core program areas in the Department. Sadly, we are in a budget situation where we're constantly fighting over the bones of an inadequate budget. The cultural group usually gets just the scraps at the end of it.

I was here at Parks before the rangers were required to become peace officers. When that happened, and there was a need for it at the time, that shift to making all of the rangers peace officers meant that in today's terms, they can retire early, they all have to have Code 3 vehicles (they all have to be able to have lights and bust the bad guys), they have to carry a weapon, they have to have an AR15, they have to have domestic violence training; it's never-ending. It is a *huge* chunk of our budget to maintain the second largest state police force in California. CHP is the first largest. I love rangers; I've worked with them for 35 years. They're great people, but not everybody needs to be a peace officer. It's a huge commitment. It has come to dwarf all of the other core program areas. The public safety component now dominates the structure of the Department, the budget of the Department, [and] the priorities of the Department. If I could change one thing today, I would eliminate that as a requirement; not for every place and every position, but it would be a much better and more balanced Park budget if you did not have all the rangers being peace officers. NPS [National Park Service] came to this years ago, and they split the federal park rangers—some of them are peace officers and some of them are not. We need a lot of people that are not peace officers but are more traditional staff that are devoted to being naturalists and being historians and archaeologists and being park people and *not* being cops.

CB: Are the resource people in the parks required to be peace officers?

No, the resource people are not peace officers. If you're a peace officer, you're a peace officer. You may have a little time for other things, but basically the responsibility is being a peace officer. I'm very aware of the responsibilities and I've taught in their training academy for years and I have high regard for it, but the cost of maintaining this huge number of peace officers is a tremendous cost in the Department. Anyway, if I could change one thing, it would be that. It would free up a lot of money, and it would also open up the Department's structure to non-peace officer people. Because of the structure of the Department right now, in order to be a Superintendent, with one exception, you have to be a peace officer. The Deputy Superintendent is a peace officer. The Chief Ranger is a peace officer and the Ranger II is a peace officer and the rangers are all peace officers. Even at a district that has...say a district that includes Fort Ross, a district that includes Monterey State Historic Park, Point Sur Lighthouse, and all of these places, the districts are dominated by peace officers. The structure is peace officers. Nothing against them; they are a lot of great people, but that is really what we need, honestly. We need to have the right person, *not* the right peace officer in that job. If you eliminated that requirement, peace officers could compete, but so could other people. One of the weaknesses in our system is that our specialists, as well as the natural resource people, have nowhere to go in an organization that's dominated by peace officers. You could only become a senior in your specialty, and then after that, basically you're squeezed out.

CB: So you're never going to get a senior person who comes up from the ranks who might bring those ideas and philosophies...

...into the executive level. Until we had our Division established and our Division Chief established and participating in the executive level that was really the first time we had one of our people with a heritage background being up there at the table.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN THE HERITAGE DIVISION

I do want to say, before we wind up here, something about more recent history. In 2000, we began to separate from Natural Resources and become our own Cultural Resource Division. Our first division chief was Steade Craigo and he served for a couple of years. Then they brought in Walter Gray who had been the director of the Railroad Museum, he had been the State Archivist. He was a fantastic manager, an incredible worker, an effective leader, and a real inspiration to me. I didn't know him before he got the job; I'd met him a few times, but I didn't really know him. I became his biggest fan and his strongest supporter. Honestly, he was a wonderful guy. I had the privilege of working for him for a couple of years when he was our Division Chief. He got liver cancer. For a while it seemed like he was improving, but he had to devote full-time to battling his disease and so someone had to take over the Unit. Just as it happened to Fritz, I was now in the role where my boss, our Division Chief Walter Gray, asked me to step in and become the acting Division Chief, which I did.

I served in that capacity for a year and a half. I'm remembering Walter and Fritz today as I'm recounting this history because in both cases they had confidence in me to ask me to step up and take charge of things when it was my turn to help out in that capacity. Anyway, I used that opportunity and I had 18 months where I attended the Parks operations meetings and I was there with all the other Division Chiefs. I met with [Director] Ruth

Coleman and met with all kinds of people at the executive level. I tried to use the techniques that I had seen work successfully by Fritz and by Walter—using humor and using insight and using our own quaint way of looking at the world as historians and archaeologists. It was successful in a way. People thanked me for doing it and I felt good about it.

When it came time to formally replace Walter, I decided not to compete for the job. The reason for that was that I wanted to spend my last couple of years going back and being involved more directly in implementing the policies; in particular, the underwater program and the other things that I had kept. It would have made a difference maybe in terms of retirement, who knows; but I decided for my own health and for my own...to wind up my career I wanted to do some other things. Taking that job on permanently would not have allowed me to do those things. I would have had to give up archaeology, I would have had to give up being on the dive team, I would have had to give up being the diving safety board member, and I would have had to spend all my time basically dealing with the executive issues and budget things. I know I made the right choice for me and probably for the outfit too. We've got a good chief in there now. He's well regarded and he's doing a good job. He's running up against the same impediments that we've been battling for all these years. At the same time, I managed to finish on a strong note. I got very involved with being the ambassador for archaeology and taking that role to Mexico. I worked in Mexico quite a while, and more recently, since 1993, I've been working in the Dominican Republic. I'm not just doing archaeological research, which I've done a lot of, but I'm also helping them establish and add to their system of national parks. I've taken my background in park management, my focus on archaeology and history, and taken it to a place that's a very poor country; but the one thing they have is a very rich history. It's just like California. The one thing we have that's superlative is a tremendous, rich, and ancient past which you can use in a park context and preserve a lot of important touchstones. That brings me full circle back to the beginning. That's what I'm doing in retirement and I'm happily doing it. I've been retired since September 9, 2009.

HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN THE FUTURE

CB: If you could direct Parks in terms of heritage, what would you like to see being done 10 or 15 years from now?

We just avoided a situation where the governor proposed closing 220 of our parks, and Arizona has completely shut down their parks system. I was recently there and talked to some of the park rangers. There's this huge pressure right now; but at the same time, we have this vigorous public awakening of the need for parks and the value of parks that we've never had before. It's kind of a double-edged sword. We have this threat, which is serious, but at the same time it's prompted this response, which is tremendous. I don't know. I hate to say we need more money because everybody needs more money and that poor guy in hell would like a cold glass of lemonade, too. You aren't necessarily going to get that, right?

I think we need to take a look at how we can better allocate and manage Parks, and it may be that we need to explore some non-traditional organizational ways of doing it. For example, and Walter was working on this, if we are still stuck with this district organization, maybe we ought to have districts that have all of the people that work in that District be non-peace officers. In other words, maybe we ought to take the historic sites and the concentration of historic structures out of the realm of the existing District and make those

part of an organizational structure that focuses on that need. That need means we don't necessarily need a peace officer at every place but we need somebody who is taking care of the resources at every place, and interpreters at every place. That could also apply to the museums and other things. This again gets back to that idea of the task force report in 1973, which said maybe Parks isn't the best place to have the heritage assignment. Well, it's still in Parks but maybe it's not organized the way it should be in Parks. I guess if there's something that I would like to see us explore, it would be alternative models for organization and management which would step away from the peace officer approach and be one that's different; that looks at the heritage needs and museums and historic sites in particular. That's not necessarily going to happen but I think that might eventually be forced on us if we still have this real serious budget constraint. I don't think we're going to be able to afford 600 or 700 peace officers; we just can't do it. We can't afford it. So that's one thing in the future.

The other thing I would like to see, and again I really do believe this...that preserving heritage sites of the past, and studying them and knowing them, gives you some real insight in how to live today and to manage for future change. I'll give you an example: climate change. Humans in California have gone through climate change before. There's a vast submerged landscape on the coastal terrace that was occupied by people before that sea level rose and flooded. There were people living along Tomales Creek before it became Tomales Bay. We have some of those sites in our state park system. There's a lot that can be learned in terms of scientific analysis of the climate of the time. But there's even more that can be learned about the potential for humans to act and to recognize, and to deal with these kinds of events. I don't see cultural resource management as a cold sterile trivial enterprise. I see it as something that has real meaning to people; it has real value in today's world. I got that notion from Fritz and I got that notion from Jim Deetz and I got that notion from a lot of people, but I have really become a proponent for it and I really do believe it. In my mind, if there can be an increased awareness of the value of this heritage preservation then we will have an easier time supporting that.

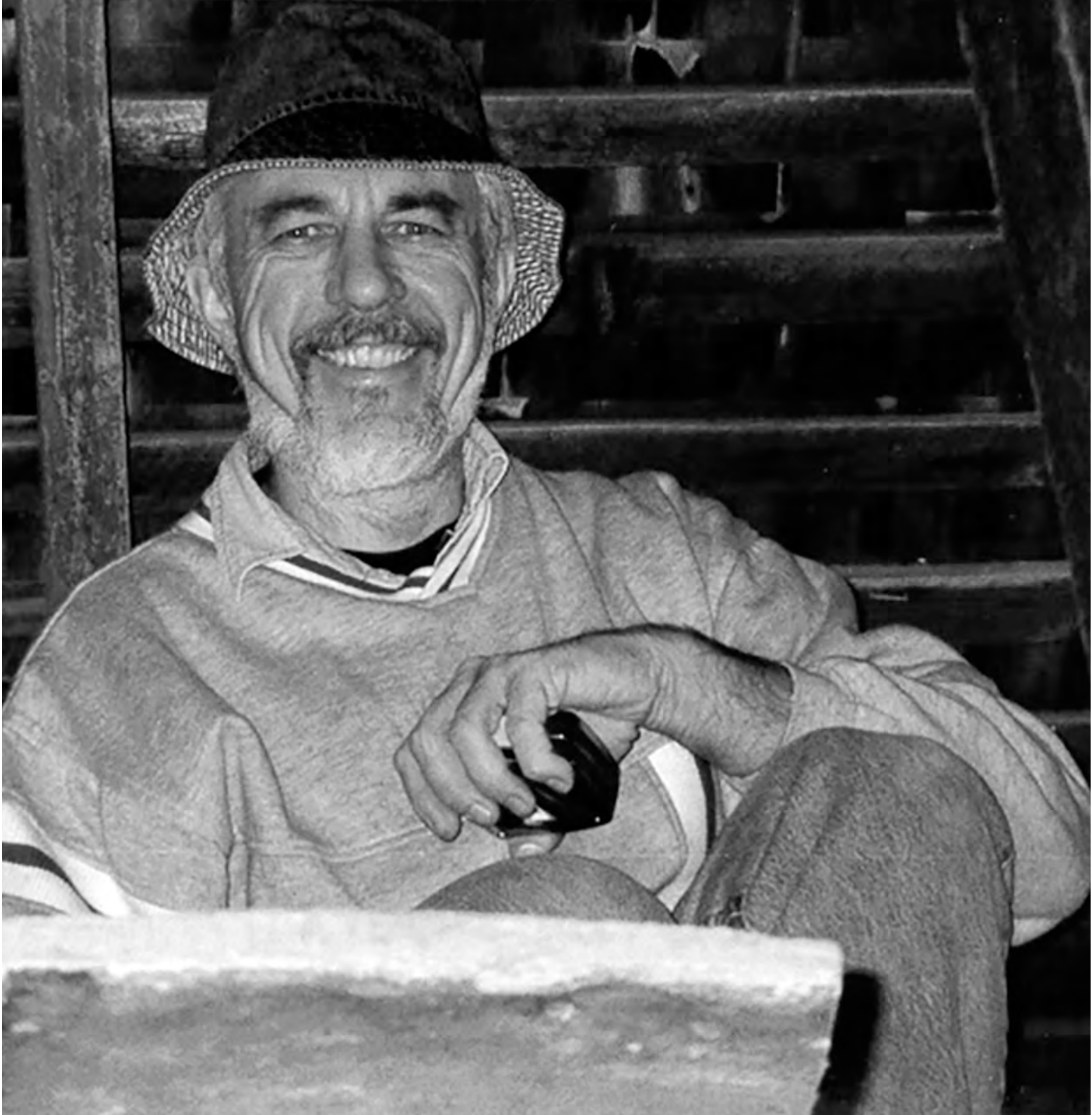
I'd like to add a couple of final comments. The history of the cultural effort within State Parks goes back many years to the inception of the State Park System. But, as I've tried to explain, the archaeology, history, and museum functions have never been recognized or supported to the extent they should have been. Our history is full of decisions that show park managers do not recognize the value of heritage resources. In the mid-1980s the Vista Del Mar School was relocated from its original site as the result of an oil pipeline. Parks agreed to allow it to be placed on a midden site at Gaviota State Park. We complained; we tested the site and demonstrated its significance and antiquity. Nobody cared; the school was built for less than 100 students on that ancient midden.

In 2009 the Department tried to transfer the Yontocket site—the center of the Tolowa world—to the Department of Fish and Game so that duck hunting could occur at Tolowa Dunes State Park. The Tolowa objected and so did the cultural staff, but it was the Coastal Commission that prevented the transfer. I was reminded of the conclusions of that 1973 report. Can State Parks do the heritage job?

On the other hand, I remain optimistic about the future. I believe the public does care about parks and about heritage resources. For one thing, and Fritz would have loved to hear this, we are now working very closely with California Indians in the management of

heritage resources. We have reached the point where California Indian students are using archaeological techniques to study their own heritage in our State Parks. The record of the ancient past is important to people and it exists in the archaeology and history we've pledged to preserve. Fritz believed that; so did Walter. I'm hopeful that Parks will succeed as the keepers of California's heritage. I'm betting it will.

DAVID L. (LARRY) FELTON



*Photo on previous page
Richard Hastings, courtesy Larry Felton.*

Early Influences

PERSONAL BACKGROUND (1949–1960)

CB: Let's begin with your personal background.

David L. (Larry) Felton (LF): I was born and raised in Montana, out on the plains. When I was a kid, we lived in a couple of small and smaller towns; one of them, Galata, only had 45 people. It was a veritable ghost town already in the '50s. In many ways, I think our playgrounds (old houses, the abandoned blacksmith shop) predisposed me to be fascinated with history, historic buildings, and archaeology.

I was born February 20, 1949. Both my parents had grown up on farms in Montana in the '30s and '40s, so essentially I'm the first generation off the farm. My dad's parents had a family farm in north-central Montana and during WWII, they grew sugar beets. Prior to that, in the '30s (he was born in 1922) they had a little homestead in the Bears Paw Mountains, where they raised sheep and cattle. By WWII they had moved to irrigated farmland in the valley close to a town called Chinook. He worked there with his parents and one of his brothers who had a farm just down the road. Someplace in there he started working wage labor at a service station, Farmer's Union, in town. Many of those towns had Farmer's Unions, which were farmer-owned cooperatives. He progressed in those organizations; first he was a hired man, then he got a job managing a co-op in Galata, about 90 miles west of Chinook. Then, in 1959, my dad took a job with Farmer's Union Central Exchange, the company that supplied these farm co-ops with tires, petroleum products, fertilizer, and all the stuff they were selling to the wheat farmers.

So, in 1959, we moved to Great Falls, a much larger city, and lived there for a couple of years, then moved to Billings, where I went to high school. Actually, it was in Billings that I first got involved in archaeology. For a brief period in the middle '60s, my Dad worked at a Farmer's Union refinery near Billings with a number of geologists, and a couple of those guys were interested in archaeology. There was a very active amateur archaeological society in Billings. Sometime early in high school, I got involved with that group. I got to do some fieldwork and some excavations. They were a pretty active group; it was very good exposure.

FIRST EXPERIENCE IN ARCHAEOLOGY (MID-1960S)

When we lived in Great Falls, I was out with my mother doing some gardening beside the house, and lo and behold, I found a little tiny arrowhead. It was just right next to the house there in the suburb. I've got a hunch it probably came in with the gravel during construction; I don't think there was a site there. That, of course, sparked my interest. In the seventh grade, it was about the time of Dr. Leakey and Zinjanthropus; I did a science fair project on human evolution, and managed to go to the state science fair. Since late grade school I had an interest in this realm in general. During high school, I wasn't a terribly good student. I would essentially twist project assignments around to being something related to archaeology. At one point, I think I was a freshman in high school, I wrote a paper summarizing Montana archaeology for a world history class.

During and immediately following WWII, my mother had gone to nurse's college and had a career briefly until the war was over and the Baby Boom began. Because of that exposure and her personality, she encouraged our interests in all sorts of things, including education. As a little kid, I became a rock hound—frankly, out on the plains in Montana there wasn't much except for rocks and old buildings! By the time I was eight or nine, with my mother's encouragement, I figured I was probably going to become a geologist. It was always in the cards that I was going to go to college to pursue some passion like that. I think many of us in the Baby Boom generation were driven to look for job satisfaction...we had a comfortable life, so why not? As much time as we spend working, I can't imagine doing anything other than something that I'm passionate about. I still, even here in the twilight of my career, pinch myself at my good fortune.

I went to high school in Billings—Central Catholic High School. I graduated in 1967, still interested in archaeology but by then the Vietnam War was raging. I did dutifully go to college at the University of Montana in Missoula, but quite frankly, I was too busy having a good time to be a very avid student. I did take some anthropology there but I was just barely hanging on by my fingertips. After about five quarters, in 1969, I dropped out of school. I was tired of doing school poorly and basically hiding out from the draft. I just said, "I'll take my chances."

SHIP'S ENGINEER, SEATTLE-ALASKA (1969–1971)

I went with several friends from Missoula to Seattle where I beat the pavement looking for work. I ended up getting a job on a king crab processing ship. The company [American Freezerships] worked out of Seattle and would go back and forth [to Alaska] for the king crab season. This was in the spring [of 1969] and I got a job chipping rust, painting, and one thing or another. I was a good worker; I had good work habits. Through grade school and high school I did lawn work, landscaping, and babysitting, shoveling snow, whatever would make a few bucks, so I managed to pick up decent work habits.

