GENTLE PERSUASION: THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL AND SOUTHEASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY

Michael J. O'Brien and R. Lee Lyman

ABSTRACT

One of the less documented aspects of Americanist archaeology is the role played by a federally sponsored organization in raising the standards of field work and reporting in the eastern United States during the 1920s and early 1930s. That organization, known as the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, was a standing body within the National Research Council, itself an organization created to advise the nation on matters of science and technology. The committee was established to work with the eastern states in adopting a uniform set of procedures that would elevate the level at which museums and historical societies had been working since the late nineteenth century. From its inception the committee, comprised both nonprofessionals as well as professionals, and for over a decade and a half it was able to walk a fine line between outright condemnation of the activities of nonprofessionals and official sanction of their efforts. Through constant correspondence, on-site visits, and public conferences, the committee was able to channel the energies of interested nonprofessionals into activities that often were constructive rather than destructive. An outstanding example of the committee's efforts was the Conference on Southern Pre-History, known colloquially as the Birmingham Conference, which took place in December 1932. That meeting set a course of action for southeastern archaeology that is still being followed in uninterrupted form.

INTRODUCTION

Alabama has a long and rich archaeological tradition, dating well back into the nineteenth century. Even among those of us with little more that a rudimentary knowledge of Alabama prehistory, it is well known that the state has been witness to countless archaeological projects that have contributed to a better understanding of southeastern prehistory. Using 1881 as an arbitrary beginning date– the year the Division of Mound Exploration was founded within the federal Bureau of (American) Ethnology– Alabama's archaeological record has received continuous attention from those with an interest in the past. Field parties working under the direction of Cyrus Thomas, the director of the mound-exploration division, worked at 11 sites in Ala-

bama in the 1880s (Thomas 1894:283-292), and early in the twentieth century Clarence B. Moore conducted extensive excavations at Moundville, on the Black Warrior River (Moore 1905; see also Knight 1996). These efforts, large for their times, later were dwarfed by the massive projects sponsored by the Civil Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration that were carried out in the Tennessee Valley Authority basins in the 1930s (Webb 1939; Webb and DeJarnette 1942; Webb and Wilder 1951). Through the work of state institutions such as the Alabama Museum of Natural History, there emerged by the early 1940s a reasonable sketch of the prehistoric and early historical-period occupation of the state.

One organization that played a seminal role in Alabama archaeology was the Alabama Anthropological Society, founded in May 1909 (Brannon 1921) and headquartered in Montgomery. In its objectives and scope, it was not much different from other state organizations similarly titled (O'Brien 1996; O'Brien and Lyman n.d.). Its membership comprised learned individuals from various walks of life, all brought together out of a desire to know more about the early history of their state. The first president of the society was Thomas M. Owen, founder and director of the state Department of Archives and History–a man of obvious talents but with little practical archaeological experience. He was joined on the founder's board by two chemists, a meteorologist, a teacher, and a hardware merchant. The organization was active throughout the state, issuing its first handbook–a list of known artifact collectors–in 1910 and its second–an updated list of collectors and a compilation of known archaeological sites–in 1920. That year the society also began issuing a mimeographed bulletin titled *Arrow Points*.

Owen was succeeded as president by Peter A. Brannon, who in a 1921 issue of *American Anthropologist* proudly announced publication of a souvenir issue of *Arrow Points* to commemorate the twelfth anniversary of the society:

> The May number . . . caries as a supplement a map of twelve counties, showing the location of the mound and town sites therein, as well as topographical data necessary for the location of them. Another feature is the initial article of a survey of Montgomery County, to show the mound and town sites in that county. Each of the 44 located mounds and some ten or more unnamed town sites will be individually written up and illustrated with photographs. It is proposed to run this as a

> feature and gradually cover every county in the State. (Brannon 1921:491)

Members of the Alabama Anthropological Society apparently were avid artifact collectors and rapidly assembled several large collections:

