

# LOW LEVEL BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES: A NOVEL

PRINCIPLES OF THE EMERYVILLE SHELLMOUND

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Low Level Bureaucratic Strucutres Principles of the Emeryville Shellmound Lytle Shaw

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## LOW LEVEL BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES: A NOVEL

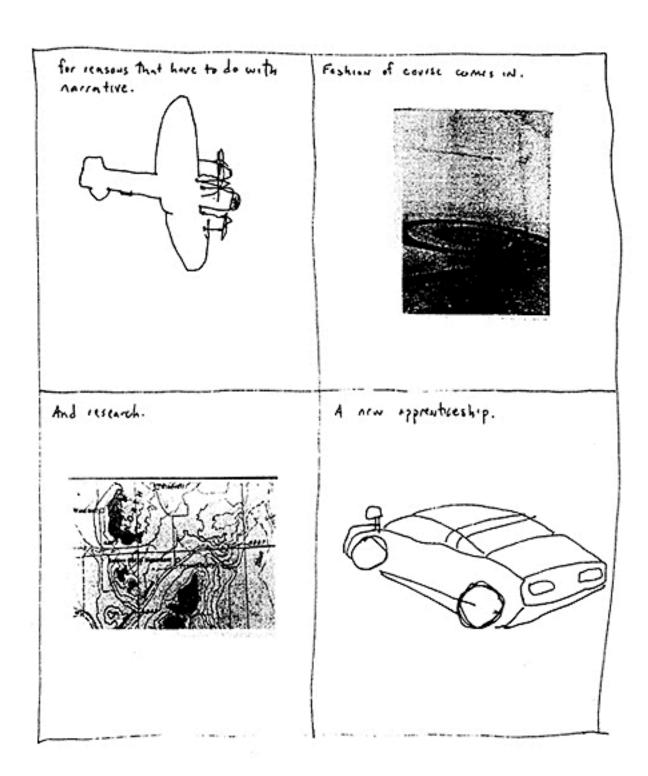
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### PRINCIPLES OF THE EMERYVILLE SHELLMOUND