I had mechanical aptitude, which I really hadn't recognized before—I had never owned a car, so the only mechanical thing I'd worked on was my bicycle. Whatever the case, the engineers [John Tackitt and Don Griffin] on the ship [*MV Theresa Lee*], recognized my abilities, and before the ship ever left Seattle, I had the good fortune to have been given a job in the engine room. This was really a godsend for me. This was experience that really put me in good stead for the rest of my life, especially with historical

archaeology. That period that I spent going back and forth between Seattle and Alaska, working on a several different ships, really was a crash course in everyday technology. Most of these ships were WWII vintage. A ship is essentially a floating village. It has to supply its own infrastructure—make your own electricity, supply your own fresh water, wiring, install hydraulics to run food-processing lines. In a steel-hulled ship you need to learn welding, cutting, refrigeration, all that sort of stuff. I had no desire to do that for the next 40 years, but for two years at the age of 20, it was great. I sucked it up like a sponge. I did that for two years, from 1969 to 1971.

In historical archaeology, what you're often dealing with is the debris from everyday technology. In terms of being able to make sense of evidence left on historic sites, my marine engineer experience was really valuable. Much of historical archaeology, especially on historic building restorations and reconstructions; is three-dimensional problem solving, and I think some of that same mechanical aptitude is applicable to solving those problems.

About nine months into my maritime career, the draft board finally caught up with me. They must have coordinated with my company because I found I had a draft physical scheduled at the same time the company scheduled me for a vacation. I was opposed to Vietnam for a bunch of reasons in addition to self-survival. Anyway, I was on my way back to Montana to take my draft physical...this was in December of 1969...and I was sitting on this plane sweating bullets. I didn't know if I was going to be two weeks hence off to Canada or what. The guy sitting across the aisle from me had a newspaper and the first batch of lottery numbers had come out. I borrowed his newspaper and found that I had a high lottery number, which took a great load off. I really think that, from a political point of view, setting up the draft lottery was the smartest thing the administration could have done to stifle antiwar sentiment. Suddenly, three quarters of us who were in the same leaky boat before could say "Yeah, we're off the hook!"

I took my vacation and went back and worked in Seattle and Alaska until 1971. In the spring of 1971, the ship I was coming back on [I had planned to be done that season] ran aground up in the Aleutians. Actually I made a lot of money that season because I and another engineer [Don Griffin] stayed on the grounded ship, keeping it from flooding until a salvage tug arrived to pull it off. The cargo of frozen king crab meat was insured for more than the ship, I think Lloyds of London insured it.

BOISE STATE COLLEGE (1971–1973)

My folks had moved to Boise, Idaho while I was in school in Missoula [1967–1969], so in the spring of 1971, when I returned from Alaska, I drifted back there. I'd saved up my money and didn't have to get a wage-paying job right away, so I took a couple of months and did some traveling. I took some friends to New York and did some traveling in the South, went to a few bluegrass conventions, that sort of thing and had a lot of fun. I drifted back to Boise in the fall of that year and bought a house.

About that time, Boise State College hired a new archaeology professor, a guy named Jason Smith, a very dynamic character, and he was starting a new amateur archaeological society. That triggered my earlier intrigue with archaeology, so I quickly got involved. We did a lot of surveys and some excavations out in the Great Basin area around Boise. Within a few months, I realized that if I wanted to keep doing this, which I was

loving, I needed to get back into school, which I did. I went to Boise State College [now Boise State University].

Jason Smith was a very sharp, interesting fellow. He's no longer involved in archaeology—I'm not sure where he is now. He was a Marxist and one of his interests was the origin and development of the state. With that comes a whole class-analysis framework. As a consequence, in his courses there was a fair amount of emphasis on the Middle East, Mesoamerica, South America, places where agriculture and state-level societies had developed. I attended Boise State until August of 1973, by which time I had decided to go to school in Mexico.

IDAHO STATE HISTORY MUSEUM (1972–1973)

There's one other theme from those Idaho years, '71 through '73, that I'd like to talk about, that has been an important trail through the rest of my career. While I was there in school there, I also got a job as an assistant curator at the Idaho State History Museum. It was full-time some of the time, but I was also permitted to go to school interspersed with work. That was my first exposure to systematic collections management. I had to learn about museum records structure and collections handling, and warehousing techniques.

I worked for two really fascinating people there. One was a guy named Merle Wells, who was the Historic Preservation Officer and really the premier historian of Idaho. It was incredibly fascinating to take a trip with him. He'd talk about the Indians and the gold rush; really the most unassuming guy you could ever meet. It's interesting seeing how all the different states have compartmentalized their Offices of Historic Preservation. In Idaho, they got the premier historian, made him the SHPO. I believe the State Historical Society, the agency that ran the museum, as well as the State Archives were all part of that same organization.

Another fellow, the curator I worked for, was Bob Romig. He was fascinating; he had grown up in the hills of the gold mining country in Idaho in the '20s and '30s and finally, I think, in the late '30s had come out of the hills to go to high school in Boise. As long as I knew him, he had a gold mining claim and would go and work it every year. He really had gold fever...bad! He was a good character; he had gone to Berkeley and gotten a master's after WWII, when he was in the Navy. I think his thesis was something about transportation systems to the mines in Idaho. Working with Bob was really wonderful because, in terms of gold mining technology, you just couldn't have had a better person to learn from. My time at the museum predisposed me to have an interest in mining and milling technology and also collections management. God knows, much of archaeological collections management [at many institutions] has been an ad hoc affair, kind of cobbled together but not really using museum standards or records. So I had at least a taste of professional museum management in Idaho.

Somebody gave the museum a little five-stamp mill, but we [Bob Romig and I] had to go up in the mountains up above Salmon, Idaho to get it. It was in an old, falling down log building, so we had to disassemble portions of the building and take apart the stamp mill, using saws, wrenches, come-alongs [hand-operated winches] and other tools, get it down and ready to put on a truck. It was real hands-on stuff, not unlike the ship's engineer things that I was doing before. As brief as it was, the time with the State History Museum in

Idaho with Bob and Merle was an important, formative career influence, as was the time I worked in Alaska.

UNIVERSITY OF THE AMERICAS (1973–1975)

A fellow Jason Smith had gone to school with had attended the University of the Americas in Mexico. Jason had done some traveling in Mexico himself, so in light of those experiences and his theoretical interests, he encouraged me to consider that option. I also have a cowboy-poet uncle [Ed Gallagher] who in the '50s had done a hitchhiking trip to Mexico, which I always thought sounded like a grand adventure, so I was predisposed to want to spend some time there myself.

The University of the Americas is located in a town called Cholula in the state of Puebla in central Mexico; the next valley over (east) from the Valley of Mexico. In the fall of 1973 my soon-to-be wife and I took off in our old Ford van and drove to Cholula. Ultimately, in the spring of 1975, I got a bachelor's degree there. We packed our bags and hit the road—we had only three days left on our tourist card to get out of country. We'd spent about 18 months there.

I didn't do a whole lot of fieldwork in Mexico, but did quite a bit of lab work. I was an "illegal laborer" there for a while, doing lab work, ceramics analysis, for an outfit called the German Foundation for Scientific Research, which was a German government outfit that was doing a lot of archaeological research in the Juejotzingo area near Cholula.. It was good exposure to Mesoamerican archaeology. The reason I belabor this is that I think it was good preparation for subsequently getting into historical archaeology. Jason, in classes in the early '70s in Idaho, had talked about historical archaeology, but it was presented as an area where one might test methods and theory for use in doing *real* archaeology, namely, prehistoric archaeology.

Let me go back to Mesoamerican archaeology and the whole business of interest in state-level societies being a good predisposition for historical archaeology. When I came to California in 1975, shortly after coming back from Mexico, *that* [historical archaeology] was the work that was available. There was all sorts of bond money driving a lot of historic restoration, reconstruction, and therefore, historical archaeology. In looking at Mesoamerican archaeology, you're dealing with mass-production, monumental architecture, cities, streets; I mean the village we lived in was 5,000 years old. Every time they put a water line down the street, they'd dig through layers of broken ceramics three feet thick! I think much of both the methodological and theoretical framework from just thinking about complex societies like that was a good segue to historical archaeology. You're really looking at world economy in terms of the artifacts that you're recovering, by and large a product of the industrial revolution and international trade.

I think a class analysis perspective as a social theoretical framework is also important for both Mesoamerican and historical archaeology. I mean, how else do you make sense of colonialism and cultures built on industrial capitalism if you don't try to make sense of social class?

CB: I don't know anybody in our profession who isn't a Marxist at some level, an awareness of class struggle and conflict.

Yeah, it's just a fundamental concept. I just don't know how you would begin to make sense of hardly any social structure without that perspective.

THE NEW FIELD OF CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT (1975)

After graduating from the University of Americas, I went back to Idaho briefly with my ex-wife [Susan Schuchart]. I had taken a student loan; it wasn't large by today's standards but I had a little bit of debt, so I hit the streets, looking for work—in a pizza parlor, a locomotive shop, or anything I could do. I basically needed to get a job and had assumed that getting work in archaeology just wasn't in the cards until I went back to graduate school. I went back to the museum and virtually begged them to give me a job but there were no openings there.

Essentially, the cultural resource management [CRM] business had appeared during the time I had been out of the country, between 1973 and 1975. At least I was unaware of CRM, as it certainly wasn't happening in Idaho before I left. Actually, Jason Smith had been alluding to this as a coming thing [the CRM business] in the early '70s, based on his time in California, where he'd done his undergraduate work [he got his doctorate at the University of Calgary in Alberta].

Career at Parks

TO CALIFORNIA AND FORT ROSS (1975)

Anyway, when I got back to Idaho, I got a call from one of Jason Smith's friends, Paul Nesbitt, who had, some months before, gotten a job for State Parks in California. He got my name from Smith and was beating the bushes trying to find seasonal employees to work on a job at Fort Ross. I called him back and said, "Yeah I'll take it." It was supposedly a six-week job, the way he was presenting it. So I basically hopped on a plane. That was 35 years ago, a week from today, that I started that job [April 21, 1975].

I had some friends in San Francisco; I flew there, they picked me up and I spent a day or two with them, then we drove up the coast and they dropped me off. It was getting dark at Fort Ross; I got the ranger let me in to the little campsite behind the hill up above the Fort. I went in and set my tent and sleeping bag up—there was not a soul there. I was in the middle of nowhere by myself; my first home in California. I woke up in the morning and met the rest of the crew, who had been out carousing the night before. That was the beginning of my career with State Parks!

One thing led to another. That job stretched out to be four and a half months long. I lived in a tent there for a month or so. In the meantime, my wife [now my ex-wife] came to San Francisco and found a job and an apartment. So after that, I basically commuted on weekends back and forth from San Francisco to Fort Ross.

CB: What were you working on at Fort Ross?

I think a couple of big things were happening that created a whole climate that suddenly produced jobs for archaeologists. One was environmental laws, CEQA, and there was also a lot of bond money. Jerry Brown was the governor, I think, by that point. State Parks was planning all sorts of restoration and reconstruction projects, and Fort Ross was one of those. There had been a number of earlier projects there in the late '60s and early '70s. Fort Ross, of course, being a Russian post, was fascinating to virtually everyone, and the Department was planning a bunch of reconstructions there. There was really only one building that was still original, and there were a lot of historic buildings missing, so they were planning reconstructions. Our objective, I think directed by Paul Nesbitt, was to begin to do the archaeology for some of the buildings they were hoping to reconstruct. We worked on three or four different building sites; I'm not sure what the priorities were, but ultimately, several of those buildings have been reconstructed.

The crew chief was Karl Gurcke. We were a crew [it grew and shrank over time] of at least a dozen much of the time (Figure 6). Who else was on that crew that's still with State Parks? Rae Schwaderer—she's now the District Archaeologist in Monterey. There were a lot of other folks who passed through there; Dennis Gallegos, a San Diego archaeologist, was on the crew part of the time.

That was where I first met Rob Edwards, formerly a professor at Cabrillo College. He brought a class up and they worked on a different building site than the state crew—they worked on what was called the Fur Barn site. We had quite a colony up at what was referred to as “The Arky Camp,” up behind the hill there. We had all those Cabrillo College folks and the State Parks crew. It was a great time. I remember at one point Dave Fredrickson [former professor at Sonoma State College] came to talk to us.

CB: What kind of things were you doing there at Fort Ross?

There was a benchmark in the fort, so we did lay down a metric grid over the whole place, centered on the benchmark. There had been a number of excavations there previously, in the late '60s and early '70s, and I think Paul Nesbitt envisioned the 1976 work would be the start of a big effort to bring all the results of the earlier work together. We were still adapting traditional California prehistoric methods for historical archaeology; one-meter units and arbitrary levels, but quickly discovered that we really needed to open big areas and excavate stratigraphically. We did a number of areas where we strung a series of small units together, trying to bisect an area where we figured that the side of a building had been. But we ultimately came to learn that the Russian buildings were built on great big in-ground posts, so just running a trench across a building line is not necessarily going to give it to you. You need to open up big areas [to find the posts that defined the building outline]. Some of them have eluded us forever. I'm not sure if we did come up with any really good evidence for the Kuskov House—it's the big two-story building up on a promontory. There were some enigmatic postholes and things there, but no really solid evidence of its exact placement.

CB: How did you open up the big areas?

In those days it was all by hand. As we realized we needed bigger areas, I think we did some units as big as three or four meters on a side, which seemed big to us. There was a lot of emphasis on stratigraphic interpretation. Even then, trying to understand intrusive features like postholes, it was apparent that just slicing things off in 10-centimeter levels wasn't likely to work. Of course, nobody had heard of Harris' single-unit planning approach or Harris Matrices yet—that all came later.

We were talking about old-timers earlier, the historians in Idaho. There was a guy at Fort Ross named John McKenzie who was quite senior—he seemed like an old man to us, but he was probably younger than I am now. He was very well-versed in the history of Fort Ross, and was a great help to us. There was a historian in Russia [Svetlana Fedorova] who had just recently discovered a map of Fort Ross, a reasonably detailed map showing the locations of the buildings inside the fort [in 1817]. That was another thing that we struggled with, making tracing paper overlays of the 1817 map by hand, and trying to overlay them on our site plan to help figure out where to place excavation units. Frankly, in many historical



Photo probably by Karl Gurcke.

Top to bottom, left to right: Jane Adams, Lynn Furnis, Nick Del Cioppo, Dennis Gallegos, Bob Stillinger, Bob Bouterse (?), Larry Felton, Paulette Barclay, Claudine Young.

Figure 6. Archaeological Crew at Fort Ross State Historic Park, Summer of 1975.

archaeological projects I've been involved in since then, one of the main challenges is to get all the graphic sources you can, use them to project the full range of potential building locations, and then design an excavation strategy that will sample the full range of possibilities.

CB: You mentioned that the work was driven by a desire to reconstruct, but what else did you find besides postholes?

We did not find any real rich, trash-filled intrusive features, as I recall. But the artifacts we did find were kind of an eye-opener. When I was leaving Idaho, I got a book or two on Russian America, so had rather naïve visions of Fort Ross as an outpost at which a bunch of fur-clad Russian fur hunters were camped out doing Russian things and leaving distinctly Russian artifacts behind. Well, how naïve can you get? We were finding French wine bottles and Chinese porcelain and British earthenwares; not in huge quantities, but there was a heavy background scatter of that stuff. The Industrial Revolution had been happening since the late eighteenth century, and was absolutely just flooding the world with these mass-produced goods. The China trade was flourishing. What did I expect? The artifacts really brought home the fact that you're dealing with a world economy by that time, as did the historical accounts of all of the visitors that were coming and going at Fort Ross. Much of historical archaeology, in terms of the artifactual remains, provides evidence of not what people were producing, but what they were consuming.

Determining the locations of the buildings was what was driving our work from the architects' point of view; that's why the money was there—they wanted to reconstruct these things. But the artifactual remains were the eye-openers: "Oh, my gosh—we're really dealing with a whole bunch of currents in a big complex world economy and their confluence at this particular piece of ground."

I didn't work at Fort Ross the next year. Another crew came in around 1976 and did some more excavations on a different building site [directed by Bryn Thomas]. I later (1980–81) got involved at Fort Ross again, dealing with the actual reconstruction work. They bladed off the Officials Quarters building site and, lo and behold, there were a bunch of postholes and things that had been missed by earlier small-scale excavations. During that work, we did find some evidence of tin smithing and brass founding; finds included some pieces of crucibles and brass casting sprues, things like that. I mentioned before that most of the artifactual remains were evidence of consumption activities rather than production, but that wasn't the case here.

MANAGING ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS (1975–1985)

CB: How were the artifacts being handled out there?

The cataloging was happening concurrently with the fieldwork at Fort Ross. A portion of the crew cleaned and cataloged stuff as it was excavated. I don't remember the numbering system that was being used. But my museum background became valuable a little bit later—I think it was '78 or '79. There was a federal program called Title 2, for which we put in a proposal. It was another down economy, I think, so it was essentially a federal "make work" program. We put in a proposal and lo and behold, we got it. We had quite a large program at the lab here. During that time, I had occasion to help deal more

systematically with the collections as a whole, and make some contributions to developing more complete accession records.

Before that, the collections had been stored in several different places. Before my time, I've heard there was some sort of a warehouse or shed in West Sacramento that had been used. When I first came to Sacramento after Fort Ross in the fall of 1975, we had a storage facility in the basement of the Big Four Building, which is a reconstruction in Old Sacramento. By 1976 the warehouse across the street [2572 Port St., West Sacramento] was leased and all of that stuff that had been stored in the Big Four basement was moved here. I think that was the fall of 1976.

It was another year or so later before we got the Title 2 grant and hired bunches of graduate students from UC Davis and Sac State to re-house collections and, in some instances, to do analyses and try to get together a more complete set of collections records. Prior to that, there had been an accession book and numbers were assigned to individual collections from that log. Other than being listed in the accession book, there was not much effort put into maintaining more comprehensive accession or inventory records. Same with photos; photos had been accumulating but hadn't been systematically catalogued. I remember John Foster was involved in that too. That's when we first started using computers for anything.

During that period, we did some experimenting with using computers for managing collections records. We had to work through our IT shop; they had access to a mainframe system. It was hideously painful to fill in coding sheets and explain what kinds of reports you wanted back. Actually, though, the photo indexing developed at that time had some longevity; that information is still being used. It has moved through several different systems over the years but it was a nice, simple way to look up photos by park unit or site number or a few other simple keys. Those data are still housed in our current collections management system [TMS—The Museum System by Gallery Systems Inc.].