> Since the organization of the Society its members have brought together as a Society collection a very representative group of archaeological objects, now on display in the State Museum, and some six of the members have large individual collections which will eventually be placed therewith. There are in the six collections more than 75,000 objects, and there have been added to the collections of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History more than 50,000 through the Society's work. (Brannon 1921:492)

This kind of activity–prompted by an intellectual curiosity about the past resulting in a desire to acquire the material remains of past peoples–was not limited to Alabama but rather was commonplace. Most larger eastern cities such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia had long had societies dedicated to the study of natural history, their roots going back to the opening decades of the nineteenth century and earlier, and by the 1860s similar organizations had sprung up in midwestern cities such as Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City. Southern cities soon followed suit. At least for a few hours every other week or once a month, "gentlemen in the various professions and departments of trade who manage to find time for some scientific and literary recreation" (*Kansas City Review of Science* III:61) could join together to create an atmosphere in which to catch up on the latest news carried in scholarly journals, exchange papers they had read, examine specimens brought in by other members, and expound on whatever topic had been chosen for an evening's discussion.

Perusal of the minutes of such meetings indicates that favorite topics included history, ethnology, and archaeology–topics that were of such appeal that societies of a more generalized nature often evolved over time into groups that focused strictly on one or more of them. By 1910 historical societies or hybrid historical-archaeological societies had been established in most midwestern and southern states. To keep members' interest, societies, often in conjunction with a local museum, sponsored field-work opportunities, which almost always entailed excavation. The problem was that there were few if any members qualified to do archaeology, nor were there trained experts at the local museums, colleges, and universities to provide assistance. In the

opening decades of the twentieth century, few universities–none in the South–granted Ph.D.s in anthropology, and those that did–Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, Columbia, Chicago, and California–tended to place their graduated either in other Ph.D.-granting universities or in the federal government. Thus the societies were left more or less to fend for themselves, and their members took to the field in droves to search for artifacts with which to line the shelves of local museums, historical societies, and their personal curio cabinets. To professional archaeologists things were beginning to get out of hand, and in the late teens they set about to head off this perceived threat to the nation's archaeological resources. The vehicle they chose was a committee that operated under the umbrella of the National Research Council: the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys.

SETTING THE STANDARDS[1]

The National Research Council was created in 1916 out of a growing concern that the United States was ill-prepared to enter a war into which it was inexorably being pulled. The council's express purpose was to assist the National Academy of Sciences, which had been signed into existence by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863, in advancing knowledge and advising the federal government on matters of science and technology. From inception the academy had undertaken a wide variety of studies for different branches of government, but by the second decade of the twentieth century it was obvious that the body was too small to deal effectively with the exponential growth of science and technology taking place not only in the United States but also in Europe and Russia. Members of the academy saw this scientific and technological explosion as a potential threat to the security of the United States and urged President Woodrow Wilson to create a body that could broaden the scope of the National Academy of Sciences and coordinate efforts among government, industrial, and educational organizations to strengthen not only national defense but the security of American industry as well (Cochrane 1978). After the war, the National Research Council was made a permanent body when President Wilson signed Executive Order No. 2859 on May 11, 1918.

This was how Vernon L. Kellogg, permanent secretary of the council saw its charter:

> The council is neither a large operating scientific laboratory nor a repository of large funds to be given away to s[illegible]tered scientific workers or institutions. It is rather an organization which, while clearly recognizing the unique value of individual work, hopes especially to help bring together scattered work and workers and to assist in coordinating in some measure scientific attack in America on large problems in any and all lines of scientific activity, especially, perhaps, on those problems which depend for successful solution on the cooperation of several or many workers and laboratories, either within the realms of a single science or representing different realms in which various parts of a single problem may lie. It particularly intends not to duplicate or in the slightest degree to interfere with work already under way; to such work it only hopes to offer encouragement and support where needed and possible to be given. It hopes to help maintain the morale of devoted isolated investigators and to stimulate renewed effort among groups willing but halted by obstacles. (National Research Council 1921:6).