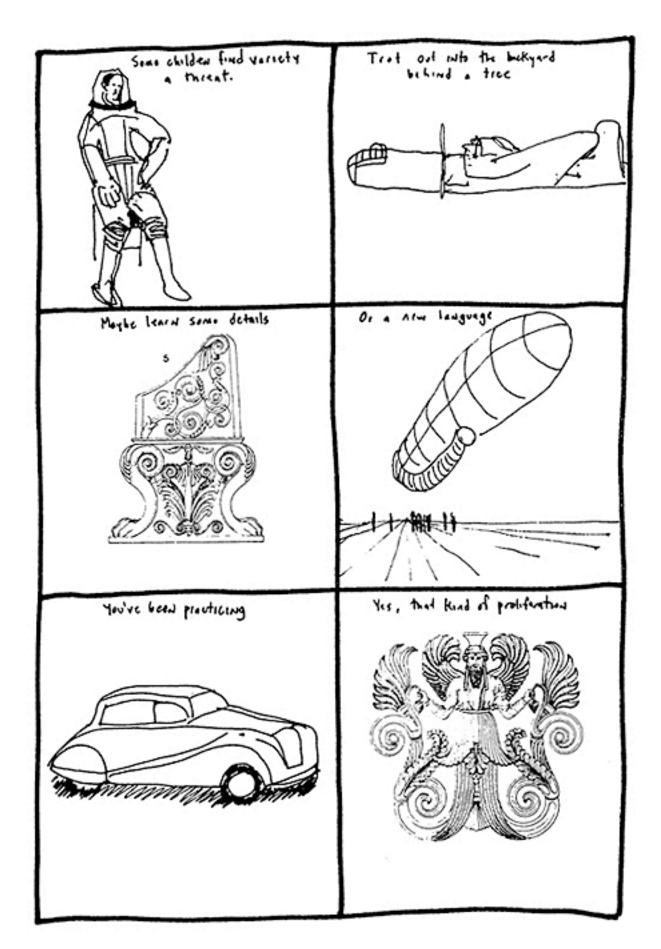
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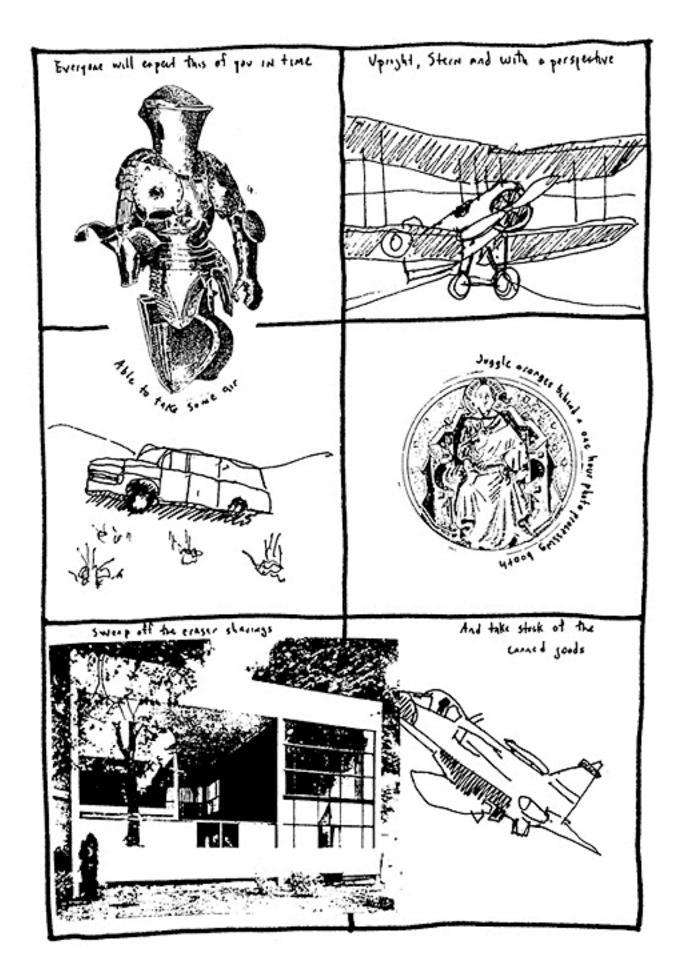
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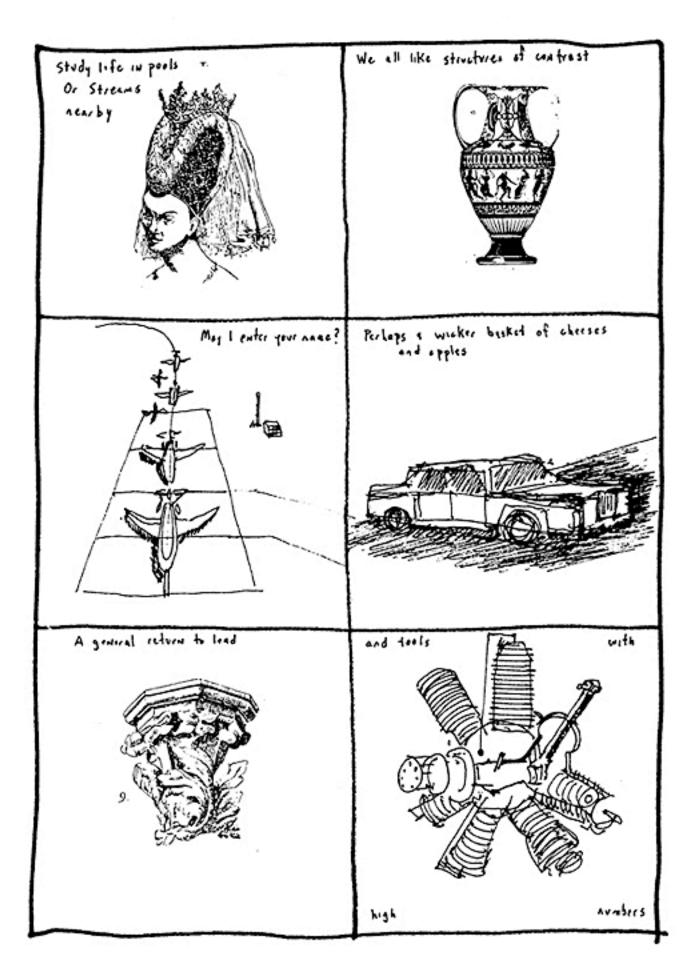
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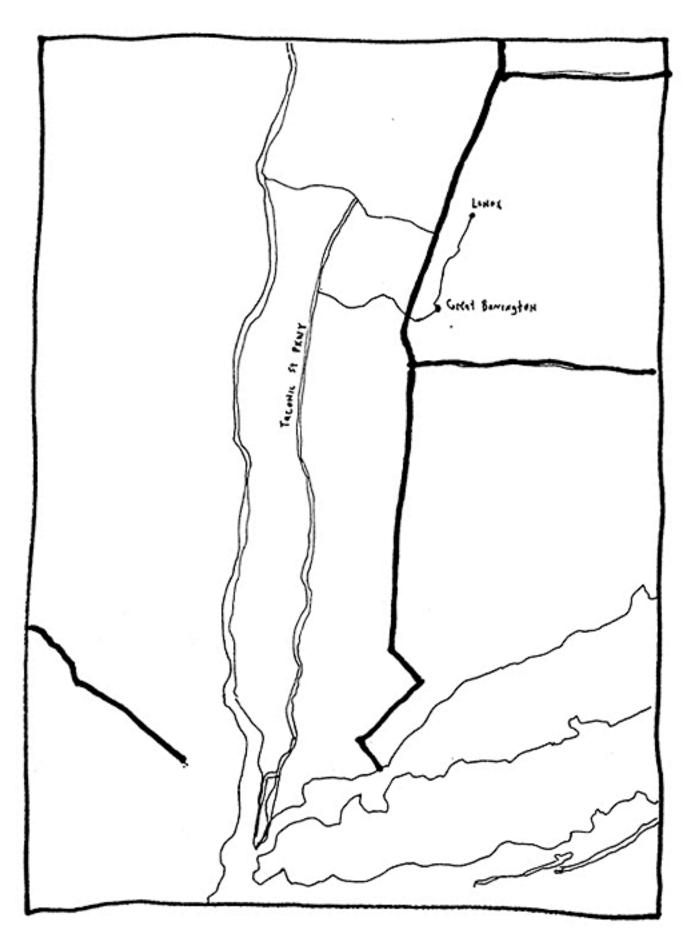