So that late '70s work represented an effort to deal more systematically with archaeological collections management. Most of our Division's work, however, was focused on doing the archaeology related to development projects—that was most of what was happening at the lab here. It was essentially a staging area for running projects. In fact, I think the Division was short-sighted in that it really wasn't until Glenn [Farris] was hired in about 2000 that a full-time senior position was put in charge of that facility with the primary purpose of managing collections rather than primarily running field projects or conducting related research and analysis. It's not that collections management was totally ignored—a number of people from our Division, including especially Jeanette Schulz and Christina Savitski, did a lot of good work in that regard. They weren't fully funded collections management positions, however; they were funded by a sort of "tax" on the budgets of ongoing field projects. The real focus for most of the staff was on getting out and doing the fieldwork, not really on long-term collections management.

There were curators in another division [OIS—Office of Interpretive Services] who were given an overall responsibility for managing archaeological collections by the early or middle '80s. I think that was largely initiated because of the growing interest in dealing with the Native American human remains in the collections. NAGPRA [Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act] was still on the horizon, but the handling of human remains and grave goods was already a hot political topic in California by that time. What developed

from this was an uneasy division of responsibility, where our division managed “active” collections” while the curators in OIS were responsible for “inactive,” generally older, collections. It was only after Glenn Farris was hired as the Archaeology Lab supervisor that responsibility for management of archaeological collections stored in West Sacramento was again unified.

AFTER FORT ROSS (1975–1980)

CB: So, going back to Fort Ross, you sign on for six weeks, you’re out there four and a half months; what happened then?

Well, they had a bunch of other development projects coming up, and we were hired as seasonal employees. The next project I had was one in Old Sacramento; I don’t remember what I was hired as, but I was given the lead on that one. Some of the Fort Ross crew also came to Sacramento and we did an excavation where the 1879 CPRR Railroad Depot was located. There’s a reconstructed wooden depot there now. Again, Paul Nesbitt was in charge. I had never been to Sacramento before, but we showed up and we were told that the backhoe would be there in two hours. It wasn’t like we had a tremendous amount of time to prepare for it—the site was basically a parking lot.

We came up with an excavation plan, I think some crisscross trenches, and again discovered that we needed to open up big areas. Lack of preparation was a detriment there because we spent a lot of time exposing what turned out to be 1905 warehouse foundations. We found these in about the location where we’d expected to find the 1879 remains, and spent a lot of time exposing them. It turned out that there was actually precious little of that 1879 frame depot building left. We did ultimately find some track ballast, piles of gravel, and some wood-lined drains, that sort of thing—there really wasn’t much. They had a good painting of that building, which I think was ultimately what they used as the primary basis for the reconstruction. We did manage to contribute a little bit in terms of the placement of the building—primarily the locations of tracks that ran through the building—but it was pretty ephemeral.

The depot site was where I first met Pete Schulz. We had dug a great deep trench down into the alluvium; after wasting much of our time in the top five feet, we figured we better get a picture of the whole stratigraphic situation. Hell, we didn’t know—maybe what we were looking for was 12-feet deep. Pete was down in that hole taking soil samples, probably for pollen. Although he later became quite a maestro historical archaeologist, I remember one of his first comments was that he was down there “doing *real* archaeology!”—as opposed to whatever it was we were doing with those brick foundations!

CB: So Paul Nesbitt played a pretty big role?

Paul Nesbitt was hired probably fall of 1974 or spring of 1975—I don’t know the exact date. I think John Foster was hired a little bit later, because I remember he was the new guy they brought out to visit us in Fort Ross—Paul and Fritz [Riddell] and John all came out to visit us there. I think Paul was hired after Bill Olsen left to go to BLM. I had actually met Paul in Idaho. He was a college buddy of Jason Smith and had come to give a talk to the amateur archaeological society. He talked about historical archaeology he had done in a state park in Oregon where they were doing reconstruction research for an 1840s frame building [now Champoeg State Heritage Area]. That was how he identified himself,

as a historical archaeologist. He later taught at a college in eastern Oregon, so I had met him a time or two when I was a student in Idaho, but I don't think he remembered me.

He and Fritz were the managers there until John [Foster] came along. I don't know really what the division of labor was, but Paul seemed to be the one setting up these historical archaeological crews and dealing with the project-driven stuff. He also was the one who I ultimately worked for when I finally got a permanent job in fall 1976.

After the 1975 Fort Ross work, we did a flurry of projects, all development-driven. We did the train depot in Old Sacramento, which I've already talked about, and I think it was the same year we did a survey at Bale Mill [Bale Grist Mill State Historic Park] up in Napa Valley. The primary focus there was trying to understand the water system. There had been a whole series of dams and ditches, and we were trying to figure out how the water system worked so the mill could be restored. We also did some elementary documentation of the historic mill building itself. That pretty much took me up to the end of 1975, at which time I had to take three months off because I was a seasonal employee.

Paul knew more archaeological work was needed at Sonoma Barracks because they were getting ready to restore that building, and scheduled it for spring of 1976. So I took time off from December 1975 until March of 1976, at which time we convened another crew, which included many of the same people I'd worked with the year before. That was my first project dealing with adobe buildings, which is something I subsequently did a lot of over the years. After the fieldwork was completed, we leased a house from a crew member in Sebastopol [Nick Del Cioppo] and used it for our lab. We were running these projects out of Sacramento, but spent very little time there—I didn't move here from San Francisco until later, in fall 1976.

GENERAL PLANNING TEAM (1976)

Following the Sonoma Barracks work, we were queuing up for another big project in Old Sacramento, at the 49er Scene, right across Front Street from the railroad depot. It's still a sunken area with the reconstructed Eagle Theater on one corner. That was in about August of 1976, and I considered it a real plum project. In the spring, they had given a State Archaeologist civil service test, so many of us seasonals had taken that exam, and by fall of '76, the results were out. We're just getting started on the fieldwork at the 49er Scene when I was offered a *real* job, as opposed to a part-time seasonal one. But the focus of *that* job was to work on general plans—again, it was working for Paul Nesbitt. It was like making a deal with the devil, because it just about broke my heart to give up what was looking to be a swell field project to go and do general plans. But I did.

CB: Who else came in from that list?

I think John Kelly, another archaeologist, and George Stammerjohan, a historian, were hired the same week I was for that general plan team. I don't know the exact sequence of when who got hired, but two more historians, Bonnie Porter and Frank Lortie, were also on that planning team.

In some cases, we were doing surveys of properties that hadn't been surveyed before. Now, there were a couple of things that could trigger those surveys, namely a new piece of property that had not been classified, or property that needed to be surveyed as part

of the general plan process. They have really dumbed-down the general plan process since then, and thorough surveys are not always completed. But at that time, we were fielding survey crews and going out and generally doing pretty careful surveys. I remember working with you [Clinton Blount] on a general plan survey at China Camp [State Historic Park]. I also remember being out there with Fritz [Riddell]. It was pretty amazing—he showed me house pits that I had walked right across and not seen.

We also did surveys at Bodie, Malakoff Diggins, Sinkyone Wilderness [the “Lost Coast”], and others where we had sizable crews. Those were really nice because we typically had historians and archaeologists together on those crews. The reports we produced had historic synthesis as well as reasonably detailed resource inventories of sites, individual features, and buildings. In that period, the surveys were reasonably comprehensive; typically the reports had some prosaic name like “The Cultural Resources of Park X.”

Having archaeologists and historians work together on those crews was nice. As John Foster was alluding to earlier, we are very short on historians now. Since that time, the whole business of dealing with historic buildings and archaeological sites has gone off on two different tracks. Although our division’s function is completely different now than it was for those general plan and development projects, the historians and the archaeologists are no longer integrated like we were at that time.

ORGANIZING FIELDWORK IN THE 1970S

CB: What was it like, for example, to be at Malakoff Diggins on a day-to-day basis?

The housing situation was different. Whereas nowadays you get *per diem* and get a motel someplace close, in those days that was not a foregone conclusion. In preparation for these projects, we usually had to hustle housing of some sort. It was really a treat, in a case like Malakoff Diggins or Bodie, because we dealt with the operations people, and they would sometimes house us in Parks buildings. We stayed in cabins at both of those places. That was really very nice because it was fun to watch the sun set over Bodie and to spend time getting to know the staff who were running the park.

In other cases, like Sonoma Barracks, we had to go out and find housing. That one was kind of interesting. I had to go out and find somebody who would be willing to rent to 12 people for two months, which was kind of a challenge. I found a place in the nearby town of Boyes Hot Springs; it had been a bar, and I suspect the upstairs might have been a cathouse at one point. It had a big, open upstairs, with about five little rooms that must not have been more than 6 by 8 feet, but it worked for our crew. The social dynamics of those projects were always interesting too; I mean whether you all ate together, who was a vegetarian, and so on. You essentially formed little societies who lived and worked together for a period of weeks or months and in many cases developed real warm friendships. I’m a big believer that when people are trying to solve problems, it’s really important that everybody be integrated into the problem-solving process. That’s what makes it fun; that’s what makes it effective. I’ve seen a few cases where the philosophy was, “we don’t pay you to think, we pay you to dig,” and that just patently doesn’t work. I think the things that really made those projects fun was everybody getting involved and playing a role, taking some kind of ownership of the thing.

RESEARCH STRATEGIES; INTEGRATING HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY (1970s–1980s)

CB: What were the problems you tried to solve and how did it work out?

In many cases, given that these projects were driven by restoration and reconstruction, the problems were explicitly three-dimensional, like, “Where was the southwest corner of the building?” On an intellectual level, that’s a relatively low-level contribution to the understanding of history, but in many instances that was what we were trying to do. In the case of a general plan surveys, it was not the same kind of architecturally specific questions. In those cases, we were trying to come to grips with just the hierarchy cultural resources—“What are these things and how should they be managed?” We had everything from loose artifacts clear up to individual features, pits, foundations, ruins, buildings, and stamp mills. Part of the challenge of those survey projects was figuring out what was already recorded, and realistically, with the time you had, what sort of chunks could you slice that resource continuum into in order to record them.

In terms of the integration of archaeology and history, an important thing was that the historians we worked with were really field-oriented. They were typically out there with us archaeologists, at least part of the time. Typically, they would do their background research ahead of time so they had the historic photos and they were versed in the material, and would bring that stuff to the field, so there was real feedback. You’re both out there looking at something that perhaps they hadn’t thought to ask questions of the written record about, because they didn’t even know it existed before. So there was a real synergy in the historians accompanying us to the field, participating in surveys, and in some cases, excavations too.

Each realm [archaeology and history] is generating questions that it can’t answer by itself—the answers have to come from another realm. One of the interesting things at Malakoff Diggins was the incredibly complex network of water delivery systems. These were major canals, not just ditches. If you had features like that which the historians hadn’t tracked on previously, once you’re standing there looking at them, they become pretty hard to ignore. From an archaeological perspective, no amount of measuring and photographing is going to necessarily tell you when it was built or why it was important; but once you are both aware of its presence, the historians are in a position to provide that information.

CB: What happened to the integration since then?

I don’t know. Since it’s the archaeological remains that are out there in the ground and in the way of development, that’s what we’re trying to mitigate. I suspect it may become easy to skip that part [historical research], and just focus on dealing with the physical remains. Actually, I’ve argued before—and this might be heretical to some other historical archaeologists—that historical archaeology’s biggest contribution is perhaps in the questions that it generates but can’t answer itself.

In Old Town San Diego, State Parks was getting ready to reconstruct a mansion of an Irish immigrant [James McCoy]. In the course of doing testing for that structure, we found the foundations of a much-earlier adobe. Well, the foundations themselves are not going to tell you whose house they were or that sort of thing; that all has to come from the historic record. We knew some basic information, but there were a lot of questions about

who the people who built and owned the adobe really were. It was sort of a footnote in the previously written histories that Eugenia Silvas had owned that particular piece of property. Once these foundations were exposed to the world, descendants of the family [especially Abel Silvas and his daughter] showed up and were absolutely fascinated with the finds. The physical remains themselves are secondary to what's learned once you try to explain them, usually through historical research. I think an important contribution of those physical remains is that they suddenly make tangible what was previously just a historical footnote. Suddenly there's a focal point for the descendants—they may have known that great-great-great-great aunt Eugenia owned the property over in the corner there, but once the foundations of what's presumably her house are exposed for the world to see, it suddenly becomes something very real to them. Again, it's a contribution in the realm of both fleshing out history and making something that once was just a footnote real and tangible. I think David Hurst Thomas gave a keynote speech at the 1995 SCA meeting about historical archaeology, talking about it providing community rallying points; focal points for a community's sense of its own heritage.

CB: How did the goal of the Parks projects influence what was done at sites? How was the money spent?

In the case of survey projects like Malakoff and Bodie, the objective was to get as broad a sense as possible of the continuum of resources that were there. Unquestionably, you had a finite amount of time and you simply had to try to slice it up into manageable chunks that could be documented within that period of time. I'm probably guilty of becoming too absorbed in the thrill of the hunt. There are others who have had much better "big picture" of cultural resource management objectives. John Foster, for instance, was always good at looking at big issues of resource preservation. For me, it was the thrill of the game itself.

Tracy Kidder wrote a book called *The Soul of a New Machine* in the '80s, about a minicomputer development project. It was interesting because he was talking about the differences in what was driving the sales people once the thing was all done and what was driving the engineers who designed it. He used the pinball analogy; while the sales people were motivated by money, the engineers just wanted to do a good job so they could play again. I think in many ways, I so love the process of doing the basic research that I've been willing to put my blinders on and, in some ways, not see the big picture.

CB: How was your tenure in the general plan Unit?

I was probably only involved in general plan work for a year or two, because when that Title 2 project came along [about 1978], I got diverted to it and was working here in West Sacramento with the collections. After that, I really didn't go back to work on general plans much because there were a variety of other historic building development projects that I got involved in during the late '70s early '80s. Actually, there's another theme, another trajectory through my parks career that I'd like to touch on—historic building investigations.

HISTORIC BUILDING INVESTIGATIONS (1980s)

In the course of doing general plan surveys and trying to deal with the full continuum of resources at places like Bodie and Malakoff Diggins, it became apparent that we really should be taking a real broad historic sites approach; just dealing with traditional buried archaeological resources just didn't cut it. So in working on those historic town sites, we did start to do elementary records of historic buildings; little floor plans and basic descriptions, so that those reports were reasonably complete in terms of the whole continuum of built environment—subgrade ruins to standing structures.

On a number of later restoration projects, specifically the Plaza Hotel in San Juan Bautista in 1979, then later the Cooper-Molera Adobe in Monterey, we were also focused on traditional archaeology, by which we meant subgrade work. On these projects, we were busily hunkered down, digging holes and lovingly taking care of every teaspoon of archaeological resource, while over our shoulder we could see the prime resource, the building itself, being absolutely abused in many different ways. At Cooper-Molera, for instance, the construction crew would often strip all the plaster from a building, often discovering filled doors or other features in the course of that work. They were using much more ruthless techniques than would now be considered appropriate—there has been a steady progression in terms of restoration methods and philosophy to take a lighter touch on historic fabric. Anyway, since we were typically versed in the history of the property, we would get sucked into discussions of these new discoveries. We would see horrible things being done to the building itself, and were also coming to realize that in the restoration planning process, the kinds of analysis that were being done were often relatively skin deep. An architect or an architectural historian would take lovely photos of interiors and exteriors, draw plans, and do a little bit of poking and prodding and trying to figure out which rooms were additions and which were the original buildings. It really wasn't being done adequately to provide a sound basis for planning a restoration.

Fritz Riddell was aware of the need for more comprehensive analysis of the buildings themselves, and had the insight to get Bill and Edith Wallace involved at Cooper-Molera in 1974, to do not just archaeology but historic building investigations as well. They did some traditional archaeological testing, exposed some foundations, and dug out a well, but also did some more serious building investigations. Adobe buildings are a real plastic medium; it's easy to cut holes and put in new doors and fill up old ones, that sort of thing. The Wallaces started to systematically try to figure out what was going on with this building. They did some very good work but then got crosswise with the building managers when a hole was cut in the floor at their request. The building managers were aghast, and the Wallaces' project was terminated. Little did they know what was ultimately going to happen to that building in the name of "restoration." [Cooper-Molera is now owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, but is managed by State Parks].

As we worked on these projects, we realized that more analysis of these buildings has to take place, just to know what you're dealing with, before embarking on a restoration. We had been drawn into a few minor building study and reporting efforts at Cooper-Molera when unrecorded architectural features were discovered. "Oops, we found a new door," so we would do some analysis and prepare a report trying to document things they had uncovered and answer questions like "Should these two doors be opened at the same time?" Anyway, we had realized that, much like an archaeological site, buildings, and especially adobe

buildings, are [National Register] Criterion D resources. There's a bunch of information embodied in a building; restoration isn't simply a matter of reproducing something that has the same volume and general appearance as the original. Inevitably, the restoration process is seriously compromised if the historic fabric isn't identified early and protected throughout the project.