The council until 1943 was divided into two broad sections, one interacting with and advising governmental bodies and the other working directly with specific scientific disciplines. Each section was subdivided into divisions, with the membership comprising representatives of scientific societies and various government departments. One division on the scientific side was the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, which during its lifetime oversaw the creation of fifty-five committees, each charged with specific tasks dictated by members of the division's executive board. One of the first committees created within the division was the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys in 1920. Clark Wissler, curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City and chairman of the division, reported on the formation of the committee:

> A committee was appointed to encourage and assist the several States in the organization of State archaeological surveys similar to the surveys conducted by the States of Ohio, New York, and Wisconsin. The chairman of this committee is R.B. Dixon, of Harvard University. The plan contemplates the coordination of all the agencies within those States, enlisting the cooperation of local students and interested citizens so that an effective appeal may be made to the various State legislatures for

> special appropriations for these surveys. (National Research Council 1921:53)

Wissler assumed the committee chairmanship upon the resignation of Dixon in 1921 and expanded the committee to seven members a year later and, to obtain better geographic coverage, to eleven members in 1924. Alabama's Peter Brannon was one of those selected for membership, and he served until 1937, when the committee was disbanded.

Although the impetus for forming the committee was the increasingly frequent destruction of archaeological sites occurring across the eastern United States, the committee soon realized that the magnitude of the problem was unknown because of a lack of baseline data. In other words, site surveys had never been conducted in most states, and hence there was no way to gauge the percentage of sites being destroyed. Wissler was determined to see surveys comparable to those in Ohio, New York, and Wisconsin established in all the eastern and midwestern states. The best means of accomplishing that objective was through an arm of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, which, following Kellogg's vision, would act as both an organizing body and a clearing house for information.

Yearly reports of state surveys appeared in the *American Anthropologist*, and the number of pages grew steadily from 1922, the first year the summaries appeared, until 1932, the final year, when the summary reached 29 pages. Some of the later summaries also appeared in various volumes of the *Pan American Union Bulletin*. Summaries were prepared by contributing correspondents from whichever state organization was sponsoring the work. Twelve states–Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, and Wisconsin–plus New England were represented in the first set of summaries, which were for work carried out in 1921. Brannon, writing on behalf of the Alabama Anthropological Society, stated that

> It is the purpose of the Society gradually to map every section of the State, to visit and survey every known site, when many others will be located, to record before it is too late the observations of all living persons in the State on its aboriginal people and customs. As one feature of its historical activities, each county in the State is being surveyed

> and studied for the purpose of recording all present-day places and names which show in their etymology an aboriginal suggestion.
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> One feature of the work for 1922 is a reconnaissance of Russell and Lee Counties in the eastern part of the State, in old Creek country, at which time every school in the two counties will be visited, lectures will be given, and a collection of archaeological objects will be shown. A photograph of every mound and town site in each county will be made, and information gathered for the purpose of adding to the known history of the county as it applies to aboriginal times and conditions. (Wissler 1922:233-234)

Brannon's summary was typical of those for other states, and if one were to read only what was published, it might sound as if the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys was making significant inroads into establishing statewide surveys across the Midwest and East, but all was not what it seemed. For example, although Nebraska and Kansas submitted summaries for 1921, Wissler made it clear in a letter to C.E. Seashore, who had succeeded Wissler as chairman of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, that all was not well: "The situation in Nebraska is such as to render inadvisable any effort to launch a survey. The organizations that should be interested in the project are not working in harmony, chiefly because of the questionable scientific character of some of the men . . . There is considerable interest in the subject in Kansas, but no live leadership at present."[2]