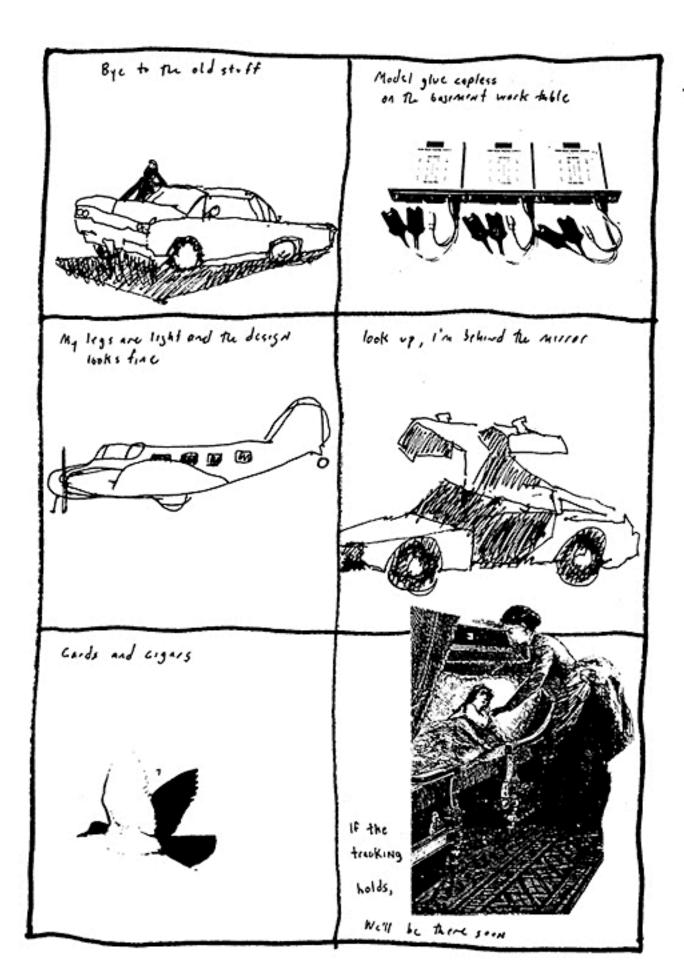


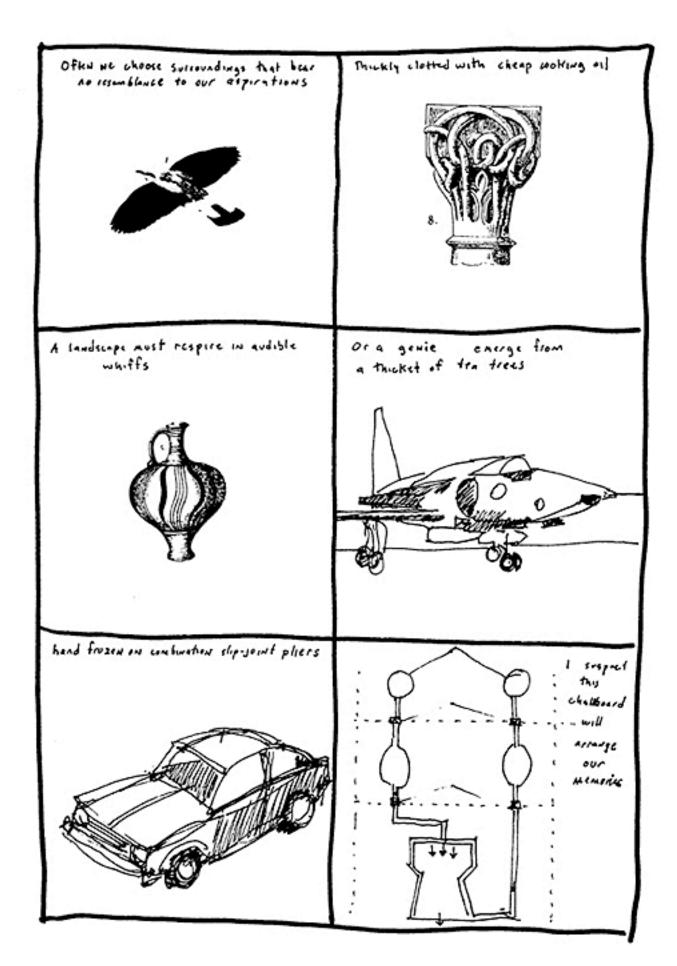


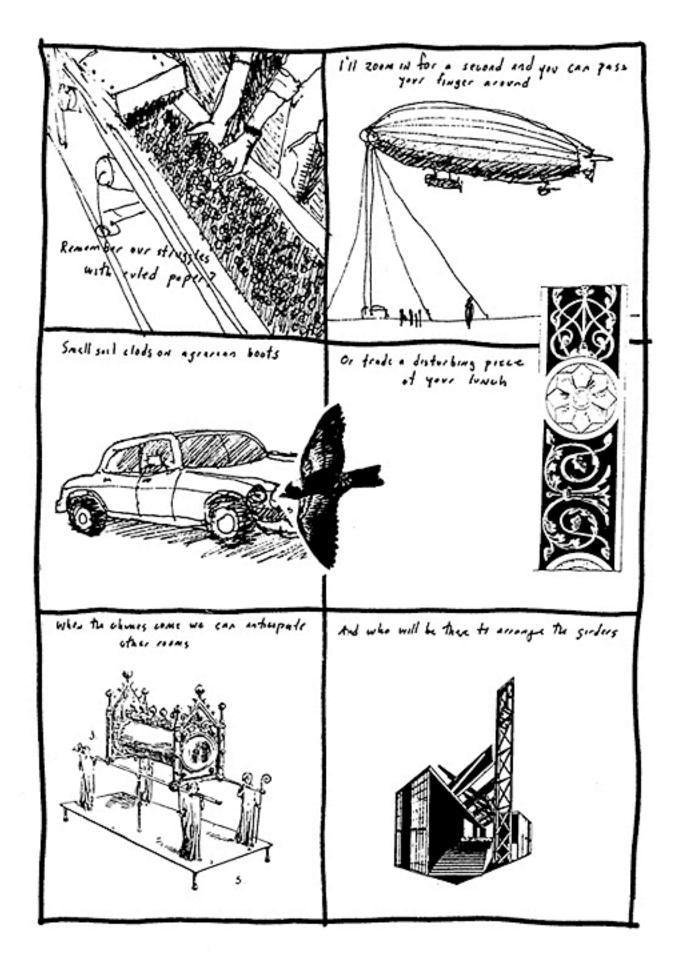


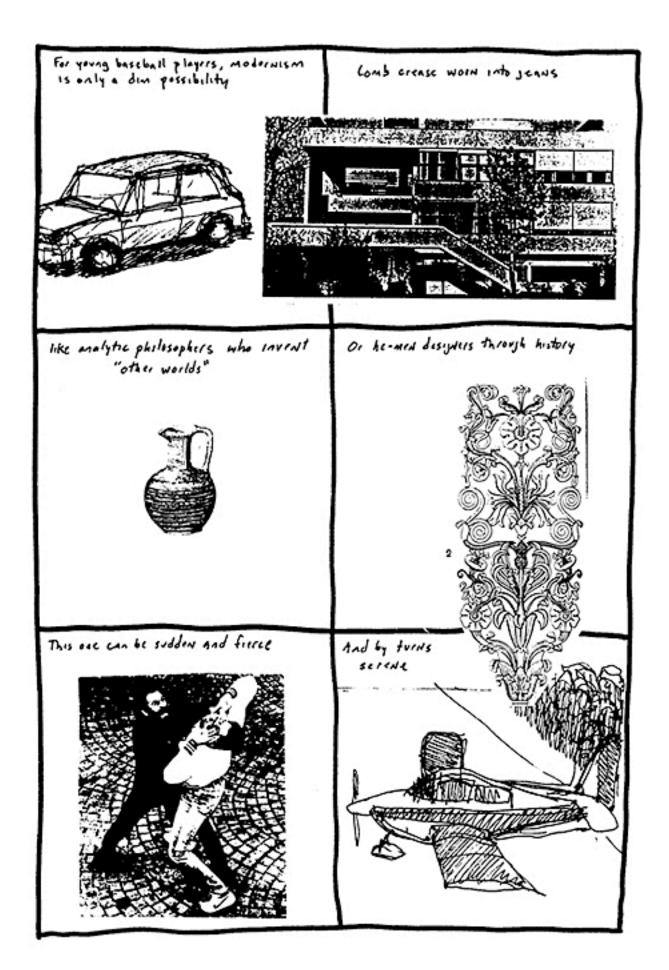


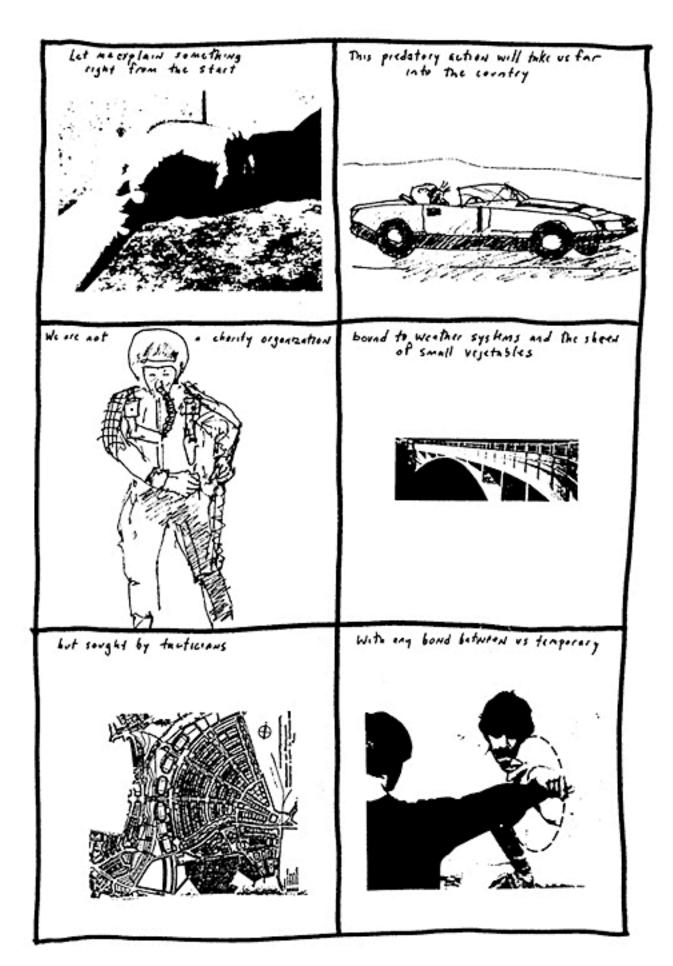




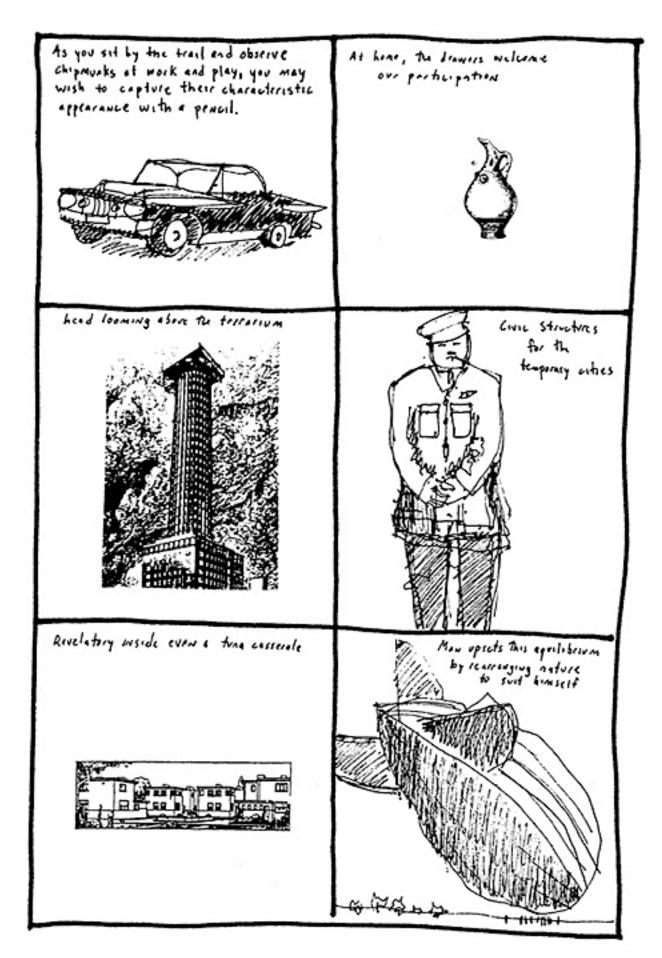


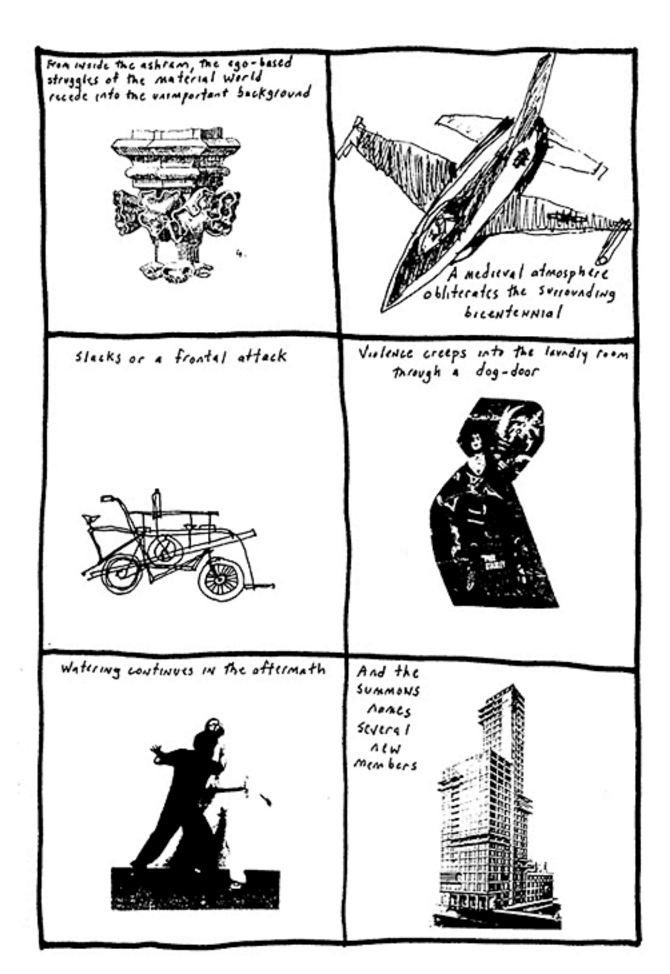


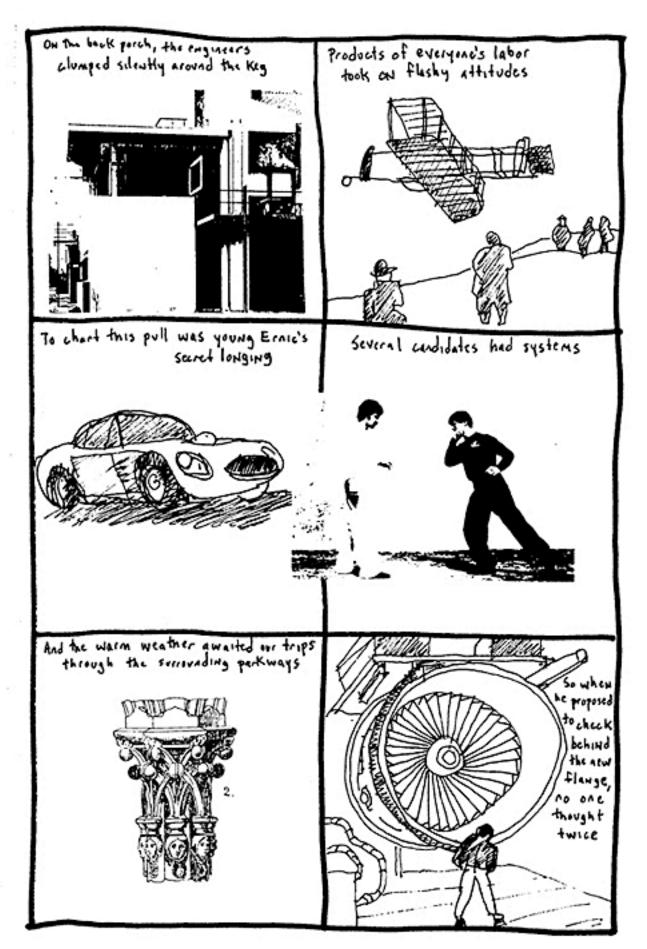