SANTA CRUZ MISSION ADOBE (1984–1990)

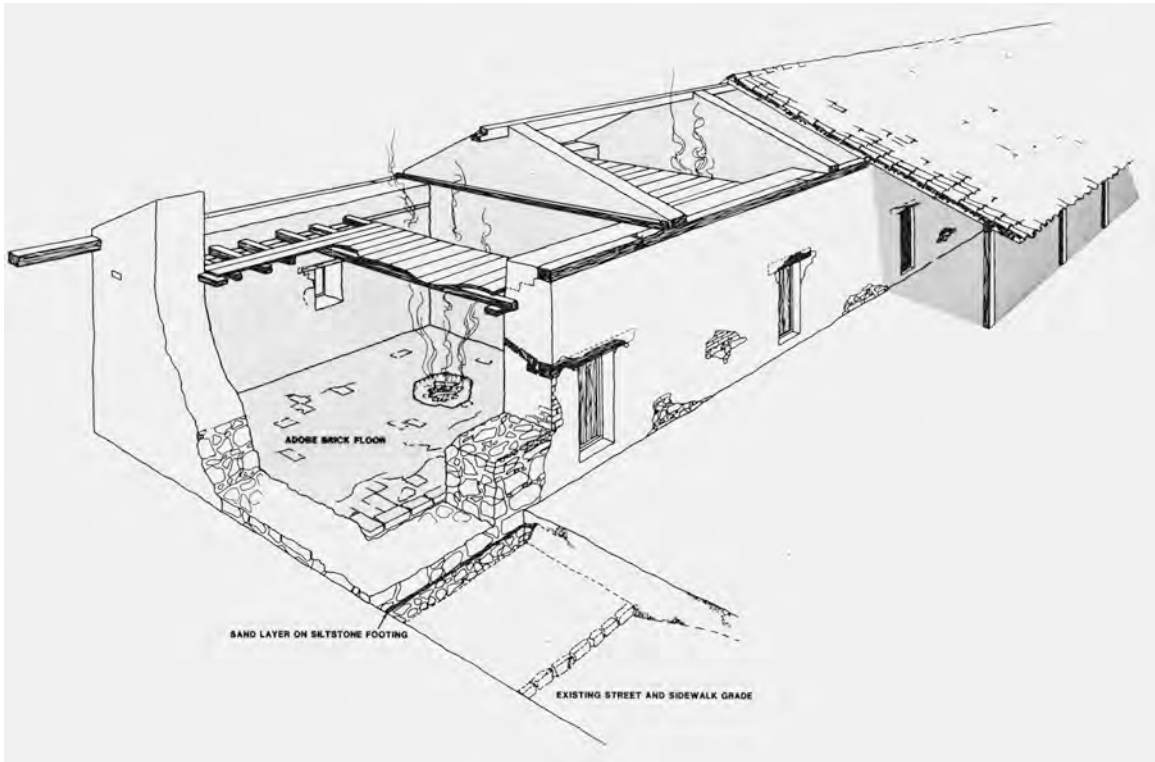
About this time there were a whole variety of things happening at the Santa Cruz Mission. There was a development planned in the late 1970s on Mission Hill; they were building a bunch of townhouses there on private property across School Street from Santa Cruz Mission State Historic Park. I believe Bill Roop and Cathy Flynn [consulting archaeologists from Marin County] had reviewed the EIR and done a little testing and hadn't found much, but had stipulated that the project should be monitored by archaeologists, if I remember correctly. Once the construction started, lo and behold, massive foundations of a mission building hundreds of feet long were exposed. There were some legal issues; I know that the state attorney general was involved, and it was a test of CEQA. I don't really know the details, but I got pulled briefly into it to represent the interests of the nearby state park property. Rob Edwards [Cabrillo College professor] and other local archaeologists got involved. There was suddenly a big focus on Santa Cruz Mission history and archaeology.

State Parks owned a small piece of property, including the one surviving historic building of Santa Cruz Mission, and with that whole flap caused by the development-related damage, local historians were getting much more interested. They included a guy named Robert Jackson, Edna Kimbro, and a number of other folks. They had done enough research to say that the building the state owned really was a Native American residence, although the local lore had been that it was the house of the mission guards. Edna and some of the others involved formed the Adobe Coalition, and took it upon themselves to try to prompt State Parks to do right by the surviving building. The whole story of that project is a long and complicated one. Suffice it to say, because of community interest and support of people like Edna, who later became a very prominent architectural conservator herself, we were able to do much more exhaustive documentation of the Santa Cruz Mission Adobe than had been the case for most of the earlier adobe restorations.

After that, a number of us historical archaeologists spent fairly serious amounts of time doing historic building studies. In many ways, we tipped our archaeological methods up 90 degrees and did the same sort of analysis on the building that we'd been applying previously to archaeological deposits (Figure 7). In many ways, trying to work out historic building evolution is much like traditional archaeology. It's essentially an analysis of crosscutting relationships, superposition, and stratigraphy, but focused on layers of plaster or wall paper, rather than horizontal layers of sediment.

Many of the State Parks architects loved historic buildings, but really were primarily contract managers. They would have 20 or 30 projects to manage, they didn't have time to go out and spend months to figure out how this building evolved or what was left in terms of historic fabric; the sort of things that are now embodied in Historic Structures Reports and Treatment Plans. The Wallaces did some work similar to their Cooper-Molera investigations in San Diego with some of the State Parks buildings there. Doing those building

investigations was a niche market, and a number of us historical archaeologists got into it pretty heavily [Pete and Jeanette Schulz, Glenn Farris, Lee Motz, and me, among others].



Drawing by Larry Felton, 1986.

Figure 7. Cut-Away Perspective Drawing of Santa Cruz Mission Adobe.

CB: Did you have models for the technique?

The Wallaces had started doing that kind of work, but we also invented it as we went along. We did try to use essentially a preservation ethic, and it was very much a problem-solving orientation; again, low-level problems like, “Was there ever a window in this wall?” So how do you test that? Well, windows typically are at least this wide, they’re going to be at least 5 feet above the floor, so if we peel a strip of plaster every 4 feet along that wall, we will discover whether there was ever a window there. That was one of the things learned from Cooper-Molera, Plaza Hotel, and some of these other adobe-building projects we had watched. Construction crews would routinely go in and just strip all the plaster off of these things, methods that aren’t recommended and hopefully are not employed so much now. But we knew from those experiences that there are all kinds of filled-in doors and windows, windows that used to be doors, and doors that used to be windows, old lintels and things like that were present under more recent layers of plaster.

Essentially, our approach was to pose the question “What is the minimally invasive testing that we can do to answer the questions about how this building evolved?” We discovered that basically every door and window had its own history. I mean, you’ve got a building that was built in the 1820s and essentially every door and window has been

changed numbers of times. So we developed a whole suite of approaches; in some instances as simple as peeling plaster, removing woodwork using little jab saws to cut the nails so you weren't destroying things like fragile molding, disassembling wood work to expose earlier surfaces and finishes, and that sort of thing.

The Santa Cruz Mission Adobe was probably one of the most comprehensive building investigation projects we've done. There are certainly other people who have done this sort of work. Mike Imwalle with the Santa Barbara Trust did very similar studies for a couple of buildings, one of them being the Casa de la Guerra adobe in Santa Barbara. Pete Schulz also got involved in this sort of thing. He did similar work at the Stanford Mansion, and developed some interesting methods too. He and an architect named Tom Winter published an article in *Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin* about using the Harris Matrix (a way of showing stratigraphic relationships between different deposits), for documenting changes to the Stanford Mansion. The archaeologists' increasing involvement in historic building investigations was happening in State Parks in the mid-1980s, but it has since fallen more into the historians' and architectural historians' realm. Caltrans, for instance, has a architectural historian hiring class; I don't know the degree in which they work together with Caltrans archaeologists.

CB: How was that received?

Very well. Edna Kimbro [Santa Cruz historian], partly because of her political acumen, went out and got us funding to do very exhaustive studies of the Santa Cruz Mission Adobe (Figure 8). She ultimately [in 1989] went to Rome to the architectural conservation school [ICCROM, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property], and was really important in this realm until her death in 2005. She owned two different adobes; one in Santa Cruz (the Lorenzana Adobe, the last surviving building of the Villa de Branciforte), then another one in Watsonville (the Castro Adobe, now a State Park property). That one was damaged seriously in the Loma Prieta Earthquake.

Edna was really a tremendous person in terms of sheer moxie and her ability to go out and make things happen through force of will. She saw the need to treat these adobe buildings with a much gentler touch than had been done previously, as on projects like the Cooper-Molera restoration. The 1970s approach was typically to go in and gut the thing, dig channels every eight feet up the walls, take the roof off, put concrete bond beams on the tops of the walls, dig out trenches for grade beams along the inside and outside of every wall, and fill them full of concrete. It was tremendously damaging to the historic fabric, and the historic finishes are often completely gone. State Parks and other agencies had done that to a slug of historic adobes, like some of the ones we [State Parks] own in San Diego. That was just the way things were done in terms of seismic retrofit in those days.

After the Loma Prieta Earthquake [October 17, 1989], which occurred just after she returned from her ICCROM training, Edna helped convince the Getty Conservation Institute and a number of engineers who are still really important in that field [including E. Leroy Tolles and Frederick A. Webster], to do shake table tests and all sorts of studies of different interventions that were much less damaging to adobes than the old "fill it full of concrete" approach. It was interesting that one of the things driving the adobe stabilization community was providing safe housing for poor people—a number of the big players were from earthquake-prone areas of Latin America. A tremendous number of people in the world still

live in earthen buildings of various kinds, and finding low-cost ways to seismically retrofit those buildings was a key objective of much of the research. So, it was not just trying to do a better job of preserving our heritage structures—an interesting cast of characters have been involved in that problem, driven both by preservation and humanitarian concerns.



*Photo courtesy of Larry Felton.
Left to right: Edna Kimbro, Larry Felton, Karen Hildebrand, and Cherie Walth.*

Figure 8. Santa Cruz Mission State Historic Park,
Archaeological/Historic Building Investigation Crew Members, June 23, 1989.

WOODLAND OPERA HOUSE (1980–1981)

CB: We are up to 1980. What were some of the big projects you were handling?

Work on the Cooper-Molera Adobe restoration started in 1979. Lee Motz started working there in 1979 and that went on into the early '80s. Woodland Opera House, is a brick opera house built in the 1880s. State Parks owns it and paid for its restoration. It's managed by a local non-profit and is run as an opera house. We found that it had been built on the site of a Chinese laundry. The archaeology work there was again driven by the development; they needed to do foundation work. So we did excavations, found pretty substantial set of remains representing the Chinese laundry, and published a good report on that work.

FORT HUMBOLDT (1982)

Fort Humboldt, that was 1982, and what we worked on there were excavations needed to plan the reconstruction of an officer's house built (I think) in 1851. It was referred to as the Surgeon's Quarters, and its reconstruction is one of only two buildings there now. The other is the hospital. We had [nineteenth-century] Army maps, but all of the known landmarks were gone, so one of the big challenges was trying to accurately overlay the historic graphics on the current landscape. We worked all around the projected building

location, and eventually zeroed in on archaeological evidence of the Surgeon's Quarters. The thing that had previously faked people out in terms of the alignment of the historic maps with the existing landscape was that the hospital, which is the only surviving historic building, was the second hospital—it was NOT the one shown on the earlier maps, and it had also been moved from its original location. There'd been some earlier archaeology done by John Clemmer and Don Jewell, but they apparently tried to line things up with the historic maps using either the hospital or the flagpole they had excavated. Ultimately we did locate evidence of the Surgeon's Quarters; we had posts at the corners and it fit very nicely with the Army map. The reconstructed building is within inches of where it was historically, and is the correct size. There weren't a whole lot of artifacts there. The building had been sitting on a slope, was burned and the burned rubble collapsed down the hill.

The second challenge at Fort Humboldt was to re-position the Hospital building to its original location. In the late nineteenth century there was a real estate development plan; somebody had laid out streets and a plat map over the site. I don't know if they ever sold any parcels, but they got as far as realigning the historic hospital building, which had pretty much gone to ruin prior to that. They apparently realigned it to fit the layout of the streets. Our charge was to figure out where it was supposed to go—to identify its original location. We ultimately realized, with Fritz's coaching, that it had two fireplaces, and if anything was going to leave an archaeological trace of its original location, it would be the bases of those fireplaces. Of course, there was not very much airspace under the building; there wasn't even enough space to crawl under it, and I remember Fritz saying, "You've just got to burrow in there!"

So we literally burrowed beneath the building, eventually got in, and lo and behold, managed to locate the bases of the original fireplaces. There was a fireplace on either end of the building, and they had pretty much rotated it on one end. They had broken away some of the masonry and supported the fireplaces above with timbers attached to the joists. Then they broke away the rest of the brickwork and reoriented the building, leaving the old chimney bases intact. They built new foundations under each fireplace, and set the building back down in its new alignment. After we found and mapped those features, the restoration crew essentially reversed the process; they had a house mover come in, pick up the building, and move it back to where it was supposed to be, based on the original fireplace footings.

DE-EMPHASIZING RECONSTRUCTION (1980s AND LATER)

I think the vision at Fort Humboldt, like in many cases where the state was doing reconstructions in the '70s and '80s was to eventually rebuild the whole place. Well, what was happening at the same time in world preservation community was that reconstruction was being de-emphasized. I mean, you look at the secretary of interior's standards, and you will notice that reconstruction is the very last treatment, and one that is increasingly discouraged, partly because it's hideously expensive, but also because it's often going to trash the archaeology resources that are present. It also creates something that is somebody's idea of what it might have looked like, but is not necessarily compelling in terms of historicity. For example, take Sutter's Fort...the main building inside is real but the walls are a total late-nineteenth-century reconstruction, laid out to fit the existing streets, not the original wall locations.

I had an interesting experience a few years back, when my wife Donna [Genetti] and I went to Nova Scotia for a vacation and visited the Fortress of Louisbourg, a Canadian national historic park. In Canada, much like here during economic hard times, government public works projects were sometimes used to reconstruct historic properties. So, in the case of the Fortress of Louisbourg, there is block after block after block of reconstructed French eighteenth-century buildings, rebuilt in the 1960s after the collapse of the Cape Breton coal industry. When I was talking to the guide there, she said [paraphrased]: “This will never be done again. Not only is it a major impact to the archaeology, but also there’s a tremendous ongoing maintenance cost for the reconstructions.” The reconstructions are now way older than the original buildings ever were; the French and the English periodically, like every 15 years or so, fought and burned down each others’ buildings. Now they’ve reconstructed something that they’re trying to maintain in perpetuity. The whole preservation community worldwide is moving away from reconstructions. I think, though, that was the vision when many of the California State Park general plans were done in the ‘70s and ‘80s. It was to reconstruct the whole town or reconstruct all of Fort Ross or reconstruct all of Fort Humboldt or Old Town San Diego. It just probably isn’t in the cards. There’s still a little bit of that kind of work that goes on, but it’s real expensive, especially if you do decent archaeology.

COLLECTIONS MANAGEMENT (AGAIN: 1986–1988)

Along about 1986, I was in the midst of working on Santa Cruz Mission—we had finished a fairly major report and things were moving along nicely. About that time [October 1986–October 1988] I took the opportunity to do a two-year training and development assignment with the Office of Interpretive Services dealing with collections management. I mentioned before that we had done some work in the late ‘70s looking at the potential for computers for managing data, collections, and photographs, and that sort of stuff, so I was again coming back to that theme.

There had been quite an effort to get better control of the Department’s collections inventory in the early-mid 1980s, partly spurred by the question of how we should be dealing with Native American human remains. These efforts [by curator Betty Smart, Chris Swiden, and others] ultimately produced funding for some more curatorial positions. One of the things that a small group of curators had started to look at as part of this effort were computer systems for museum records management. By this time, there were starting to be some dedicated museum records management systems out there. I know the curators had gone to Canada to visit CHIN, the Canadian Heritage Information Network, which is still a significant player in the museum software realm.

I had been fascinated with the potential uses of computers in collections management for years, and fairly early on had gotten into the microcomputer realm; I got a “portable” Osborne computer in 1981, and had done a few things—I wrote some Basic programs to print look-up cards to record archaeological collections locations and the like. You could look them up by park or by site number, things like that; I was mostly just using computers to print paper.

In the fall of 1986, for the next two years until 1988, I really wasn’t involved in the archaeology realm very much. Glenn Farris took over the work at Santa Cruz, which by that point was getting into the demolition and construction phases. That work kept on going through that period. Essentially, I went and did this two-year collections management stint.

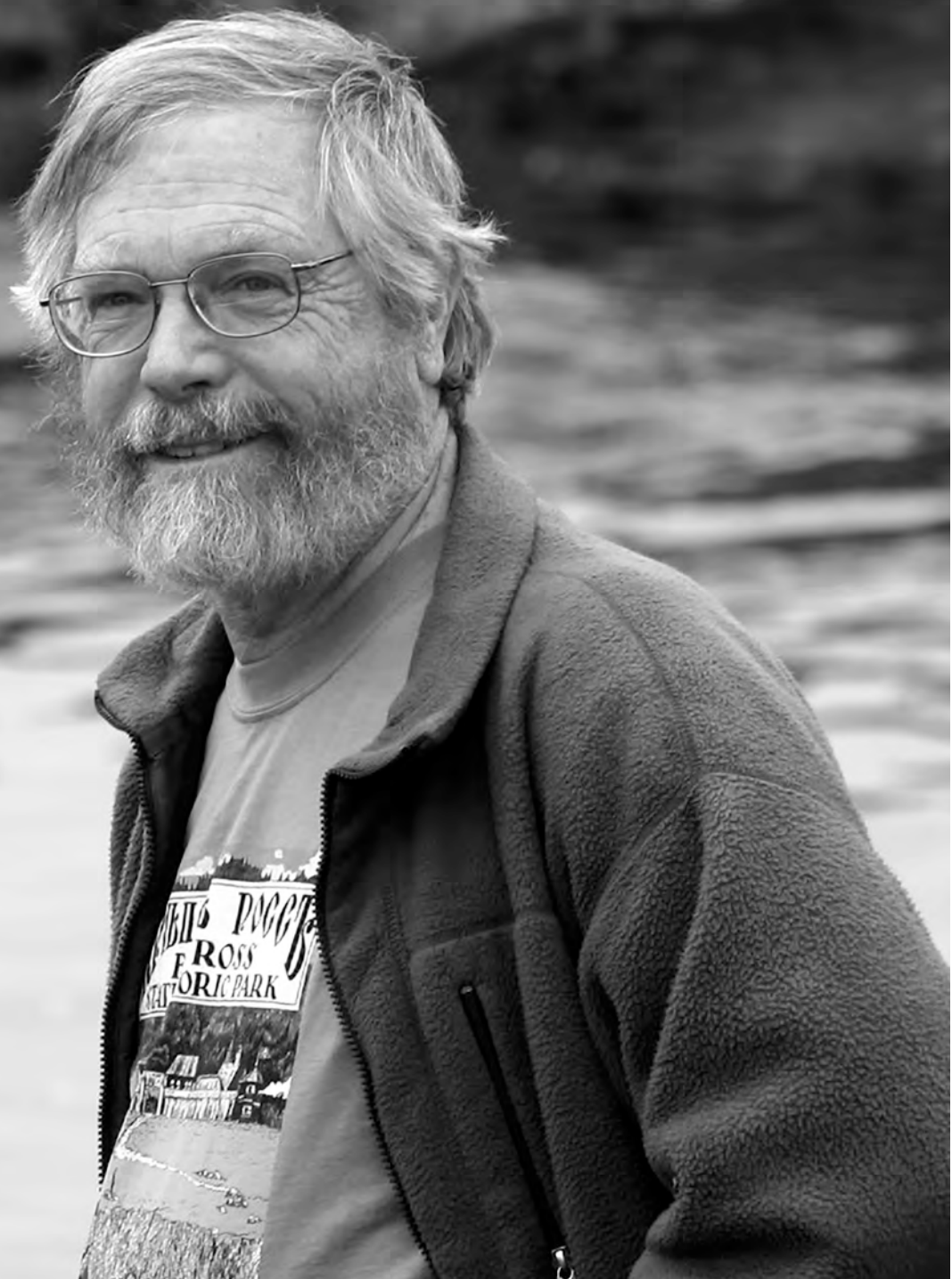
A major part of that assignment was to do records analysis and write a feasibility study report for a museum records management system. That was, and still is, how you buy computer systems—you have to demonstrate the need and do a lot of bean-counting exercises proving how the thing is going to pay for itself ultimately. During that period, I also wrote some microcomputer programs to produce catalog cards and some things like that. I took some IT courses at Sac State—that was, for me, a fascinating aside.