In 1923 Wissler's committee began developing a plan for surveys in the Mississippi Valley, which led to the circulation of a pamphlet on suggestions regarding the aims and methods of statewide surveys (Wissler et al. 1923). Publication of this pamphlet was subsidized by the State Historical Society of Iowa. Interestingly, the secondary message of the pamphlet was that all work should be done by or under the supervision of professionally trained individuals. Wissler retired as chairman in July 1924 and was replaced by A.V. Kidder, a Harvard-trained archaeologist working in the Southwest under the aegis of Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. Kidder resigned his position as chairman of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys in the fall of 1927, and Carl E. Guthe of the University of Michigan succeeded him. Under his chairmanship, which lasted until 1937, the committee stabilized and became the organizing force for which it had been designed. Guthe went to great lengths to increase the effectiveness of the committee in its relations with

nonprofessionals, even taking an extended trip in the summer of 1928 to visit coordinating offices in fifteen states in the Mississippi Valley. He later recalled, "Impressed by the attitudes and accomplishments of these earnest amateurs, I felt they deserved to be helped rather than censured" (Guthe 1967:434). Perhaps, but he did not mince words in the report that summarized what he found during his trip. For example, with respect to Arkansas he stated that archaeology there was "the hobby of [Samuel C.] Dellinger, a biologist at the State University who has seen fit to leave our letters unanswered . . . . The 'Arkansas Museum of Natural History and Antiquities' is a newly formed group, with a big paper organization. The situation here is pathetic because of the well-intentioned but blissfully ignorant enthusiasm of the promoters. A quantity of extremely obvious frauds have been purchased by them."[3] Alabama also had its problems:

> The long sustained scientific activity of the Alabama Anthropological Society is known to the committee members. A renewed activity following a few years of depression has begun. Relations between this Society and the State Department of Archives and History are strained, but the former seems to be the stronger of the two groups. The situation needs diplomacy and informal encouragement. The Birmingham Public Library has recently entered the museum field with very modern and interesting ideals. It is strongly supported and its influence will increase. It may do archaeological field work.

Despite the decade-long effort of the committee to foster cooperation among various state organizations and to channel local energies into less commercially motivated activities, the outlook was still bleak in 1929, as Guthe (1967:435) recalled almost four decades later:

> In 1929 . . . archaeological explorations were under way in about half of the states of the Union, many of them carried out by lay students of the subject. The lack of communication between groups was enormous. State political boundaries served as corral fences, preventing archaeologists in one state from communicating with their colleagues in adjacent and neighboring states. Nor were the channels of communication between the professional and the serious-minded laymen as broad and open as they should have been.

> The professionals were outspoken in their condemnation of Indian-relic collectors and dealers who destroyed irreplaceable archaeological evidence . . . Equally objectionable, because of the resulting destruction of evidence, were the activities of well-intentioned amateurs who did not understand the dangers of careless excavation and neglected to keep adequate records.

The only possible solution to the problem resided where it had for the previous decade: "the cultivation and friendly education of another type of amateur," namely, the "[s]erious-minded, thoughtful collectors, [who,] intrigued by the conditions and associations under which the relics were found, sought information on their origins and functions by consulting libraries, fellow collectors, and, when possible, professional archaeologists" (Guthe 1967:435). By 1929 this approach had paid dividends but certainly not big ones. How could the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys change the situation? Their answer was to hold a large conference and attack the issue head on. Such a Meeting was held in St. Louis on May 17-18, 1929. Fifty-three people, comprising a mix of professional archaeologists and avocationalists, attended the two-day conference (National Research Council 1929). In looking through the conference proceedings, one is struck by the disparity of topics that were addressed. As one might expect, given the ink that had been spilled up to that point, numerous presenters spoke of the necessity of preserving sites for the future of archaeological science. There also were presentations that dealt with the nonscientific advantages that accrued from preservation, such as increased tourism. Several presenters, including Arthur C. Parker of the New York State Museum, railed against unskilled collectors and the effect they were having on the archaeological record:

> The relic-hunter digs only to destroy and his recoveries are often abortive things with undetermined parentage . . . Whether the relic-hunter will continue to ruin the field, or whether state-supported agencies shall preserve the field and draw from it the information that an enlightened age demands, depends very largely upon the citizens of each state; but it depends most of all upon how thoroughly archaeologists who understand the importance of their quest are able to present it to the public. Archaeology must advertise and it must seek thereby to stimulate such a desire to know more of prehistory that support will follow. (Parker 1929:37-38)

It was one thing to say that states should take control of preserving their archaeological resources, but there was a catch: *Which* organization within a state was best suited to carry out a survey and to spearhead preservation efforts? Parker (1929:34) pointed out that it "matters little what institution or agency promotes the survey so long as its operating force is composed of trained archaeologists familiar with the problems to be met or capable of meeting these problems when they occur." To him the ideal institution, "other things being equal, is a state museum, for then there will be a centralized repository for the specimens, and at least a certain amount of clerical and professional help." He then noted–an understatement if there ever was one–that "A specially constituted commission cooperating with local groups may have difficulty in meeting the problem of distributing the recoveries, especially when it has invited the aid of numerous local historical and scientific societies" (Parker 1929:34-35). In other words, if a loose amalgam of persons constitutes the committee, how are they going to maintain control of the artifacts that result from field exercises, especially when their field crews consist of collectors? Even when a solid organization such as a state museum acts as the coordinating body, local organizations and municipalities will want to maintain control over artifacts, and as Parker noted, the organizing body is going to have to educate them to the dangers in so doing.

In closing the St. Louis meeting, Fay-Cooper Cole of the University of Chicago expressed the feeling that "we will all leave here, much more assured of the future of archaeology than when we came here two days ago" (Cole 1929:112). There may have been reason for such optimism, but it is apparent that the field was still plagued with difficulties. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the Southeast, where state and local institutions for the most part were working in an intellectual vacuum. Compared to the Northeast, and to a lesser degree the Midwest, there was a dearth of trained archaeologists, so there was little hope of introducing current methodological advances to the amateur societies that seemed to crop up everywhere. This situation did not escape the notice of professional archaeologists working in other regions.

It was into these intellectually shallow waters of southeastern archaeology that the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys waded in 1932 when it hosted its second regional meeting designed to facilitate communication among archaeologists. Organizers, again led by Guthe, were careful not to give the impression that a group of outsiders, all from the North, was telling Southerners not only how to do archaeology but also how to organize a meeting. Neil Judd expressed this concern to Guthe in a letter written in September 1932: "As you well know, the South is most conserva-

tive and sectional in its attitude; in general it resents northern advice and aid however altruistic" (cited in Lyon 1996:54).

The conference, which was, as Jon Gibson (1982:258) pointed out, "without a doubt one of the most influential professional meetings ever held on Southeastern archaeology," convened at the Hotel Tutwiler in Birmingham, Alabama, on December 18, 1932, and lasted for three days. The report that was issued after the meeting carried the text of the papers presented, along with comments made by session chairmen. That report makes it obvious that Guthe took Judd's concern seriously when he drew up the program, because although the major papers were by nationally recognized archaeologists and anthropologists from northern institutions–in addition to Guthe, Judd, Wissler, and Cole, presenters were Ralph Linton of the University of Wisconsin, Warren K. Moorehead of Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, and John R. Swanton, Matthew W. Stirling, and William Duncan Strong of the Bureau of American Ethnology–their papers were interspersed among summaries of the archaeological records of individual states, presented for the most part by Southerners familiar with those records. Peter Brannon chaired the session "Recent Field Work in Southern Archaeology," in which Samuel C. Dellinger of the University of Arkansas spoke on Arkansas, Walter B. Jones of the Alabama Museum of Natural History spoke on Moundville cultures, Charles K. Peacock of the East Tennessee Archaeological Society spoke on Tennessee, and James E. Pearce of the University of Texas spoke on eastern Texas. In addition, Winslow Walker of the Bureau of American Ethnology spoke on Louisiana, and Henry B. Collins of the U.S. National Museum spoke on Mississippi.

