

the native perspective.

In addition to the empowerment aspect of the workshops, a key goal is to build working relationships between CRM professionals and native peoples. These SCA-NAPC workshops are in fact seen as a *two-way* learning opportunity between Native Californians and CRM professionals. I compare it to the training that doctors get. Today we often say that doctors are fed massive amounts of data in the classroom and are given a large amount of "hands-on" training. But often the knowledge they most need—how to interact with the human being they are treating and not the disease—is given short shrift. You can learn a lot of data, but there is no substitute for the actual experience of working with the Native American on the land they are at home on and some exposure to their feelings about what you are doing. If that can happen during the learning process, we can effect some positive change. If we're going to deal with archaeologists in the future we need to sensitize them now. I believe Native Americans would welcome this opportunity.

Most Native Californians I've talked with



Janet Eidsness (archaeologist), Gregg Castro, Robert Duckworth (Salinan Tribal Council vice-chair), and berding down Marvin Bailey (Salinan Tribal Council member) examine a house pit on Fort Hunter Liggett Military Base. Susan Alvarez (cultural resource manager at Fort Hunter Liggett) is in the background taking a photo.



realize—regrettably—that in most cases they are not going to have a large impact in today's society. They know that they are not going to agree with archaeologists in all cases either. Yet most of them, like our Salinan tribe, will still hold to their principles, regardless of how "hopeless" it may seem. We can learn and have learned to work together and sometimes reach hard-

won agreements with each side giving a little. But we cannot compromise about the very essence of our heritage. We're not looking for Disneyland; it's never going to be perfect. But with knowledge, experience, and hard work on both sides, it can only get better.

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Ron Goode.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE NATIVE AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

RON W. GOODE

Prior to 1978 all that I had heard was that archaeologists were legal grave robbers and most were only out to exploit the Native American. This attitude reverberated through all the Indian circles and was substantiated in our community by local archaeologists excavating in ethnographic sites where known burials were. Plus, since the early 1900s anthropologists came into our area and recorded information, then wrote books and worked on Master's and Doctoral theses without ever returning any of the information to our people.

I first got involved for several reasons. I thought it was time to start closer monitoring of archaeological activities. I wanted to get federal, state, and county departments and agencies interacting with tribal governments and Indian communities. Plus, I felt it was time to start improving tribal relations and opening communications between the Indian community and the science disciplines.

A meeting was held in 1978 between the North Fork Mono Tribe, Sierra Mono Museum, California State University at Fresno, and Theodoratus Cultural Resources (TCR) from Sacramento. From our first meeting the road was rough and rocky. At times relations and situations were tense, but the project provided many new and interesting experiences as well as a cultural challenge. TCR folks had worked hard to bring all the parties together to discuss a project to be mitigated at Kerkoff Reservoir.

Some of the folks from CSUF had been involved in a grave excavation near Bass Lake some five years prior, and many of our people still had a bitter taste in their mouths from that project. So the meeting was a little tense to begin with. When one of the older archaeologists sneezed, one of his young female archaeologists, in her kind and high-pitched voice, said "Gesundheit." Our tribal leader and then-president of the museum, Mr. Clifford Bethel, immediately responded in his gruff ex-Navy Chief Petty Officer voice, "Gesundheit hell! Slap 'im upside his head an' he won't do it again." For a moment, the archaeologists were in shock, mouths agape, then they too started chuckling.

Cliff was one of my mentors and you can say I learned from the best. Over the past seventeen years I've used this brash technique a time or two; but I've found kindness, firmness and overall professionalism better techniques for long-term relationships.

Excavation Controversies

A. When digging in ancestral sites, three concepts are worth discussing:

1. *Preservation*—Many Native Americans don't want archaeological digging at all in Indian sites. *Native Americans' number one priority on a site is preservation. Preservation of the site as it is.* Therefore, it's incomprehensible why the state Historic Preservation Office and the National Advisory Council will not allow sites with enough surface information to qualify it for recommendation to be placed under the National Historic Preservation Act to be submitted without subsurface disturbance;

2. *Dig to sterile*—If you're going to disturb the site, then dig to make it worthwhile. While excavating, dig to "sterile" and beyond. Sterile should mean sterile—no artifactual material or debris at all. Don't dig just to satisfy archaeological or agency needs; if you're going to excavate and open up Mother Earth (sacred ground) then by all means and techniques gather all the knowledge possible. I've observed archaeologists cease excavation upon entering clay/granitic soil with 60

(+) flakes per level at 120 cm in depth, while others stopped after two levels of so called "sterile" while still finding 2-3 flakes per level. Still other archaeologists have dug into sterile with zero debris and artifacts and have uncovered great finds. Why then is there not consistency among archaeologists?