Much of what I did those two years was trying to learn in more detail the scope of the collections records that State Parks held. We tried to estimate total numbers of different kinds of records. I did a report on that and spent a lot of time working with the IT chief [Dan Hammond] writing a feasibility study report that ultimately would pass muster to buy a fairly substantial computer system that could be used system-wide. That system we got was called ARGUS [by Questor Systems, Inc.]. Interestingly, ARGUS had been developed at the Southwest Museum by an archaeologist by the name of Steven LeBlanc [and programmer Eric Wood]. LeBlanc was one of the 1960s “New Archaeologists” and had worked extensively in the Southwestern U.S. Compared with systems today, ARGUS was all text based—there were no graphics. Networks didn’t really exist [at State Parks], so there were all kinds of Rube Goldberg phone lines and other serial communications devices required to attach dumb terminals to the server.

The reason State Parks was getting funding to focus on collections management, (and not specifically archaeological but the broader issue of State Parks museum collections management,) was because of the impending issue of what to do with the Native American human remains included in our collections. I don’t really know the chronology that well, but I know there was a lot of Native American interest and finger-pointing, and angst on the part of the archaeologists. The Department did step up to the plate and put some serious effort into inventorying our collections, although that wasn’t my responsibility at the time. A guy named Bob Kautz [now a consulting archaeologist in Nevada], was contracted and he hired a lot of students who prepared a comprehensive burial inventory. They essentially took all the archaeological collections that had any burials associated with them and segregated them in a different facility and commenced to inventory them using microcomputers and dBase II software.

So I watched the burial inventory happening while I was working on this feasibility study for a larger computer system. That was the fall of ‘88; my two-year Training and Development Assignment was up about the time the system was installed. The Chief [Keith Demetrak] of that division [Office of Interpretive Services] made me an offer to stay on there as an archaeologist to deal with human remains and grave goods under what later became NAGPRA [Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, passed in 1990]. I decided at that point, however, that I really wanted to get back to archaeological fieldwork.

GLENN FARRIS



*Photo on previous page
courtesy of Glenn Farris.*

Early Influences

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

CB: Let's start with some background on you, your family, when and where you were born, early education, and so on.

Glenn Farris (GF): I was born July 1, 1944 and I have often intuited that I was born to work for the government, being a new fiscal year baby. I was born at Fort Benning, Georgia during World War II, so I also think of myself as a war baby rather than one of the post-war baby-boomers. My father was a career officer. He had graduated from West Point. At the time I was born, he was a Lieutenant Colonel and was on his way to France to command a battalion. My mother was from upstate New York and had been a schoolteacher for a couple of years before she married my father at the young age of 23. Both of them were ardent Catholics. I bring this up in that I have observed that there seems to be a disproportionate number of people who have gotten into the field of archaeology and anthropology who are either ex-Catholics or ex-military brats. There's a remarkable number; maybe it's just that I notice them more. I think there are reasons for it. I think that one is that military children, like me, grew up all over the place. We moved every two or three years during my young years. And then the other aspect, on the Catholic side is this humanitarian aspect of the Catholic religion versus what I think of as a more Calvinist outlook. So that's sort of my philosophy on why these may have happened; an interest in other peoples is the key.

INTRODUCTION TO ARCHAEOLOGY

My growing-up years were spent bouncing around, mostly on the East Coast, although we did have a three-year stint in France from 1955 to 1958. My interest in archaeology started out in reading and being fascinated with some of the classics, like *Gods, Graves, and Scholars*, books that introduced me to, especially, Mesoamerican archaeology. That seemed quite fascinating at the time. When I was 14, we moved to Gainesville, Florida. I was there for my high school years and during that time, I used to wander about and I'd find archaeological sites. There was a lot of development going on at the time and many of these sites were being disturbed. As soon as they were disturbed, many artifacts would show up; so, frankly, I became a young pothunter. In the course of one of my visits to one particular site, I met a real live archaeologist named Ripley P. Bullen. He was very well-

known in southeastern archaeology, especially Florida. We got to chatting. I had a senior science elective at my high school that would allow me to be able to go work with him and his wife Adelaide who were both very prominent local archaeologists and anthropologists there.

That was the initiation of my future career, but when I finished high school and thought about going to college, I still had in mind this fascination with travel and being in other places. I ended up going to Georgetown University for the School of Foreign Service, but my interest in archaeology was still there. Curiously, I received a Bachelor of Science degree from Georgetown, although what they meant was “political science” because I took no math or science courses. Later, when I studied archaeology, which involved a good bit more science, I was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree. I remember in 1963, I think, that first summer that I had in college, I thought of applying to the River Basin Survey. I actually contacted them; the old River Basin Survey was still active at that time. Apparently, they were paying \$1.25 an hour. However, it didn’t work out. Since I wasn’t an anthropology student, I had little chance of landing a job.

U.S. ARMY, INTELLIGENCE BRANCH

I turned my attention to the Foreign Service and graduated in 1966 from Georgetown. I had also, because of the military service [draft] requirements of that time, taken ROTC. When I first entered in college in 1962, I thought I’d have a nice two-year stint in Germany and then it would be over. But by 1966 things had changed radically and I was told I couldn’t go into the Peace Corps, in lieu of military service. Instead, I was commissioned a second lieutenant and given a date to report for training. Oddly enough, I was sent to Fort Benning, the place I was born, for infantry training. Even though I was in the intelligence branch of the Army, the intelligence officers had to each get basic training in one of the five major combat arms. By family tradition, my father had been an infantry officer, I chose infantry.

I did my infantry training there at Fort Benning and initially was on orders to Vietnam, but it turned out for various reasons that I happened to stop in Washington on my way up to Fort Holabird, Maryland, where I was going to do my intelligence training. They said, “We’ve got a position in Korea instead. Do you want to go there?” I said okay. Then shortly thereafter, I received a call saying that they needed me in Japan. So I ended up with a year and a half at Camp Zama, Japan, about 35 miles southwest of Tokyo, which was very interesting, giving me an introduction into Asian culture.

VIETNAM

So, in December 1966 I found myself flying into Tokyo on my way to my new assignment as Executive Officer in a Special Security unit attached to the Commanding General’s staff at Camp Zama, which was the headquarters for the U.S. Army in Japan. I spent 16 months there, before being reassigned to Vietnam. I arrived in Saigon on May 7, 1968 and left on July 11, 1969. I have to admit that I went there as a volunteer because by doing so, and by extending my military service by one more year, I was no longer subject to several years of reserve duty.

Part of the reason for my volunteering was that I wondered what it was like to be in a war. It seemed that they came along every generation and this was mine. Of course, we were still in the mindset then of the “Good War,” World War II. The lessons we should have

learned from Korea hadn't sunk in. It was a very interesting and eye-opening experience. I was fortunate enough to not be on the front lines. I was mostly attached to the command staff. My first work was at the headquarters of the Military Assistance Command Vietnam, or MACV, in Saigon. Every morning my first duty was to provide a briefing for General William Westmoreland and then the rest of his staff going right on down including William Colby, the local CIA representative. After Westy left a month later, General Creighton Abrams took over.

I served in two other posts during my time in the country. I spent five months up in northern South Vietnam at a place called Phu Bai, which was near the city of Hue, which had been massively damaged during the Tet Offensive earlier in 1968. From there I went down to a place in the Delta called Dong Tam, which was a made-up name that meant "United Hearts and Minds," which was the catch phrase of the time. There I was with the 9th [Infantry] Division attached to the headquarters working for the commanding general. That was my experience in Vietnam.

I really wanted to travel after that. I wanted to get out of the service and I didn't want to go back to the U.S. right then. So I had myself sent to Japan and started traveling from there because it was a place that was familiar to me. I knew some Japanese and could get around pretty easily. That just seemed like a nice starting spot. I began my trip there and spent the next two and a half years traveling back home, which probably did me a lot of good in terms of being a Vietnam vet and not having the trauma of going straight home from Vietnam, which had a negative effect on a lot of other vets.

CB: You went there with the interest in knowing what war was. What did you come away with?

It's pretty horrible. There was a period in which "body count" became the big catch word. All these numbers were being floating around as to how many people had been killed, and frankly, people in the U.S. weren't believing it. There came down an order that when you killed the enemy you had to go out and literally count the bodies, which seemed pretty gory in itself. But there were some other aspects. For instance, in the Delta, in particular, there would be fishermen who would go out early in the morning, before the curfew was over. They would be in different size little river fishing boats. These might be three-man, or five-man, or seven-man crew or something like that. If they happened to come out before curfew had ended, they were in free-fire zone and were presumed to be enemy. Of course, the truth was that to make a living, a fisherman had to come out before dawn; so these people took a chance and frequently they were gunned down by the Hueys, the helicopter gunships. In that case, the flight crew would just estimate how many enemy had been killed by how big the boat was. The thing that bothered me was that if a person was captured he was considered to be a Viet Cong suspect; if he was dead, he was a confirmed Viet Cong. There were a lot of things that just didn't add up. It was a very, very disturbing element of seeing the war from that side. Again, I wasn't the one who was right out there being shot at, well, that's wasn't completely true. The places I was in were often rocketed and I was lucky enough to be somewhere other than the strike zone of the rockets. Overall, I ended up believing that it is a tragic mistake to send a bunch of American troops into an Asian war. In a guerilla conflict there is a tendency to see everyone as the enemy.

TRAVELING AFTER SERVICE IN VIETNAM

In my travels I sort of bounced all throughout East Asia before travelling on to the Indian sub-continent, the Middle East, and then to Europe. I was fortunate enough to have many wonderful experiences along the way; I was often in the right place at the right time. For instance, I travelled through Cambodia in late 1969 about six months before Sihanouk was deposed. Later, the Khmer Rouge took over and all of the horrific killing took place. But, when I was there the country had a very peaceful air to it and had many vestiges of the old French colonial rule still there. I remember traveling to Angkor Wat and just spending time cycling through. You could rent a bicycle for 35 cents a day and bicycle all through this enormous, amazing place built by the early Khmer civilization. That was quite fascinating, an opportunity that a year or so later, you would have a hard time trying to do. Another fortunate event was that when I was traveling through Afghanistan; I went up to Bamiyan and remember seeing these amazing Bamiyan Buddhas, the ones that were destroyed by the Taliban in more recent years. That was a phenomenal site. I actually climbed up through a variety of caves and come out on the top of the main Buddha's head. The view out over the valley from there was quite an experience. It was really shocking later to realize that these were destroyed just for ideological reasons.

I had always been interested in visiting Israel. By the time I got there, which would have been September 1970, I had been traveling through a lot of Asia and lost a lot of weight due to the various illnesses, mainly dysentery, that we low-life travelers took in stride. I just felt I needed a place where I could settle and get my strength back and do something interesting. So first I worked on a kibbutz for two months. That was great; it was good regular work, good food, a settled place, and that helped me get back into shape. It was called Ma'ayan Baruch [Blessed Spring] and was up on the Lebanese border. It was a fairly peaceful time, enough so that the children on the kibbutz were allowed to sleep in their homes at night and not always in the rocket shelters. The Six-Day War in 1967 had happened three years before. Israel was quite strong at that point and they were able to be fairly magnanimous because nobody was endangering them at that time.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN ISRAEL

During my two months at Ma'ayan Baruch I happened to run into a local fellow [Amnon Asaf] who was an amateur archaeologist who would go around and collect from the fields that were being plowed and were filled with all sorts of artifacts. He used to mutter away at this, "Oh, this Roman trash!" He was interested in the earlier Iron Age stuff and the places were often littered with Roman-era ceramics that were not what he was interested in. His disdain for the ubiquitous Roman artifacts always amused me.

By the time I finished up on the kibbutz at the end of the harvest season, I had worked on a variety of things; catching fish, working in the cotton fields, apple orchards, and chicken houses, I was ready to move on and I thought I would spend a couple of weeks seeing the rest of Israel. Israel is so small that you could travel across it in no time flat. So, after two weeks I came back to Jerusalem and went to Hebrew University and asked if there were any "digs" going on in the country. They said, "In fact, there are two going on and one of them is right here in Jerusalem." So I went down to the dig site which was near the Wailing Wall and even though I had no real experience there, they were willing to take me on as a dig bum. They were trying to run this dig right through the year and they got a lot of

people in the summer but by October-November, I think I arrived there in November; they were looking for anybody who could wield a pick and push a wheelbarrow. The man in charge of the dig was Benjamin Mazar, but it was largely financed by the Israel Exploration Society, headed by Garner Ted Armstrong, a fundamentalist Christian preacher.

That dig was fascinating. I worked for about two months there until the end of the year. In fact, I left there on New Year's Day of 1971. The amazing thing about the site was that there was so much history going on in different portions. Different areas that they were excavating would go back to the Iron Age, you might have the Herodian Period or the Greek or Roman, the Hellenistic, the Byzantine, the Abbasid, the Omayyad, and the Crusader Periods. It was just an open book there of all these visiting people in different portions of the site. To see what they were coming across was just an unbelievable experience.

I got so excited by that, that I could hardly wait to get up in the morning to go to work and I really felt almost resentful about having to leave at the end of the day. It was that sort of experience. For this, I was getting a subsistence amount. I wasn't getting paid. I got a subsistence amount, which came to about 10 Israeli pounds, which was about three dollars a day. Since they didn't have any crew quarters, they gave this small amount for us to live on. I found a little Arab hotel on the Nablus Road, just outside of Damascus Gate. I was able to get a bed there for 90 cents a night, but no hot water. Then I'd just find some food on the way to and from work and so I just about managed to live on that. I had some of my savings from the Army that helped me eke it out, but I could do it. I always remembered that introduction to fieldwork as creating this passion for the field of archaeology. It was just so wonderful to be out there. Much of the time I was working on a Byzantine-era gutter that had been beside a main road; it was quite intriguing and jam-packed with stuff, Roman-era glass, pottery, spear heads, and Byzantine coins. You could imagine why I was caught up in this initial experience.

WORK AT THE DEAD SEA

Believe it or not, it gets cold in Jerusalem. I was in this little Arab hotel that was so ill heated that I was finally ready to look for an opportunity to go somewhere warmer. I heard about another dig about to start down in the Dead Sea. So on January 1, I was driving the VW bus that was the crew van down to the Dead Sea with an old desert rat, an Israeli guy named Pessah Bar-Adon, who was taking a group of people down to work based out of the Ein Gedi, near which there was a field camp called the Beit Sefer Sade, there right near the Dead Sea. We were working first on a high cave. The interesting thing was it was 700 feet above the Dead Sea level, which is 1,300 feet below sea level. It meant we were in this "high cave" that was 600 feet below sea level! Due to concerns about running into guerillas on our hike, we had to carry with us an UZI sub-machine gun. Fortunately, we didn't ever have to use it. It's interesting how your mind tries to take in these different phenomena. We worked in that for a bit, and then I was subsequently detailed to a lower level site that was a village location that had been sort of on the route between Jericho and Beersheba. It was, again, quite an intriguing experience.

NORWAY

I spent about six weeks there in the Dead Sea area, and then I just got this travel urge. I felt that I needed to move on and try to follow spring up through Europe. I left that

particular dig and flew from Israel up to Turkey, and then headed down into Greece and spent about five weeks there. Then I traveled on all through Europe and finally came up to Norway. There again, I wanted to settle into Norway for a little bit and enjoy getting to know the place. I went to the main archaeological office [Universitetets Oldsaksamling] in Oslo and asked about digs going on. They said that there were several going on in various parts of the country and they named various ones. I ended up choosing one in a place called Tønsberg; it's on the west side of the Oslo Fjord, probably about 90 kilometers southwest of Oslo. The interesting thing was that in 1971 this city was celebrating its 1100th anniversary as a chartered town or city. It had been founded in 871 AD. This was fascinating because in a way, it was my introduction to historical archaeology. As one Swedish friend had said, they don't consider it historic if it's after 1650. A lot of our historic archaeology would be left out of bounds on that criterion. After 1650 it would be modern. A lot of the homes and buildings and everything around were still being used, so they didn't see it as early archaeology.