Although it carried no by-line, the short introduction to the conference volume was authored by Guthe. In it he stated the purpose of the meeting:

> The Conference on Southern Pre-History . . . was called for the purposes of reviewing the available information on the pre-history of the southeastern states, discussing the best methods of approach to archaeology in this region, and to its general problems, and the developing of closer cooperation through the personal contacts of the members of the conference. During the past few years, the interest in Indian pre-history of the lower Mississippi Valley and the southern Atlantic states has been increasing steadily, and a number of institutions have undertaken research work in this field. Developments from studies of the same period

> in the northern part of the Mississippi Valley and from work on certain Southwestern problems indicate that as the knowledge of the pre-historic cultures of the southeast increases, the problems of the neighboring areas will be more clearly understood. It was for the purpose of fostering more rapid increase of this knowledge that this conference of experts in the study of pre-history from all over the United States was called to meet with interested students of the South. (Guthe 1932:1)

Guthe selected his words carefully because he really was saying that nowhere in the Southeast were approaches that routinely were employed in the Southwest being incorporated into field work and analysis. Part of the problem lay in the attraction the Southwest had long held for prehistorians–it literally had drained archaeological brainpower into that region at the expense of other regions (O'Brien and Lyman 1999c)–and part of it lay in the fact that southern universities were not producing students trained in archaeology. In some states the majority of work was undertaken by museums, often in conjunction with local archaeological societies, but in other states, amateur-based societies were left to their own devices. In some case the quality of work was credible for the time period, but in others it was deplorable.

In language a bit stronger that Guthe's, Collins, who was then assistant curator in the ethnology division of the National Museum, summed up the state of affairs in the Southeast. He was speaking specifically of one state, but his remarks were applicable to the region as a whole: "Although Mississippi is rich in aboriginal remains and a considerable number of these have been investigated, it cannot be said that the work has clarified to any great extent the archaeological problems involved. The early investigators, in accordance with the unfortunate tendency of the time, too often proceeded on the assumption that the accumulation of specimens was an end in itself rather than a means toward the elucidation of archaeological problems" (Collins 1932:38).

Ensuring that everyone was on the same page meant that regional experts–the ones actually doing much of the work in the Southeast–either were trained in proper procedure or, failing that, at least were made aware of what proper procedure was. To that end, the last day of the conference was dedicated to three topics–"exploration and excavation," "laboratory and museum work," and "comparative research and publication"–with the morning devoted to presentations by Cole, Judd, and Wissler and the afternoon to discussions led by Moorehead, Strong, and William S. Webb of the

University of Kentucky, who was soon to head much of the federal-relief archaeology that took place in the South (Griffin 1974, Haag 1985, Lyon 1996). The sessions were geared toward imparting information on the proper methods of excavating a site, of analyzing artifacts, of preserving those artifacts, and of presenting the results of the work. These were critical topics to members of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, as evidenced by their publishing the suggestions on field methods early in the history of the committee (Wissler et al. 1923).

Publication by the committee of a second pamphlet on field methods (National Research Council 1930), which we reproduce in full in Appendix I, took place only two years before the Conference on Southern Pre-History. That pamphlet, titled "Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists," laid out in plain language why it was important not only to excavate properly but to preserve the materials that were excavated. It also discussed technical matters such as how to set up a grid and how to begin excavating a unit. It was clear, however, that the authors of the report were not condoning amateur excavations: "*You are urged not to excavate without* [instruction from professionals] *unless it becomes necessary to save the record of a site which is about to be destroyed*" (National Research Council 1930:8; emphasis in original).