3. *Excavation of features*—An example of one particular feature is the excavation of a sweat lodge area on a site. I've observed three sweat lodge areas being excavated and in all three, the only object that was found was a scraper, either made of bone, quartz, or chert. Before each of the excavations, I informed the Native American monitor and the archaeologists that a scraper would be the only



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artifact found. Spiritual leaders believe that since the sweat lodge areas are essentially the church gathering area of Native peoples these features are of the highest sacredness on our ancestral sites. Therefore, once you break the soil and begin excavating you are thereby breaking the sacredness of the site. So the gain of the find and the knowledge is not worth the breaking of our ancestors' spirituality!

B. Pertaining to lab processing of artifacts, differences of thought cause strong controversy.

One point of much controversy is the cutting of obsidian/chert points, blades, or spear-

heads for hydrology testing. Again, the damaging of a perfectly-preserved artifact, no matter what the gain of knowledge, is not understood by Native American people, especially since the same information is obtained from other, less preserved artifacts or associated debris. In other words, the value of knowledge gained doesn't outweigh the value of the continued preservation of ancestral creations. It is incomprehensible how an artifact can survive the elements for millennia, yet in the name of science be destroyed, without remorse, in mere moments.

C. Dealing with burials.

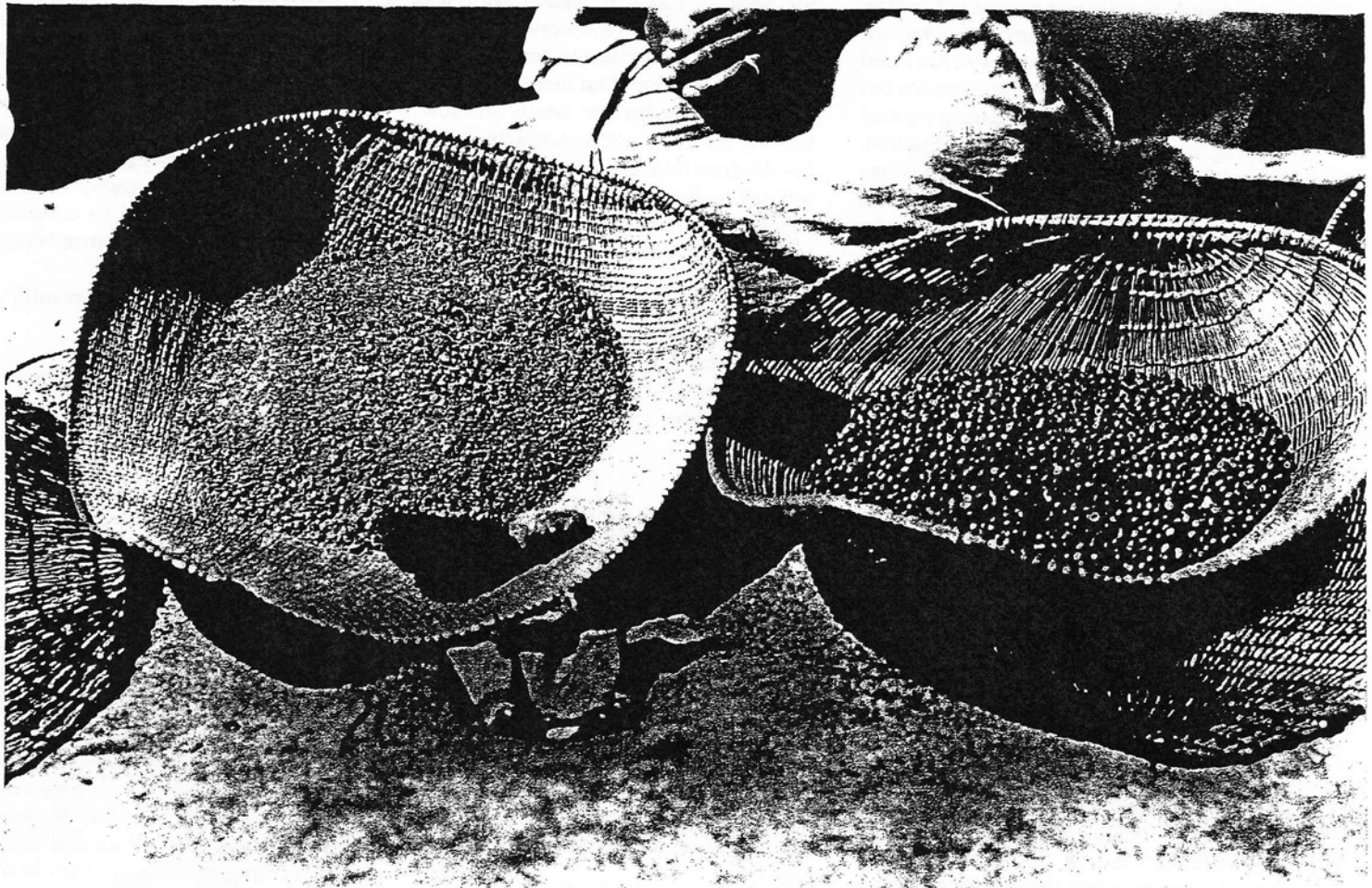
From that first excavation seventeen years ago, tribal policies have tightened considerably, while elders' attitudes, have stayed the same concerning the handling of burials. No photos were allowed, yet photos were taken and shown off at a state-held conference and the North Fork Mono Tribe was informed before the archaeologists returned home.