That was a wonderful season; I worked with a great bunch of people. I was the only American. They were mostly Scandinavian; Danes and Swedes and Norwegians, of course, two Irish women, and one British fellow and one Aussie were on this dig. The project was directed by an historical architect named Roar Tollnes. We all lived together in this large rambling house and we'd go out and work the site each day. That was really a great experience and I became very close with a number of the people on the dig, especially a Swedish couple (Jan-Erik Eriksson and Anna-Lena Anderson) who later came back to take charge of the ongoing digs in Tønsberg. When that season came to an end, I decided to stay on for a bit. I went back to Oslo where I had a friend. Her family had a home with an extra detached cabin that they let me use. I stayed there for a bit, and then I was asked to join another dig that was underwater, or maritime, I should say. It was in the old wharf area. Scandinavia is fascinating from an archaeological standpoint, because ever since 10,000 years ago the land has been rebounding. The land had been so depressed under the glaciers that it has actually rebounded over 50 meters in many places. Spots that had been at sea level 10,000 years ago would now be way away from the edge of the sea. Even in the historic period in the harbor, I think there had been at least a one-meter rise since the 1500s or so. There you had ships that had been sunk to help form a wharf. By the time we worked on it, the land had been raised up and the wharf area had been artificially extended so that an old ship from the 1300s was now in an area of dry land. It was being affected because of the construction of a sewer line, so they had to mobilize an emergency crew to work on it. It was great to have that experience. The ship was from about the 1300s; it was a coastal vessel that was fairly common along that area. In fact, we found very little in the way of artifacts. It truly had been emptied out. It wasn't like a true shipwreck. Lying on the bottom of the ship, near the keel, we found one of these classic artifacts of the area called a Rhenish jug. It was a salt-glazed ceramic jug that was very common over a long period of time. In fact, it went for several centuries I think, but it certainly brought us back to that early period.

CALIFORNIA, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The season finally ended there. I came back to the United States. It was December 1971; I was 27. I visited Florida briefly, looked around a little bit for jobs. During my college years, I had hitchhiked out to California and had become fascinated with it, so I decided to just go out to San Francisco. I had a friend from high school who was living there and I had somebody to stay with initially. I put aside my East Coast upbringing and

transferred west. I arrived there in May of 1972. I wanted to go back to school for graduate work, but I figured I needed to establish myself so I would be a resident. The opportunity came up for a federal job, so I worked for three years for the Office of the Inspector General, U.S. Department of Agriculture, as a criminal investigator. I was Special Agent Farris. That job allowed me to travel all over the West; our office covered the 14 western states including Alaska and Hawaii and going east as far as the Dakotas. In that job, I was able to learn a lot about the West and see a great deal of it and that was really quite intriguing. We were investigating anything that affected the Department of Agriculture. In one case I might be in Utah for a milk marketing case in which there was a problem between the milk producers and the milk bottlers; a lot of food stamp cases, of course, but mostly we were not looking at the people who were violating the food stamps, the recipients, but at the people who were trading in food stamps. That was interesting in its own way.

CALIFORNIA ARCHAEOLOGY, SAN FRANCISCO STATE

I stayed three years because that allowed me permanent return rights to return to federal service. Toward the end of the period, I went over to see the local Forest Service archaeologist, Don Miller. I dropped in on Don, we chatted a bit, and he was excited because he had just written a report about the G-O Road, the one up in northwestern California. He gave me a copy of it. That was cutting edge stuff at that time; this idea of extending the sense of Indian sacred territory to a visual impact, to areas that you can see as opposed to the archaeological perspective of looking very closely at a physical element on the ground.

Because my initial college degree had not been in anthropology and I had been out of school for nine years, I felt that I needed to reestablish myself academically before going on to graduate school. I applied to San Francisco State University and went there for one year from 1975 to 1976. Fortunately, by being able to take most of the courses that I had from Georgetown [they accepted those], all I had to do was concentrate on doing anthropology major courses; I did 39 units of that in a year. My major professor there was Mike Moratto who was a very energetic young professor. Polly McWhorter-Bickel was another one of my professors, and then there were a variety of others. Bill Hohenthal was another interesting guy; he had done a lot of his work in northern Baja California back in the 1950s. Just shortly before his death, probably about a decade or so ago now, Tom Blackburn had found his dissertation, which I had actually mined for some information myself when I was doing my own dissertation work, and ended up publishing it as *Tipai Ethnographic Notes*. It was published either just before or just after Bill died; Bill had gone up to Seattle and settled in there. There were some rather interesting people there at San Francisco State, including Roger Hegler, a prominent physical anthropologist.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS (UCD)

I spent two semesters and a summer school at San Francisco State, which provided me with a second bachelor's, now in anthropology. I had to get through one semester at least so I could show some grades in anthropological course work and get professors in a position where they could write me letters. I was keen to move ahead to apply to grad school. I had thought about Berkeley, but it had a November deadline for application and the fall semester at SF State didn't even end until early January. While at SF State, I had gone over to the Interagency Archaeological Services, headed by Garland Gordon, which had its offices in

downtown San Francisco. Garland allowed that he was not up on the ranking of graduate schools, but he motioned back out to the outer office and suggested I speak to one of his subordinates, Rick Casteel. Rick had done his graduate work at Davis. He said, “Look, if you just want a place where they’ll probably leave you alone and let you really work on your degree...they’re not going to be right on top of you like Heizer was in Berkeley where you’d be working for him for a good part of your time...these guys are really quite good.”

So I arranged for an interview with Professors Martin Baumhoff and Delbert True. The interviews went well, but it took quite a long time for all my transcripts to get delivered to UCD, and that turned out to be a problem. By the time they finally got through, the Ph.D. candidate slots had been assigned for that particular year. However, as luck would have it, I just happened to make a call in to the graduate advisor [Carol Wall] as she was about to go into the faculty meeting to make the final decision on the upcoming academic year. We had had a good rapport in our earlier meeting. She said, “Well, I see you’re still interested. I’ll put in a bid.” They allowed me in under a provisional master’s program with a possibility of moving on to the Ph.D. That’s basically how I got into Davis. My major professors there besides Baumhoff and True were David Olmstead, who was a linguist [he had especially done work up with the Achomawi and the Atsugewi up in Northern California] and Henry McHenry. He was a young professor there too. Before I finished up, Bob Bettinger and David Smith had also joined the faculty.

Mostly I worked with True and Baumhoff. I was very fortunate on that score. One of the interesting projects going on at the time was a resurvey of sites at Lake Berryessa in 1977 during the big drought when the water level had gone down considerably. The idea was to relocate sites found in the original survey and see how they had fared over the years. It was found that many of them had suffered badly as the water level dropped because when it came down to the level of the site, the wave action leached out much of the softer midden soil. This was a blow to the notion that sites under water were nicely protected.

Those were both quite intriguing people. I remember Baumhoff was fascinating. He was somebody who would wake up early in the morning and would start reading. He was a voracious reader. Then in class later in the day he would be presenting the basic material, but then he’d suddenly pause and look out the window and you could see his mind was ticking over and then he would come out with an observation about something he had read that morning. It was so fresh and so exciting, that this wasn’t just a canned presentation that had been put together five or 10 years ago. This was something that was right at the current moment...listening as a very insightful mind really brought this out. I found that quite intriguing and quite endearing about Baumhoff. True is probably the one I worked more closely with because I got a TAship. I did, I think, two quarters of TAing for him. True was a very low-key guy and more than one person, encountering him in the Department on a weekend, took him for a janitor and asked if he could let them into a particular study room. He would just go along with it and help them out.

I was at Davis at an interesting time. Although I missed a number of people like David Hurst Thomas and Eric Ritter, who had already graduated and moved on, I did overlap with Peter and Jeanette Schulz, Susan Lindström, Bill Hildebrandt and Laurie Swenson, Georgie Waugh, Mark Basgall, Kelly McGuire, Alan Garfinkel, Dwight Simons, Helen McCarthy, Greg White, Rob Jackson, and Sharon Waechter; and I shared an office with Richard Hughes down in the basement of Young Hall. Another memorable person who

had a temporary teaching position about that time was Harvey Crew. Jim West was also teaching some courses then.

I got my Ph.D. in 1982, which was fortunate because it was December 1982 and Baumhoff died in, I think, April 1983; March or April. I felt honored to have Baumhoff's name on my dissertation and this became even more poignant in 2001 when I was awarded the Baumhoff Award for Special Achievement by the Society for California Archaeology.

Career at Parks

STATE PARKS, CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY, AND THE USDA FOREST SERVICE

But I'm slightly getting ahead in my career because in the midst of this, while I was still in grad school at Davis I got together with a number of the Davis crew that were working on a project funded under Title 2 for State Parks. Pete and Jeanette Schulz had been working already on that project. There seemed to be a tendency for groups of people with certain connections to be hired in various times. For instance, when Fritz Riddell was first trying to expand the whole Parks archaeology program, he reached out to his old friend, Frank Fenenga who was teaching at Long Beach State. Frank had a number of students, including John Foster, John Kelly, Phillip Hines, and Nancy Evans who eventually came to work at California State Parks. So there was one infusion of people from Long Beach. Then later, there was the Davis crew. Because of Title 2, which was a program in which they were providing huge amounts of money for a variety of different programs and projects, the archaeology section was able to snag funding to work on trying to write up a large number of projects that had been done during the 1960s and 1970s. Much of the project was focused on the Old Sacramento digs, but there were others: the Fort Ross excavations; Sonoma Barracks and other places like Yreka Chinatown. So there was a lot of activity going on in the West Sacramento archaeology lab at that time. I came in at that stage as a seasonal archaeologist. I came in initially as an archaeological aide, which is basically the lowest level in the system. I worked there for a few months in 1978 before I went off for that summer to work for the Forest Service up on the Mendocino National Forest. I spent the summer there working out of the Cold Springs Station, near Paskenta. You go from Paskenta up to 6,000 feet and you're at Cold Springs. That was an interesting summer and quite an experience working on high-elevation projects there. I worked with Larry Roberts, a graduate of Chico State. The Forest Supervisor at that time was Mike Boynton.

In the fall of that year, I decided to take off a quarter and go down to Mexico. I took my Volkswagen Squareback and just drove down through Nogales, Arizona and on into Mexico. I started off in the beginning of November and drove down all through Mexico and then through Belize and Guatemala, visiting many of the classic archaeological sites along the way. I especially remember the magic of places like Tikal, Monte Alban, Chichen

Itza, and Altun Ha. I eventually came back to Davis in early January of 1979. I continued on with the graduate program. In April of '79, I was set to work on the Sonoma Barracks. They were doing a lot of work in the backyard of the barracks area there in Sonoma, the old Mexican-era barracks that sits on the plaza, following behind work that Larry Felton had done a year or so before, and several other people. That was an intriguing one and got me really into some Mission-era-type archaeology, or the Spanish Period. In 1980, John Foster hired me to do some work for the California Department of Forestry. I was sent out to do surveys in a couple of their major state forests; Jackson State Forest between Willets and Fort Bragg and the Mountain Home State Forest which was up in the Sierra near Porterville. This was intriguing to me in part, especially the Mountain Home survey because it put me into an area where there were a lot of sugar pines that were dropping cones. Ultimately I did my dissertation on the Indian use of pine nuts in California. So I was intrigued both with all the different species of pine and the use of their seeds by the Indians. That summer (of 1980), I again went back to work for the U.S. Forest Service, this time over in the Lassen National Forest. I was working for Jim Johnston, who was at that time, the Forest archaeologist. Our team was based at the Bogard Ranger Station, which is to the east of Lassen National Park. There I had the pleasure of working very closely with Greg Greenway, in fact, Greg was the head of our survey group. We were doing a specialized stratified random sample survey, which was advocated strongly by the "New Archaeology." I understand that later the Forest Service worked up the data from that survey and applied it to a general program of trying to do predictive modeling throughout the forests, especially in the west, of different types of areas you would expect to find sites. It was beautiful terrain; it's amazing country up there. I spent the summer on that.

FIRST WORK AT STATE PARKS

Then I came back to Davis, continuing on in graduate school. I did interview with the Office of Historic Preservation. They offered me a job, but it was full-time. I was convinced that if I took a full-time job, I would never finish my dissertation. I just saw too many people get totally caught up in their work and find it hard to complete the writing of their dissertation; it's very difficult to balance those two. It probably set my career back a little bit because I could have, in 1980, come in as full-time. But I put that off for the time being. However about the same time there were some interviews Fritz was having for positions in the Resource Protection Division, so I applied for that; 1981 was fabulous because for some reason there was a lot more money available and they were expanding the cultural program. Quite a number of archaeologists came in at that time: Lee Motz, Eloise Barter, Betty Rivers, Michael Sampson, Herb Dallas, Kathleen Davis, Gary Reinoehl, Jim Woodward, John Rumming, Breck Parkman, Tom and Elise Wheeler and a whole variety of people were hired at that time. I came in as a Permanent Intermittent (PI) archaeologist, which meant that I was only working nine months out of the year, but that was fine. That was what I wanted at that time. Some people, like Phil Hines, would go off and work for the Forest Service during the three months off, so he was able to keep up with quite a good arrangement. In my case, I used the time off that I had just to continue finishing up my courses and especially to continue writing my dissertation. In some ways, I date my first work with Parks to 1978 when I did that work as a seasonal, but my position as a permanent employee didn't start until 1981.



Photo courtesy of Glenn Farris.

Figure 9. Glenn Farris at Fort Ross.

By great good fortune, one of the first projects I got onto at State Parks was at Fort Ross State Historical Park (Figure 9). Larry Felton had done some work there before, but he was suddenly swamped with a variety of other projects, including one at Santa Cruz Mission, so he turned this one over to me. The project was doing some preliminary excavations on the site of the old warehouse that was scheduled for reconstruction. Sadly enough the actual construction was sidetracked and attention was redirected to construction of a Visitors Center. To this day, the warehouse still hasn't been rebuilt; it's one of things I'll talk about in a little bit. At any rate, it was quite intriguing. It introduced me to a whole different ethnic group and piece of California history, one that I've really attached myself to; even today, I'm still doing some things, more with documentary research. That and the Mission studies work that I've done in various mission sites, including Sonoma, San Juan Bautista, La Purisima, and Santa Cruz [the four missions of which State Parks has a portion]. Those parks as well as others of a Mission-era vintage such as the Santa Barbara Presidio and Old Town San Diego have all been quite enjoyable, in part because I'm also

fascinated with reading old documents. I've spent a lot of time at the Santa Barbara Mission Archives and at Berkeley at the Bancroft. I love going through these old ethnohistoric documents. That introduced me to another aspect that has interested me right along.

The wonderful thing about working in the 1980s is that State Parks archaeologists were doing their own fieldwork; we weren't contracting it out. We did a lot of hands-on fieldwork. On each project, one or another of us would be the lead and the others would go and work with them. This had the benefit not only of allowing you to either be the lead or at other times be working as a thinking dig-bum. The net result was that you experienced all these different sites, even if you weren't necessarily in charge of them. This was very important later for institutional memory because even if one wasn't in charge of a particular dig, later on, I would remember many of the things that had happened there. That was great fun. In fact, in 1981 I was quite busy. I was working at Fort Ross for a bit, I worked briefly at John Marsh, to which I later came and did a lot more work in the later '80s. I was sent down to Santa Cruz and worked briefly there, and another project that later in the 1980s I was in charge of for two years while Larry Felton was off on another assignment. A lot of the seminal work, or experiences, were happening in that year.

During my graduate study at UC Davis, Professor Robert Heizer, who had just retired from UC Berkeley, was invited to come teach a couple of courses at Davis by his old student, Marty Baumhoff. It was a really interesting time because of all one heard about Heizer, much of it negative, he was in a real relaxed mode at this point. It really turned out to be a nice relationship with him. In fact, he had a little cabin over at Point Reyes that he had bought, and he would periodically invite a number of the grad students; Susan Lindström, Richard Hughes, Nancy French, Joan Hellen, and a number of us who were all grad students in his seminars would go over there and have a little barbeque or something. It was an interesting time to meet him. Subsequently, he got a contract to do some work down at the Cooper-Molera Adobe in Monterey. He was contracted by a Berkeley architect, Ken Cardwell, who had been hired to do some rehabilitation work on that historic adobe. So he put together a crew that included Karen Nissen, Colin Busby, and several other people, who had been Heizer's students and may have finished their degrees at that point. It was just an eight-day quick session there, but we actually camped out in the back yard of the Cooper-Molera Adobe. It was during the 1977 drought and so there was severe water rationing in effect. I'm afraid we were all a bit ripe by the end of that eight days what with no showers or baths. This was just the year before I joined Parks. Later on I came back and did some work there in a different capacity as part of a State Parks team.

Regarding Heizer, my understanding was that there had been a fair amount of tension between him and Fritz. Even though Fritz had done some graduate work there at Berkeley, I think he ended up leaving before finishing his degree there. At that time, there was still a sense of academic archaeology as being the ideal, whereas becoming a state employee was seen as a comedown. I think there was a tendency to look down on the people who worked for the government. That may hold over until today in some cases, but it was definitely a situation there. Of course, in those early days, in the 1970s, there were relatively few contract archaeologists.

JOHN CLEMMER AND CENTRAL CALIFORNIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION (CCAF)

In fact, to fill that gap, there was a little group put together in central California called CCAF, or the Central California Archaeological Foundation, that involved Fritz, Bill Olsen, Norm Wilson, Arlean Towne, Bill Pritchard, Eric Ritter, Pete Schulz, and quite a number of people that ended up, just because of the lack of anyone else who could do contract work, working on a number of projects throughout various State Parks. One of the people they had working for them who was especially impressive, I found out later, was a man named John Clemmer. Clemmer did some very interesting excavations at a number of key sites, including Sonoma Barracks, Petaluma Adobe, Morro Bay (he did a classic one of a house floor that had been found there at Morro Bay), San Juan Bautista, and John Marsh. There was some rather interesting work being done in those early years. As time went on, more and more environmental firms started coming on line, and as they filled the gap, CCAF got out of the business. After a period as something of a social club, it has gone completely moribund and has recently turned over its remaining funds to the Bennyhoff Fund [James A. Bennyhoff Memorial Fund Award] for the SCA to be used for students to be able to do additional research. John Foster could talk a lot more about it. He was very involved with CCAF.

I never met Clemmer. He was an engineer by training but got this interest in archaeology and came into it relatively later in life, I mean, maybe in his 40s or 50s. He applied [his engineering background] and it worked out very well in terms of his drawings. San Juan Bautista was another spot that he had done some work. I found myself at a later date digging in the same areas. I just mention that because I'm trying to set the scene of the 1970s being a time when many of the environmental firms were just getting started. [There were two things going on]: one of which was the fact that this separate body had to be set up to try and at least accomplish some of the work necessary, but the other was that in the 1970s and early 1980s State Parks was still doing most of their own in-house work. A lot of us were field archaeologists doing our specific projects and being responsible for them.