The brief summary of excavation techniques that appeared in the guide leaflet was amplified during the Birmingham Conference by Cole, who was responsible for providing field training for many midwestern archaeologists through the University of Chicago. He focused on a procedure we elsewhere (Lyman and O'Brien 1999) refer to as the bread-loaf technique, a name derived from Gordon R. Willey's (1936) notation that excavating in such a manner was like slicing a loaf of bread:

> If [the site] is a mound it is staked out in squares (five foot squares are usually most convenient). A trench is started at right angles to the axis of the mound and is carried down at least two feet below the base. The face of the trench is now carried forward into the mound itself by cutting thin strips from top to bottom. At the same time the top is cut back horizontally for the distance of a foot or more. If this procedure is followed it is possible to see successive humus layers as well as to note all evidences of intrusions . . . .
>
> A village is best uncovered by a series of trenches much like those used in mound work. A cut is made down to undisturbed soil and

> the earth is thrown backward as the excavation proceeds. Horizontal and vertical cutting should be employed in hopes of revealing successive periods of occupancy. The worker should never come in from the top. He should never be on top of his trench, otherwise lines of stratification will almost certainly be lost. (Cole 1932:76,78)

This method has a long history in Americanist archaeology, dating back to the late nineteenth century (Lyman and O'Brien 1999), but is quite evident from reading the literature that what Cole had to say in 1932 must have appeared revolutionary to most southeastern archaeologist.

It is unclear how much of a result the methodological presentations by Cole, Judd, Strong, and others actually had on southeastern archaeology, but the same cannot be said of some of the papers presented in the sessions of December 19, especially those by Walker on Louisiana, Swanton on southeastern Indian groups, and Collins on Mississippi. The intellectual tradition of the Southeast was in large part set in motion by what they had to say.

WINSLOW WALKER AND LOUISIANA PREHISTORY

Walker's point was simple: Everything that an archaeologist wanted to do necessarily hinged on the ability to order remains chronologically. By 1932 seriation and superposition had been used as ordering methods in the American Southwest for almost two decades, but this was not the case in the Southeast. In fact, seriation never caught on there, despite statements to the contrary (e.g., Ford 1962), and it would be stratigraphic excavation and the accompanying use of sherds as index markers that formed the backbone of archaeological dating (O'Brien and Lyman 1998, 1999b; O'Brien et al. 2000). Walker (1932:48), however, had a different strategy in mind when he noted that "it is futile to attempt a classification of pre-historic mound cultures in the lower Mississippi Valley until we know more definitely whether or not they have any connection with the principal [historical] tribes found there . . . Some of these Indians we know were builders of mounds, but just which ones, and through what stages of development they may have passed, are problems requiring further attention."

The link between peoples living during the prehistoric period and those occupying the region during historical times was what Walker referred to as the "protohistoric" period–a temporal unit about which, Walker (1932:48) admitted, "we are completely in the dark archaeologically." How did one deal with the protohistoric period? Walker (1932:48) had the answer–one that had long been apparent to archaeologists from the Bureau of American Ethnology and the National Museum who were working in the Southeast: "The clue to this phase is the identification of sites visited by the Spaniards in 1542 and by the French in 1682. Special investigations should be made of all relics purporting to date back to either of these periods of exploration." Why? Because they gave the archaeologist a chronological anchor point–a point of known time in the past as opposed to a free-floating one. This is what bureau chief Matthew Stirling (1929:25) was getting at when he made the following comments at the first conference sponsored by the National Research Council:

> It is possible to determine rather definitely the dates of the introduction of certain types of articles of European manufacture which may have been found in an archaeological site. We know when and where certain varieties of trade beads were made; we know rather definitely the period during which certain smoking pipes were manufactured and introduced as trade articles among the Indians, and there are innumerable other examples of the same sort which may aid greatly in giving us something definite from which to project backwards a chronological sequence.

Why, Stirling asked, should an archaeologist be depressed upon discovering a silver ornament or a string of glass beads alongside articles of native origin? To the contrary, "There is no justification for such a reaction, and in most instances the archaeologist should feel rather a sense of elation. Where an association of this sort is discovered it becomes possible by a process of overlapping to carry a native culture throughout its successive stages of development well back into the prehistoric period" (Stirling 1929:25).