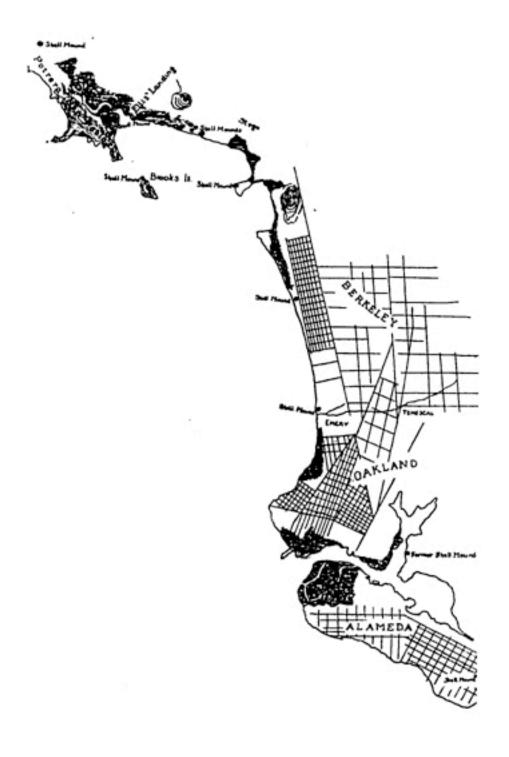
The garage is a place to start Our bost hours are often those at home Decals and wood give speak
My language like an alpine hike with a real swiss goode You haven't taken him down But sometimes the real heroes have to wait outside when you copture his leg

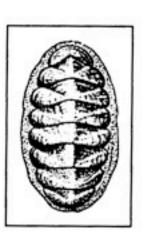






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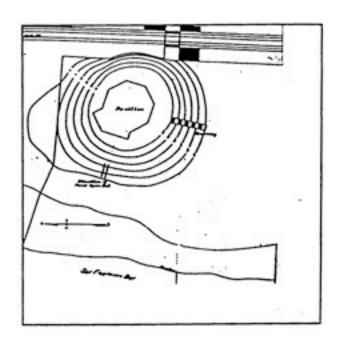








The ancient shellmound in Emeryville, California was probably produced over hundreds or even thousands of years. The Native Americans who lived in the marshy wetlands north of what is now the Bay Bridge were Some anthropologists prodigious fishermen. believe that shellmound size was taken as a relative measure of a tribe's fishing skill. Though we have little evidence to confirm such ideas, we do know, however, that the Emeryville mound grew to almost 80 yards in diameter (Rockman and Foster, 1977), making it the West Coast's largest shellmound south of Koyuk, Alaska.