THE RESOURCE PROTECTION AND INTERPRETATION DIVISION

The section that we're in, the one that covers the archaeology and history, has had some interesting changes over time. When I first came in, it was called the Resource Protection and Interpretation Division [R. P. and I.] and I had often thought of that as being the ideal of what a State Parks function should be. It is often mentioned, for instance, in comparison to Caltrans in which when you did your excavation you didn't have an immediate place to interpret it and to bring it out to the public, whereas work in State Parks had a natural venue to be able to apply your work (Figure 10). That was great in theory, but unfortunately the way things were often structured in the funding process, which was actually run by the architects [we had very little say in that, we were often the adjunct part of the organizational process], the archaeologist were brought in at the early stage to do their work and then were present at the construction phase. It was after this that the interpreters would come in to prepare their interpretive plan. By then the archaeology funding was all gone and there wasn't a real link, at least a way in which as part of your job, you could work on it. Most of our work was on "soft money," in other words, project-driven rather than general-fund based at the time. We were simply told at times, "Don't even talk to these

interpreters because we don't have a funding source to pay you to do this." I thought it was a real tragedy. Many of us would just go ahead and do it on the side anyway; we'd get together with them and discuss ideas that we might have in terms of what we had found and how it could be best brought out because they would often come back and want to use the artifacts we had found.



Photo courtesy of Glenn Farris.

Figure 10. Glenn Farris Talking to Students at the May 2007 State Scientists' Day in Sacramento.

RESOURCE PROTECTION DIVISION

About the time I got in as a Permanent Intermittent (PI) employee, the R. P. and I. division was being phased out and being replaced by the Resource Protection Division. A separate Interpretation Division was created. Jim Tryner had been the head in both of these, but he was just leaving. He actually was in my interview for my PI position in late 1980. He was replaced by Bud Getty, who took over as the chief of the division. This was one that incorporated both archaeology and history, as well as the natural environment. Resources in that case was not just cultural resources, it was natural resources as well. Natural resources have always had greater “play,” let’s say, and a greater power within a combined division. I think that came up recently with the Ken Burns film in which all the attention in his historical review of the national parks focused on their natural resources, with hardly any discussion of all the work in cultural resources, which probably deserves a whole series in itself.

THE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT DIVISION

We had the Resource Protection Division, which still, at least, had the right direction, it seemed; protection of the resources. Then, I think under the Wilson administration, they switched over to the Resource Management Division. It was a small change in name, but it spoke volumes in terms of what we were expected to be doing. Now we were supposed to be “team players” helping out to “manage” the resources. The idea of your standing up and shouting to the rooftops about the destruction of resources was certainly being downplayed in that time. I won’t say that people rolled over exactly on that, but it made it a lot harder to take the stance of protecting the resources. That was a sad direction that Parks had taken. Some high officials in parks even took to saying “We don’t do research!” This was a clear undermining of our professional integrity as archaeologists. Fortunately, most of us just shook our heads and continued doing our work as we saw fit, but there was a definite reduction of formal backing for our efforts.

During this time, the head of the division changed over and Rick Rayburn became the head of the Resource Management Division; I think he came in around 1985. I remember that year because at that time State Parks, with the instigation of Norm Wilson and John Foster, organized the January 1986 Society of Historical Archaeology national meeting. The society came to California, to Sacramento, and really had a very successful meeting. I had the honor of being the overall chair for the meeting and had tremendous help from all the other State Parks archaeologists and many others in the Sacramento area. In fact, it was so successful that it was almost a problem because we had budgeted for 500 people (had gotten rooms and everything for that size), and almost 800 showed up. It was wonderful in many ways. A lot of top names were there: Jim Deetz, Noël Hume, Kathy Deagan, Malcolm Watkins, Franck Goddio, and many other the major players in historical archaeology from all over the country. We had many people from Europe, especially; underwater archaeologists from France and Scandinavia had all come. It was really quite something. Happily, the Department did step up and help support that particular meeting, which was great. In later times, we didn’t really have the same support.

Just to continue our discussion of the order of how this division evolved, the cultural people were constantly chafing over this joint division that had both cultural and natural there in one unit. Ultimately, the strains between natural and cultural in the division came to a head. When it came to budgeting, for projects, cultural felt very much the junior member.

So we lobbied extensively for a separate division. Under Rusty Areias, when he became the director of Parks under Gray Davis, we finally managed to get that pushed through. So that's how the, what has now become the Archaeology, History and Museums Division (AHMD) came to be.

About 1990, during a periodic reorganization of DPR, they had something called the Phoenix Committee. It was one of those cyclical events in which there was an economic meltdown in the state. And so Parks was having to reinvent itself to meet the new economic times. One of the things that was done was that they created the Service Centers. The Service Centers basically were here in Sacramento, down in San Diego, and also for a while one in Monterey, although that one was eventually closed down. The Service Centers had their own various archaeologists and historians detailed to them. They were now much more under the direction of the planners and the architects who were calling the shots in terms of these projects and had even a steeper uphill battle to try and stand up for the resources because there was so much pressure to move the project ahead and get it done. Oftentimes, unfortunately, the archaeologists are the easy ones to point to as being the obstructionists and the ones holding the project back.

That was an unfortunate shift. At the same time, people in the old Cultural Resources Division here were now being cut out of the field projects. Frankly, this drastically changed the enthusiasm that we had had for working on these projects regularly and of carrying [the projects] through from start to finish and being very involved with doing a lot of fieldwork. That passed out of the Resource Management Division.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY LAB PROGRAM

It was towards the end of the 1990s that there came an opportunity here in West Sacramento, with this development of the new Cultural Resources Division; we got some additional support for the archaeological lab, what we had long called the Arch Lab. This was a time of plentiful economic resources. I was brought in to be in charge of the lab itself about 2000. So for the last eight years of my career, that's basically what I was doing, I was in charge of the archaeological collections. One of the features that struck me right off the bat when I was faced with dealing with the collections was the general feeling outside the division of "Gosh, that's an expensive thing to keep all those artifacts. Does anybody do anything with them?" We'd have to try and make our defenses, but in fact, oftentimes the collections *would* sit there and gather dust. So I tried to get an active program going to work with various universities and bring in a variety of students, even undergraduates. I was especially fortunate to work with Professor Kent Lightfoot in Berkeley who had been doing a lot of his field schools out at Fort Ross starting around 1989. So Kent, in fact, *did* direct some of his students to take some of the various old collections that we had from Fort Ross that had not been fully written up, and go ahead and use them for various theses studies. A lot of good things came out of this collaboration. Then people came from other universities and asked to use our collections for their research studies. In fact, at the 2010 SCA meetings I gave a little talk with a listing of at least 30 different theses, dissertations, and studies that had been done using the archaeological collections by a number of very prominent names, or soon-to-be-prominent; some young people who are really moving ahead in California archaeology. This, to my mind, was the value of being able to not only bring them in to work on these collections, but being able to guide too. Often a student would come in and

have a vague idea that they wanted to work on something in this general field or area, so you'd have to wrack your brains. Fortunately, having worked on many of these projects that were in the collections, I had a fair idea of what had gone on and could say to a student that this particular collection would be ideal for you if you're trying to do a project on shellfish use or this other one if you're trying to study lime kilns. That was very satisfying to work with students on that basis and to, at the same time, get a number of these collections carried through to some level of write-up or publication.

One of the things I always felt was a very weak point in our program was the fact that the archaeologist wasn't in charge of the overall project even if it was an historical project [it was the architects]. Frequently what would happen is you would get in there, and since we would often have to be the first ones in to do our excavation work at the site, we had very little power to keep the project alive. A lot of projects were then cancelled shortly after the archaeological work was done. The frequency with which projects were not carried through by the Development Division was a mixed blessing for the archaeology. The downside of that was that the funding then was gone, so the ability to write up the thing was left out. So, unfortunately, many of us working throughout that period have a lot of skeletons in our closet of these partially written, or manuscript-only versions, of studies on some really interesting material. That is something that, if there were a ever a way to rectify that in the future...in part, I would try to do it by bringing in some students to work on at least portions of it.

Frankly, the person who does the excavation has a special connection to the project. Nobody else is ever going to have that same experience of feeling the characteristics of the soil or the position of the artifacts when they first were uncovered. I mean, you can read through all their notes, but the visceral experience of the actual excavation work really does mean that you virtually own that particular project in many ways. I know historians would often be very squirrely about trying to protect a source that they found, because the truth is that if somebody else found that same source, they could go ahead and probably create something very much their own with it. Whereas in archaeological excavation, nobody else can really have that same experience. I mean they might have some great new insights on something that you've done, but they'll never have the same experience with the site, for good or ill; whether you did things or you failed to do things in terms of what you collected and how you approached it, it will always be yours.

I thought was a real tragedy and I can tick off a variety of these situations. The John Marsh House was a classic one. On that project, not only the subsoil archaeology was affected, but the Development Division had moved into the demolition phase on the standing structure in which they actually stripped off much of the plaster on the inside before the project was suddenly terminated, for budgetary concerns. This left the building a lot worse off than it had been when we came in. It's a "shame on us" type of thing. We did not have enough control over these projects. I can understand the architects being wholly in charge on projects in which they were building a new bathroom or a new structure, and you were having to clear the ground before that. That was perhaps one thing, and that was bad enough if you weren't able to finish a report on that. But when you were dealing with an historical structure or an historic site in particular, it seemed especially sad that we didn't have the capacity to carry it through. Caltrans, for instance, really does require reports ultimately to be written and be out there and published, and I think they have a much better record overall of getting the archaeology completed.

It's a pity that Pete Schulz can't be available here to talk about it because he covered a certain amount of our work on historical structures. One of the key things that Pete was very much involved with was in the *California Archaeological Reports* series. In some of the latter ones, especially from the late 1970s, he was one of the key editors of those. He really tried to make them quality publications, but they never were properly funded in and of themselves and eventually, as the funding dropped off and we didn't have the basis to be able to keep them up, until just recently. Rick Fitzgerald has been very involved in getting them cranked up again. There's been at least one that's come out and another one on the way that he's working on.³ Those early reports were very useful; they were meant to be just the beginning of a whole series, but the Title 2 funding that was supporting that, dropped off about 1980 or so and work on the analysis and write-up of these old projects just dried up. A lot of these things got to manuscript stage and were just put on the shelf. That would be wonderful if someday there could ever be funding to go ahead and try to get those things finally written up and out. Many of them were quite a way along.

FIELDWORK AT PARKS

Much of the time, since we were working on construction-based projects, rather than research-based projects such as a university might have, their whole funding was based on the fact that something was going to happen, some destruction or disturbance of the soil was going to occur, usually for the construction of a building and its attendant utilities, but maybe for a road or whatever else—and the historical record needed to be saved. There was definitely a salvage archaeology level to it. As in most salvage archaeology, you accept how important it is because these sites are going to be destroyed. Other sites that are worked on year in and year out by a university group are usually nice protected ones tucked off in some safe spot that they can go back time and again and work on them pretty much at their leisure; whereas in our projects, whatever you got out of it you had to get the most and try and get that dug and studied and published.

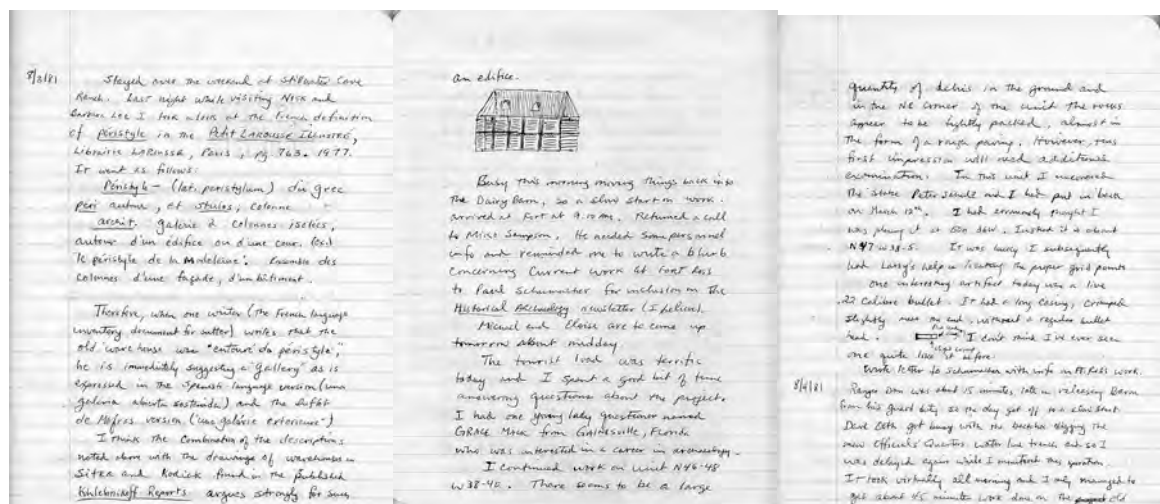
Oftentimes, we didn't have a lot of preliminary time to do our preparatory research. We usually had, especially on the historic projects, an historian involved and they would often be out trying to dig up various documentary evidence or items that would be helpful in understanding the site. Some of them were extremely good. I remember Bonnie Porter and Michael Speer, both of whom died far too young. Perhaps the best was Edna Kimbro down at Santa Cruz Mission and Monterey State Historic Park who was very involved with the archaeologists in doing the work there, and really had a good eye for the sense of the architecture and the practical natures that would benefit us. The fact that the archaeologists ended up doing most of the hands-on “vertical archaeology” on standing structures that were undergoing extensive changes was certainly not the ideal in that it would have been better to have archaeological historians doing the work. However, due to the lack of these individuals in the Department, the archaeologists sort of backed into the study of the historical structures. One of the approaches that we actively pursued, and I really think Larry Felton gets a special credit for it, is the notion of doing broad exposure excavations, getting away from just doing the little telephone pole-type units and trying to understand the sites from a

³ Since these interviews were conducted, four more publications in the series have been published (volumes 27-30). This volume will be the sixth of the recent renewal of this longstanding series.

holistic perspective, saying, “Look, we’ve got to understand the structure. We’ve got to see the whole thing.” A part of that came about from his experience at Fort Ross when the work on the building called the Officials’ Quarters had been previously done in these little hopscotch units. Certain projections had been based on what they found in those, you know, a posthole here, a posthole there, but then when the actual construction came about and the graders came in, suddenly they were popping up these additional postholes. Thank goodness the architect in charge at the time, Earl Carlson, did call Larry in to try to understand these new finds. Usually they would have just gone plunging right ahead, but he brought him in to take a look at this. Larry had to go around and quickly expose these new features things and add them to the overall sketch map of the site and try to make sense of it. Frankly, it revamped the notion of the size and the physical placement of this particular building in time to make changes in the final architectural plans. So when they actually constructed it, at least in the broad overall size it was more accurate than it would have been otherwise.

Later he applied this approach to other projects such as Fort Humboldt in Eureka where he was doing an excavation for a hospital site and did a very broad excavation there to show up all the of the different lengths. This isn’t rocket science or anything; this is typically done. It really is necessary to see the whole pattern; you can’t get by with the old prehistoric-directed approach of taking a sampling of the site. You had to see it all.

I followed up with this approach on a Fort Ross project in 1981 (Figure 11). I was working at the warehouse site exposing the whole area and it was very important to try and understand what was going on. That became an important element. Once again, we had minimal time for an initial preparatory study. Often we had to get right in there and jump into the excavation phase. When you expose features or even unusual artifacts that works as a feedback to stimulate you to look for certain sources that would be useful, and re-read available historic descriptions of the old structure.



Photos courtesy of Glenn Farris.

Figure 11. Fort Ross Field Notes.

For instance, when I was working at Fort Ross there were historical accounts that talked about the dimensions of all of these buildings in fathoms. Well, everybody knows that a fathom is six feet, right? Well, in these particular documents that we had, some were in French and some were in Spanish and ultimately we found some Russian ones too. When I was researching about these “fathoms” and the terms they used, I realized that each one of the languages had a different size fathom. The French have a fathom that is about 6.4 feet, the Spanish fathom is 5.5 feet, and the Russian fathom is 7 feet. “What fathom are they using for this?” I ultimately realized that what the authors of the documents really had in mind was the Russian 7-foot fathom although the available English translations all expressed them in terms of a 6-foot fathom. This meant that all our dimensions had to be increased by about 16 percent. For instance, a building that was described as being 8 by 4 fathoms, instead of being 48 feet by 24 feet would be in fact 56 feet by 28 feet. That was intriguing, the type of thrilling insight that came from putting together the documentary evidence with the physical evidence.

From there, of course, we carried on to the actual excavation, the cataloging of the objects, and report writing. Unfortunately, as discussed above, the funding for the cultural work was cut off before we could finish the report. In fact, on the Fort Ross one, that was a classic case where they suddenly decided they wouldn’t build the warehouse after all, instead they decided to construct the visitor’s center up on the hill. I never was able to get a final version of that report completed, although I did publish an abbreviated report on the project. That, I have to say, is one of the great frustrations I’ve had during my time working for State Parks. Fascinating sites, wonderful people, but the way the control on the final product went...that was very disappointing.

HISTORIANS AND THE ARCHAEOLOGISTS

In many cases, some people had crossed fields, started out as archaeologists and had become historians, and vice versa perhaps. There was some pretty good interaction. I remember there was a period of time when the development of public history was really getting underway in the early 1980s, I think of Ken Owens over in Sac State in particular. I remember there being a sort of touchy sense there that the archaeologists were just using and abusing the historians, especially if the lead archaeologist was a prehistorian. He’d say, “Well, we’ll get this guy in for a couple of hours and he can do everything he needs on that.” The trouble with that is that the little background you can do before you have any material to look into, an object with somebody’s initials on it or something, is that you end up doing broad social history. The classic historical boilerplate says “Cabrillo came by the coast in 1542” even when you are working on an inland site like Old Sacramento, in which case Cabrillo was never within a hundred miles of the place. There was a boilerplate aspect to the historical background studies that was unfortunate. Later on when we were actually able to integrate the historians and archaeologists and to work closely, I think it often worked very well. We got a lot of good feedback.