Photos are still not allowed of burials but sketches of the rock features covering the remains are. This accomplishes two things: 1) it allows the archaeologists to replace the rocks upon the remains in their original place; 2) it gives other archaeologists, new to our area, a sense of what to expect when analyzing features while excavating.

In the Central San Joaquin area, in our formative years, burials were allowed to be removed to other sites. Now most of the tribes want them left in place even if they will be or stand to be destroyed by natural causes. Another mitigation measure of controversy was the removal of burials for laboratory study. At one point in our burial agreements we allowed a 45-day removal period. Today, removals are a rarity and most exposures are observed, documentation noted, sketches made if necessary and remains are covered back up. Isolated finds or fragmented remains may be removed but three or more remains in one site (indicating a cemetery) and that project loses.

D. Negotiating.

It is the responsibility of the tribal body or its tribal leader to negotiate with the prospective project agency or firm for positions and respective contracts before the project begins. Curation cost and place of curation needs pre-project negotiation. All contracts need to be signed by the head of each project participator (i.e., tribal chair, corporate president, chief of division, city forest supervisor, etc.). You should have three contracts: a curation agreement, a



A mortar site in use, 1918. The winnowing baskets are filled with manzanita berries. Photo by E. Gifford, courtesy of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley.

burial policy, and a monitor contract. If necessary build your monitor into your burial agreement. Most repositories are finding a one time curation fee is not sufficient, ten to fifteen years later. The average curation cost statewide is \$500 to \$1000 per box.

E. Reconnaissance.

1. The major role of the monitor on field surveys is to keep the archaeologists on task. All major projects have prescribed field methodologies such as how the ground will be traversed: in what meter increments will each survey party member be; will the ground be covered by direction transects, in contours around the hills, or by outright sections; and so on.

The monitor cannot and should not try to make the archaeologist follow the said guidelines, but the employing agency can and will make the archaeologist resurvey said area if not properly covered. Some circumstances may constitute non-survey such as a very steep slope or drainage where the proposed

project will not affect or impact the area. But anything not surveyed needs to be so noted. A monitor needs to be realistic and reasonable in his/her relationship with the project.

When recording sites, make sure the boundaries are accurate. Go off the site 50 meters, checking every 10 meters or so for any additional site evidence. Some sites have been re-recorded two or three or four times because the site keeps growing. Sites are easy to miss.

Moving artifacts on a site or collecting artifacts from a site is a major controversy. This practice has been done by both the Indian and archaeologist, especially with pristine artifacts. While the "pot hunter" has felt the sting of laws covering this issue, Indians and archaeologists have not. Indians claim they own the sites and have the right to pick up the artifacts. It was the traditional practice of our ancestors to leave the tools and an offering to the next occupants; that is why many sites had all these artifacts left there. Little did they know the next visitors were collectors and not users. The archae-

ologist, while passing through a site and finding a pristine artifact, collects the precious find and says in the name of posterity they will keep the artifact and will be sure to plot its location on some map back at the office.

Yet neither formally records the artifact. So I have found myself describing to the Native American the scientific value of leaving the artifact(s) there at the site, explaining to the archaeologist why the Native American left them there in the first place, all the while knowing that even though both the scientist and the Native American were going to leave the site intact, the pot hunter wasn't. So what is right? Do a good deed: record the artifact(s) properly and take the time to curate it properly.