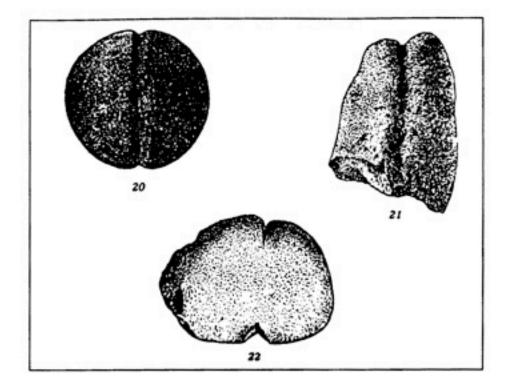


Most of us are interested in the world around us. Sometimes this world expands suddenly. In California, coastal sea-life must be managed with special care. Houses are placed firmly on bedrock. As a writer and an amateur scientist, I was especially concerned with these issues. When I discovered that the industrial building in which I have a studio rests on the northeastern edge of the mound, I spent several weeks reconsidering my writing's relation to the sedimented structures in my neighborhood. This led to a great deal of research and, eventually, the discoveries I published some years ago -- whose origins I describe more fully in what follows.



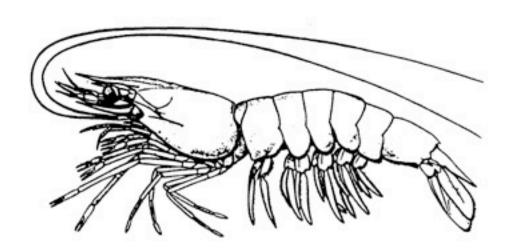


If you make keen observations and keep accurate notes, you may produce worthwhile contributions to science. In my own case, I began to suspect that the shellmound could incorporate almost any fact, suspending it among mollusks within layers of dirt. How, I wondered, could the nearby reef sustain the high levels and variety of mollusk production indicated by the mound's astonishing variety. But even stranger was the organization of samples within the mound, which had baffled even Ernest Uhle, the mound's most distinguished interpreter (Uhle, 1908).



The Western Maritime Library houses its East Bay archive in the small pontoon bungalow next to the famous Polynesian restaurant, Trader Vic's. The archive floats in the harbor a few hundred feet from the site of the mound, and the mysterious reef just beyond Doctor Gamward, the regional curator, it. provided me with excellent documentation of Emeryville's nautical heroes: I began transcribing audio interviews with sea captains.

As I left, Gamward reminded me that massive withdrawals of living substances of the sea by man, without any thought of replacement, may not be feasible. In Hank Schramm's Sportfishing Center I spoke to Cutter Stevens, who runs the bait and tackle section. Though never on a commercial vessel, Cutter had been a recreational fisherman on the Bay since the mid 1960s. Cutter was eager for me to see his collection of marine exot-With the first limpet, however, I ica. detected crudely enlarged mantle cavities and cut our visit short.

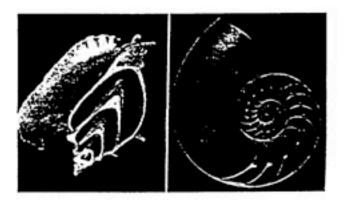


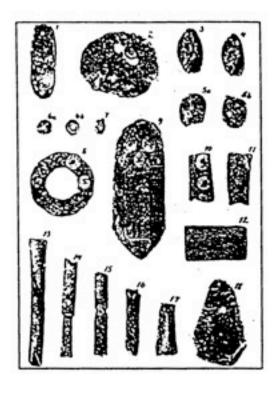
From my apartment I could look across Interstate 80 toward the land features of the In the foreground crews cove and marina. were retrofitting the overpass and reconstructing the on-ramps in both directions. Helicopters ferried metallic debris between sites. Coastal sea and plant life took on luminous import in the technical language of the reference books I had stolen from the research bungalow. Cuvier had seen animality burdened with disturbing and nocturnal powers. When I visited the site again, several joggers, noticing me taking measurements and loading samples into my van, stopped to speculate about winter tidal patterns.

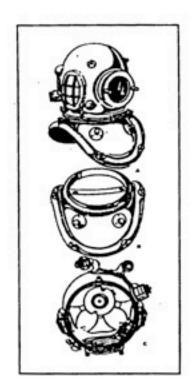
I changed the subject, locked my van and hurried into the bungalow. Inside, I was again disturbed by glances from an older bearded man who, not a student or professor, I had nonetheless seen at East Bay Libraries nearly every day for the past 7 years. matching shellmound tissue with reef samples, I consulted Hickman and Roberts' most recent Integrated Principles of Zoology, where I climbed their illustrated cladograms, separating, once again, bass, lizard, then mammary glanded horse and monkey. Hickman had been known as a renegade phylogenist, discovering anagrams within the patterns of animal names of his deeply eccentric phylogenic tree.