The other thing I remember was a meeting that they had at Sac State when Ken was concerned over how the historians were often being relegated to secondary status. The truth of the matter was that when some developer is looking for a person to lead a project and provide a budget, the archaeologist can look at the area that’s being impacted and say, “From our past experience we know it costs such and such to excavate this many cubic

meters.” So, whereas the archaeologists could come up with some sort of a reasonable budget, it was very difficult for the historian. Sometimes they’d find some wonderful historical document right off the bat, the first book they looked into or the first document they’d see, they would find this amazing item, such as a contractor’s lien in the Marsh House that detailed materials used and work done. Other times they’d be looking for months just finding dry holes. To be able to actually put that work into a realistic budget was something that project managers had a real problem with. I don’t doubt that archaeologists did need to have a better understanding and grounding and appreciation of what history *could* provide. However, the reality of the time was that most of the archaeologists in charge of projects had little realistic experience with documentary research and so either underestimated, or at times, overestimated, what historians could provide. In my own career, I shifted over; I got more and more involved with a lot of the historical documentation. In fact, in my publications I’d say an increasing number of them over time have been involved with ethnohistory, which I find quite fascinating.

IMPORTANT PROJECTS

In order to describe the projects I considered most important in my career, going chronologically, I would start with my project at Sonoma Barracks, which was quite fascinating in part because it introduced me to a lot of the material culture and the faunal remains that you would find in a Mission-era site. Then, shortly after, the work at the Fort Ross warehouse, and then I did several other sites around Fort Ross; but none of them had quite the same pizzazz as the warehouse site. That was satisfying because, as I say, it brought me into even more use of the documentary evidence. The Santa Cruz Mission adobe was fascinating even though I was not the day-to-day site on-hands person. We had a local individual, Karen Hildebrand who was leading much of the work down there just for the practical reason that I couldn’t get down there. This project went on for six or eight years, and was led by Larry Felton, except for two years when he was detailed to another division and I substituted for him. It was a controversial project from the start.

The controversy started out with a historic preservation bias that this building, which was the only remaining adobe structure from the Mission-era had subsequently been covered over in the 1850s and in the 1870s and 1910 with additional layers of historic fabric that were all, in themselves, of significance. The argument of the Adobe Coalition, which was the group trying to have the structure brought back to its adobe appearance, was “That’s fine. You can find examples of these other eras in a number of other buildings around, but this is unique. To properly appreciate it, you’ve got to remove that covering and see the actual adobe mission structure again.” That’s ultimately what did happen, but in the course of it, especially with Larry Felton in charge there, there was an excellent recordation of these historic overlays that really did maintain marvelous evidence for those different periods. That was extremely well-done. In that case the mitigation really was proper. But in the early stages of it, especially the State Historic Preservation Office was very much antagonistic to it. Steade Craig, in particular, raised concerns over it, very rightly, I think, in some ways. Yet, I can also see the other argument. Ultimately, by being able to do the work on this particular building, we learned a huge amount in actually doing what we call vertical archaeology, stripping off the historic layers of the building. It’s sort of parallel to stratigraphy in the ground in which you’re going horizontally doing your archaeology in

different layers but here everything's built—paint layers on the outside and plaster layers on an interior and woodwork in other sections.

In fact, that developed into an area where Parks was really leading the way; we did that on a number of buildings. Pete Schultz got very involved with it on the Stanford House, but especially on this one in Santa Cruz Mission adobe. Also ones down in Pio Pico further south and a whole lot of other buildings in different parks; we were very involved with that kind of analysis. I was fortunate enough to work with Karen Hildebrand on a study of “El Cuartel” at the Santa Barbara Presidio. Vertical archaeology added a whole new dimension to what archaeologists could do. It was something that historians probably should have been doing or architects should have been doing, and yet oftentimes they would be happy with just saying, “Well, it’s a such and such. We can categorize it as a Queen Anne or a Mission-era or some other recognized building type, and we don’t need to follow its individual history.” But the archaeologists, in peeling back these layers, made these buildings come alive individually; their *own* history. They weren’t just a generic structure of this type of architecture; but rather a place where people had lived and, over time, they had changed, cut out a wall or put one in, added windows here or there and repainted or plastered numerous times. If you were fortunate, sometimes you could find that in a historical record, but oftentimes the information wasn’t there. Archaeology was the only approach that told you the story of the building. That became quite exciting.

CB: What was the reaction to that?

I think it was a combination of things. On one hand they were fascinated by what came about and a number of people did eventually become more hands-on types. Gil Sanchez had worked on the Santa Cruz Mission adobe in the early stages. I thought of Gil and Edna Kimbro and Larry Felton as making this wonderful team of people there all working off of each other to be able to really discover and understand more about what was happening there. At the same time, architects in particular, I think are taught to be the command-types, very proud; they’re the alpha people on the project. So it varied. Some people were more amenable to listening to and appreciating what the archaeologist could provide, and others were not so. I think in the best instances it did turn out to be some really excellent work. In the Santa Cruz case the State Parks architect in charge, Jim Jackson, was very supportive.

WORK AT MISSION SITES

Another area of study that I came to like very much was working at the various mission sites that I mentioned already; Sonoma Barracks and the Santa Cruz Mission adobe. The next one I worked on was San Juan Bautista. That was quite intriguing because we were able to explore the area that was the old mission neophyte quarters. We were trying to focus on understanding more how the Indians, who made up the vast proportion of these mission populations, lived. So much of the work and earlier study on missions usually focused on the churches and the areas where the guards might be living, in other words, the European portion of it. But what we were able to do, first with the Santa Cruz Mission adobe, and then later on in the work I was doing at San Juan Bautista, was to find a great deal more, or to try to bring to light, the lives of the Indian people who made up the greater proportion of the mission population. Remember, there were normally five or seven Europeans and a thousand

or more Indians at any of these missions, yet the story told is usually limited to the former group.

I was able to follow up that a little bit more in working down at La Purisima Mission, first on a warehouse site there in which we able to discover a huge 220-foot long building, not mentioned in the mission documents (Figure 12). The full dimensions of it just hadn't been appreciated before. Then I also was able to follow up a little bit with some work Jim Deetz had done on the Indian family housing at that site too. I didn't do a *whole* lot of work on that, just trying to go over his material and what some other people had done and then try to understand the relationships. I think I was able to add to the comprehension of that.



Photo courtesy of Glenn Farris.

Figure 12. Glenn Farris at La Purisima Mission State Historic Park during a Field Project in 2001 for the Visitor's Center.

One of the things too that's sort of a bugbear that I may as well bring up in this general light, is that there's been a lot of push for ground penetrating radar [GPR]. These methods seem to be often touted as "Use this and you'll never have to put a shovel to the ground again. It'll tell you everything you need to know about underground." Well, my experience has been that that is not the case. At best you will get some helpful anomalies, but you'll always have to put shovel to ground and "ground truth" them, as we say. Otherwise, you can get some very screwy things that will show up. For instance, at the Santa Cruz Mission adobe we had a group from the Stanford Research Institute that had come out there and busily used all their equipment going back and forth in the backyard to determine the location of other foundations. We knew there were some foundations back there but we didn't know their exact placement. The results of their survey suggested that there was

perhaps another building back there but that it was built parallel to the existing structure. But one day after it had rained, I think, Larry Felton and I were out there and we thought, “Let’s just take an old-fashioned probe (a push probe you just push in the ground) and see what we find in prodding along through here and take a bunch of pin flags and use them to mark whenever we hit something.” So we did that and we came up with a very interesting thing that we ended up calling the “angled adobe.” It turned out that there had been an earlier building that was at a 45-degree angle to the standing adobe, not parallel at all. It totally restructured our notion of the earlier history of that particular lot as well as the reality of what these buildings were. Had we only relied on the ground penetrating radar we would have been in blissful ignorance of what was actually there. In various other cases, I’ve found that you really do have to test the anomalies indicated by the GPR. I’m not against using ground-penetrating radar insofar as it is useful to have a place to start when you’ve got a broad possible area, but at best they can only tell you if there’s an anomaly there. It may be significant; it may be totally insignificant.

OTHER IMPORTANT PROJECTS

The other projects I enjoyed were down at San Pasqual in San Diego County. It’s a little place that’s about six miles east of Escondido, right near the San Diego Zoo Safari Park. The project was to install a visitor’s center for the famous Battle of San Pasqual, which occurred in December 1846. What we were finding was the remains of the Indian sites that were there. Although it was a Late period site for the most part, it seemed to date to before the Historic period there. It would have been probably from 1500–1700 or something like that, most likely. In doing that, I became rather intrigued by finding these references to the Indian chief who had been in charge of this pueblo, a man named José Panto. So on the side I was doing all this research on him. He turned up to be a very, very interesting character in terms of how much he had fought to try and keep his people at the San Pascual pueblo together, especially after the Americans arrived and started to infiltrate the pueblo and sell alcohol, and eventually push the Indians out of the area. That was perhaps one of the earlier phases of my trying to make use of the ethnohistory there to appreciate the fuller aspects of this. That was one in which I was able to work closely with the interpreters, in that case, it was an interpreter named Mary Helmich who was really very open to some interesting thoughts and ideas to apply to writing up her own interpretive accounts.

The Silvas-McCoy site project in Old Town San Diego was not one I was in charge of. I basically went down and worked again for Larry Felton on that. That was really quite a fascinating and exciting one, and again, a demonstration of an area that people expected had been totally obliterated from historical accounts. It turned out that even though there had been a whole motel placed over this site, much of it was still very intact including the outlines of several adobe structures. Eventually, when we realized that, we got a whole different impression and put them together with the woman who had lived there, Eugenia Silvas. That was one in which Larry had brought in a group of the NCCC [National Civilian Community Corps] people, a part of the AmeriCorps program. It’s not a direct descendant of the old CCCs [Civilian Conservation Corps] of the 1930s, because in that case you often had a lot of people who were not very well educated, at least the ones working on the excavation projects. In AmeriCorps, the participants mostly have at least a bachelor’s degree; some have master’s degrees and are just sort of working on national service projects

through AmeriCorps. So it was possible to get the young people even more into the project itself as an educational experience.

Later on, when I was working at La Purisima, I was able to enlist a group of the NCCC participants. They came up and worked on the La Purisima project, which was great because the original La Purisima work had been done back in the 1930s by CCC crews there, their spiritual predecessors. I even organized an event in which we brought back some of the remaining living CCC people who had worked in that area and they had a chance to tell their stories and to help these younger people connect and to see the linkage.

The nice thing about our organization in the 1980s was that you worked on so many projects even if only peripherally. Another experience that I quite enjoyed was doing historical recordation of the old buildings up in Bodie, the ghost town up on the east side of the Sierra Nevada. Pete Schulz was in charge of that. That was another interesting and beautiful place to work. The 8,500-foot elevation meant that cold temperatures remained well into the early summer there.

The John Marsh House was a project that was very important and again quite frustrating because the archaeology was closed down early because the funding suddenly disappeared and so the project wasn't completed. I worked there primarily in the 1986 to 1988 period, although my first experience there dated back to 1981. Since the 1980s, more research has gone into the general area, and the Native American portion of the site that we had thought only dated to the late portion of what is called the Meganos period [about 1400 AD] has been expanded vastly with finds made on both sides of nearby Marsh Creek pushing it back to 8,000 years or more. It's exciting to see work continuing on.

JOHN MARSH

CB: How do you interpret for the public a person like John Marsh?

Marsh was a very interesting character. I think he got a bum rap in later years. That's my take; not everybody agrees with that. This is a guy who was Harvard-educated, very well-read, had studied and trained as a doctor in the Minnesota frontier in the 1820s, had then come out to California in 1836, and taken on a land grant rancho out at the edge of the Central Valley. The missions had been secularized, so there were a lot of newly freed Indians who were out there and other "gentile" Indians who were now raiding the coastal settlements regularly for horses. It was pretty brave of Marsh to take that on. I think he had a special relationship with the Indians. It was probably an unusual one, quite different from most of the whites that were coming into California. And this harkened back to the fact that when he was in Minnesota he actually had had a half-Indian wife; his first wife was "metis," or half French-Canadian, and half Sioux. In fact, together they had written a Sioux dictionary that was published in 1831. It shows that Marsh was a person who really did have an intellectual and personal interest in the Indians; yet he still carried over a lot of the prejudices of the time in his writing. You can often see where he'll denigrate the Indians, but, at the same time, it appears from other accounts that this may have been for public consumption and that he did have a close relationship with the Indian people there.

Where he got his real bum rap was when the first white group that came out across country, the Bartleson-Bidwell Party, arrived. They got crosswise with him. He had, for instance, offered to let them butcher some of his range cattle. Instead they slaughtered several of his trained oxen; really valuable animals. Marsh had also left his ranch to go on their

behalf, all the way to the nearby settlement at San Jose to the authorities to get passports for them because they were illegal immigrants. He charged them five bucks a piece, which was probably a fair amount of money, and he probably did have a miserly tendency on that. At the same time, I think that there is a failure to appreciate that he really put himself out and in the end was overall out in terms of the loss of these animals that he needed.

I don't think his history is as clear-cut, black-and-white as one might assume. Many people continue to feel that he really had no importance or major place in the development of California, but he *was* the guy that was writing back to Missouri in the 1840s in particular and encouraging Americans to come out to this new land. He really got the overland group coming. And the first group that came, of course, had his name on their lips; that's who they were looking for. It's the first place they went; they didn't go to Sutter's Fort until afterward. This first group wasn't particularly well-read or people he could relate to very well—I think he felt, "My god, what have I done? I brought a bunch of yahoos here." He probably didn't feel he had a lot in common with them. Curiously enough, Bidwell was probably an exception in that he *was* a young bright guy who later became important in his own right, but I think the first impression was that "If you're my dream of getting Americans in, then maybe that wasn't such a great idea." So that's my take on Marsh. Certainly his interaction with the Indians there, I think, was probably unusual and we just don't know nearly enough. I've been able to pull together snippets of things that really do suggest that he did have a better relationship and was a more thoughtful person in dealing with them rather than just seeing them, as they became later during the Gold Rush, as just an enemy to be gotten rid of and wiped out.

You have to try and put yourself back into the time. Were the padres a bunch of concentration camp guards? In fact, I've found a number of cases in which they were really quite anxious over the fact that the diseases had been introduced and the people were dying off and really did make an effort to help them; but again, there definitely were examples of ones that *were* pretty hard-hearted characters. I think any attempt to try and paint a group in black and white is bound to fail.

Reflections: Looking Back

THE MISSION OF STATE PARKS

CB: What has State Parks done well and what has it failed at in terms of what you see as the mission?

It's very difficult to say it in terms of any broad-brush strokes. I think one of your early points about the influence of individuals...maybe we discussed it before we started taping...different individuals with their particular motivation and drive have stood out; a lot of terrific things happened and awful things happened. Going back to William Penn Mott. ...William Penn Mott was one of the earlier State Park leaders, who then went on to become the head of National Parks. Mott had been really quite a visionary in terms of wanting to bring a lot of the historic sites to life and had been very supportive, especially in places like La Purisima, Fort Ross, and some others. But in later years, it seems that although the archaeological side occasionally had champions, more often than not, it has been seen as being an added expense and "in-the-way." Yet, because of the strength and the push of people starting with Fritz, John Foster, Norm Wilson, Pete Schulz, Larry Felton, Breck Parkman, and Rick Fitzgerald, people have been able to do some really good work, in spite of the institutional pressures.

The main thing I would say in the negative that I kept running into again and again was that because the archaeologists and the historians weren't right at the table from the get-go, and continued to be one of the partners in the planning of these projects, that our part of the work was often marginalized and certainly, when it was suddenly decided that for one reason or another the project wasn't going to go ahead, then the floor was cut out from under us. This led to the failure to get out final reports that really weighed on our professional sense of integrity. That's something that has remained with me as a source of irritation. It's sort of the fight between being a team player versus the role that you *have* to take of being an advocate for the resources. This doesn't always match up nicely.

With so many changes that took place over a 30-year period, you would see cycles of things going up and down with management people coming and going. I used to often comment that the position of a State Parks Director was really the ultimate seasonal position. It was a person that was just in there for often a short time and then gone. Now, most recently, our current director Ruth Coleman [stepped down in 2012] has been there for

quite a while and I think has probably been able to have more strength and continuity. She happened to come in at a time when ultimately things were going to hell, so it was job enough just trying to hold everything together.

In my current capacity, in retirement, I've joined the board of the Fort Ross Interpretive Association and, of course, I'm seeing things from the point of view of the people who are out there loving the parks and anxious over park closures and the possible damage that can occur because of that and have been actively working to try to find alternative ways to keep parks open. Looking at an invidious comparison, there's the difference between what National Parks has done for a site like Fort Vancouver, the way they've been able to staff it and rebuild it and things like that, versus what has been provided for Fort Ross. It's a dramatic difference. At times, I've even suggested that we'd be better off if National Parks took over a prominent historic park like Fort Ross. If Fort Ross went over to National Parks, they'd get some attention.

CB: So what are you doing now?

Well, I'm a partner in a small three-person partnership called Farris, West, and Schulz. I'm with Jim West and Pete Schulz whom I have known for more than 35 years, since we all got our Ph.D.s. from UC Davis. We basically do consulting. At this stage in your life when you've worked for so many years in this field, you've built up this extensive background of knowledge that probably is best put to use in advising others, not so much in going up and digging up additional things but in trying to apply your knowledge to understanding what's going on with current projects and their finds. It's a way to keep a hand in. When I got into the field of archaeology, one of the notions I'd had for it being a desirable career was to not be in a field that was 30 [years] and out and then finding yourself retiring and feel hopeless and useless and "Gee, my whole reason for being is gone." It's literally something you do till you drop or you're totally incapacitated. You see people like Bill Wallace who was just...Bill and Edith were working right up to the time that Bill passed on. I think Edith may have tapered back now. A variety of other people, for instance, Fritz Riddell, had also continued an interest in the field. He went down to Peru after his retirement and continued working on projects. It's sort of a lifestyle and career you get into because of a love of it, not that you have any great expectation of earning huge amounts of money, but it does give back too. It's very fulfilling and you end up feeling good about yourself. It's a great cocktail party line too. "What do you do?" "Well, I'm an archaeologist." Oh, you're off and running with that.



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