2. The philosophical view taken by the Native American when site recording or during site visitation: reference to an Indian site or "arc" site immediately conjures an image of a particular area. This area could be an acre, as big as 500 acres, or even much larger. Once you specifi-

cally identify the site or a prominent feature of the site and the Native American acknowledges your specific reference, his or her mind will still picture not only the subject site but will travel along the trail to and from the said site. Immediate experiences will be triggered. Even if the experiences are not personal they may be what other family members or tribal members have experienced. These may be experiences told in stories about their ancestors or legends passed down over the many centuries.

Hence the attitude of today's Native American is one of great pride to be called upon to guard not only their ancestral home but their ancestor's creations as well. Each feature, artifact, or cultural resource including existing herbage is a page of personal history to the Native American. Once upon the actual site, the Native American can feel the life of those who were there before them. The visualization of the features and artifacts creates a high degree of respect for their ancestor's creations. Because they understand the spirituality of their ancestors they know the features and artifacts are creations directed by and in the imagery of the creator.

This then produces an attitude of great reverence for the work produced by earlier cultures and creates a strong feeling of sacredness not only to a specific site or object but to the whole—all sites no matter their complexity. So when the scientist asks the Native Americans to be objective regarding individual sites, features, or artifacts, they are asking them to remove a spoke from the wheel of life.

Many, many times (in fact, most times) sites are identified separately by mere measures of distance, gullies, drainages, knolls, features, herbage, and slopes, while to the Native American each of the visual evidence is but one site because it is a part of the whole. If matters not that each one of the sites was used separately or independently, once each year, generation, or century.

While growing up, I saw six to ten families gather several times a year at various sites to process food. Some sites were never used while others were personal favorites to each of the different families. Yet my mother told how her grandmother sometimes met with her family and neighbors at the sites not used by my mother's generation. But still, to us, all of these sites encompassed a territory larger than a section of land.

When I first arrive at a site, the first thing I do is scan the area to get a feeling for why the Indians were there. I look at the terrain, the geological features, and the existing vegetation. I will already have an understanding of major resources pertinent to the elevation as the elevation is an initial indica-

tor. Most of these indicators are not only relevant to the Native American but are utilized as well by archaeologists.

But often, when first arriving, while my head is up, my friends' heads are down—looking for hot precious artifacts or a once-in-a-lifetime find. Yes, it is good to find whole artifacts or features intact. It's inspiring, because it's always good to find places still preserved. So often, a site is left damaged or destroyed by pot hunters seeking relics. Even when the archaeologists test the site, they too are changing the site.

Since the first "credo" of the archaeologist is to preserve a site, especially those still intact or pristine in preservation, why then is



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it necessary for an archaeologist to test-examine before a determination can be made to preserve this type of site? This is why many Native Americans have been at odds with the archaeologist and why many Native Americans would rather see a site be destroyed by natural elements than let the scientist extract and disturb our ancestral homes.

3. This brings to light a third issue of mitigation some archaeologists are applying during reconnaissance: 50 cm x 50 cm shovel testing during the survey phase of archaeology. As if auguring wasn't enough, now more commonly utilized is the digging of small test units in sites.

Archaeologists are calling this shovel testing, as a means of subsurface information extracting. This is not to be confused with Phase I test excavation. In fact, artifacts not removed and the technique is used means of "peeking" into the site, the event it is still opening of the site, the Native American community or tribal governing bodies should be consulted, before any subsurface disturbance takes place.

F. Native American Community vs. the Archaeologist.

A Native American who wants to become an archaeologist or anthropologist has a heavy price to pay. Shortly after I entered the field of archaeology on a full time basis, attitudes of elders and other Indian community people began to change. This change not only took place in my community but in neighboring communities as well. I was looked upon as a white man. Doors were more open to non-Indian archaeologists than to me. I was questioned by elders who knew me about who my family was, what tribe I came from, what clan I came from, and just why they should trust me.

After you have built the trust back and the Indian community begins to rely on you, then comes the burden of responsibility. While most monitoring and archaeological consulting services are very lucrative, the burden of responsibility will find on many projects observing and monitoring sites without pay.

Now that I am recognized by the scientific world for my ethnographic, ethnobotanic, and archaeological talents and knowledge, and by local media as an "activist," I will forever be judged by the Native American community. Archaeology can be a very rewarding career field but for a Native American working in your own community, it can be very thankless. As one elder told me, "If you're in it to be thanked and honored, then you're in it for the wrong reason." I got into this business to make a difference, Creator knows I have made a difference, and I know I have made a difference. If the world around me and Mother Earth are better places because I was here, then my life and time have been worthwhile.

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