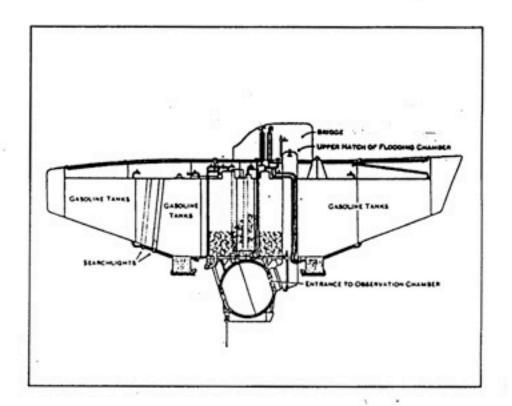




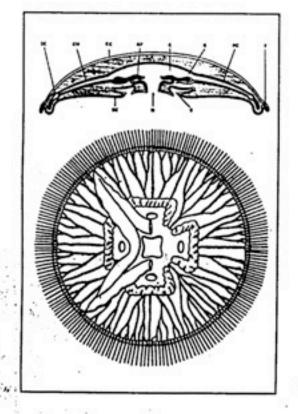


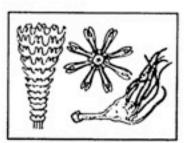


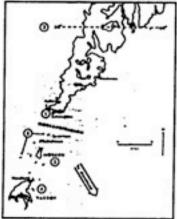
Unfortunately, the origin of most phyla is shrouded in the obscurity Precambrian times. It is often said that the nominal structures of phylogeny are inefficient and arbitrary (Hickman, 1980). not so sure. Many of the artists in my building had recently produced patternistic drawings that seemed to mine Native American animal catalogues. In Uhle's documentation of the mound, I found drawings that indicated oddly sorted 'name layers' with arrows. These field marks suggested an unpredictably regular proportion between excavation depths and the size of individual mollusks. reefs would have to be examined first hand. We left by boat the very next morning.



Sixty feet down, I entered a vertical field of pliant growths shaped like celery plants, each stalk a different hue. Here were the implausible illustrations of Lister's treatise on gastropoda. Surfaces pulsated in mineral folds. Above me I could see only the rhythmic movements of polyps, hovering at an indeterminate depth.















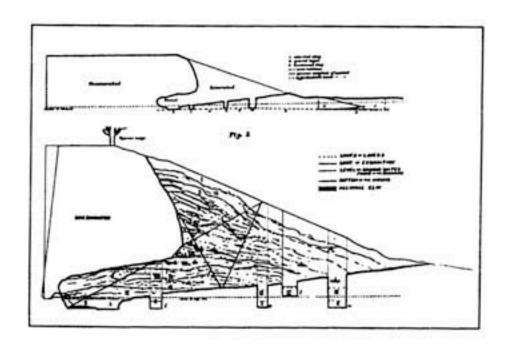


At the edge of my authorized pressure, 200 feet, I flirted with letting go. The reef stretched on in gaudy blues and oranges far beyond my sight. Clearly its mammoth production could sustain the most ambitious program of shell organization.

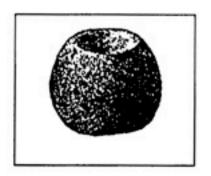


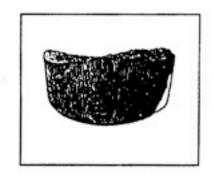






Lapon	Rabetra Contents	Rubbed* stone implements	Obsidiana	Plaked stone implements excepting statistion	Knife-like Implements	Rough antility implements
I	5.5	2[5]	2[2]		[6]	-[8]
II	10.6	24[10]	11[5]	6[10]	[13]	-[16]
ш	7.3	3[7]	4[4]	4[7]	[9]	-[11]
IV	4.2	4	2	4	[5]	-[6]
v	3.4	4[4]	1[1]	5(2)	[4]	-[5]
VI	1.5	-[1]	-[1]	3	[1]	-[2]
VII	1	-[1]	2[1]	6)	[1]	-[1]
AII.	2.2	-[2]	-[-]	9	1[2]).	[11]
AIII	7.4	1[7]	1[4]	24 } (28)	1[9] } 5	-[3]
IX	3.3	-[3]	1[2]	62	4[4]	5[5]
x	1.8	-[2]	-[1]	17)	-[2]	4[3]







Deer, Cerous sp. Elk, Cervus canadensis. Sea-otter, Enhydrus lutris. Beaver, Castor canadensis." Squirrel, Spermophilus ap. Rabbit, Lepus sp. Gopher, Thomomys talpoides. Raccoon, Prooyon loter. Wild cat, Lynx sp. Wolf, Canis sp. Bear, Ursus sp. Dog, Canis familiaris." (1) Seal, Phoos sp. Sea-lion. Whale. Perpoise! Canvasback Duck, Aythya vallisneria Goose 7 Cormorant, Phlaeocorax sp. Turtle. Skates, Thornbacks, and other fish