Stirling was advocating what his Smithsonian colleague Waldo Wedel (1938) a decade later would refer to as the *direct historical approach.* No one can legitimately argue with the logic of the approach, which was not new in the 1930s but had been the strategy adopted in the 1880s by John Wesley Powell and Cyrus Thomas (1894) for the Division of Mound Exploration in its quest to destroy the myth that a race of people separate from Native Americans had constructed the thousands of

mounds evident across the eastern United States: First, document similarities in cultural materials between those evident from ethnographic and ethnohistorical research and those evident archaeologically. Second, assume similar materials are temporally and ethnically related and construct a continuous thread, or cultural lineage, from the past to the present (Lyman and O'Brien 2000; O'Brien and Lyman 1999a, 1999c, 2000).

There are two critical aspects of the direct historical approach. First, it provides "a fixed datum point to which sequences may be tied" (Steward 1942:337). That is, it provides a chronological anchor in the historical period to which archaeological materials of otherwise unknown relative age can be linked. Second, the more similar prehistoric materials are to the historically documented materials, the more recent they are; conversely, materials that are less similar to historically documented materials come from further back in time. Without a chronological anchor, sequences cannot be established, and assemblages of artifacts have the unsavory characteristic of floating in time and thus being of minimal utility in determining the development of historically documented cultures. This is the point Stirling made at the St. Louis Conference in 1929, and it was the same point made by Neil Judd, curator of archaeology in the National Museum, in a paper published in the *American Anthropologist* that same year. Judd (1929) lamented that archaeologists knew little about the late prehistoric remains of over two hundred historically known tribes and that a "relative chronology for each culture area is one of the surpassing needs of archaeology in the United States today" (Judd 1929:418).

JOHN R. SWANTON AND SOUTHEASTERN ETHNOHISTORY

The success that Walker and other archaeologists working in the Southeast had in applying the direct historical approach was based in large part on the work of John R. Swanton, a Harvard-trained archaeologist-turned-ethnologist who spent his career with the Bureau of American Ethnology. Swanton's early work was on North American Indian languages, and although he continued to produce linguistical texts throughout his career (e.g, Dorsey and Swanton 1912; Gatschet and Swanton 1932; Swanton 1919, 1940; Thomas and Swanton 1911), he became better known for his ethnohistorical work, especially as it related to the route Hernán De Soto took during his southeastern entrada (Swanton 1932a, 1939, 1952). Swanton was an archaeologist's dream–someone who both spoke the language and was sympathetic to the goals

of prehistory. Even more important, Swanton was someone who could place individual Indian groups in particular places at particular times. This was no small feat in the Southeast, where Indian tribes had experienced centuries of contact with a succession of white groups–Spanish, French, British, and American–the result of which was the constant movement of aboriginal groups from one locality to another. It took someone like Swanton, who A.L. Kroeber (1940:3) characterized as "exhibit[ing] a streak of historical genius," to sift through the myriad historical documents of the Southeast and to figure out where particular aboriginal groups were at different times in the past.

Swanton addressed the broad issue of southeastern prehistory in two papers he presented in Birmingham, one titled "Southeastern Indians of History" and the other "The Relation of the Southeast to General Culture Problems of American Pre-History." Neither was particularly earth-shaking but rather a synopsis of what he had been advocating to archaeologists for years: Use the ethnohistorical record as a starting point–the chronological anchor– for the reconstruction of prehistory in the Southeast. For example, he concluded the latter paper with the following statement: "[I]t is important beyond all else for you archaeologists to tie your discoveries onto known tribes, after having done which you may trace them back into the mysterious past as far as you will, and your work will have more interest and more meaning for you and for us all" (Swanton 1932b:74).

HENRY B. COLLINS AND SOUTHEASTERN CULTURE HISTORY

Collins (1932:37) paid homage to Swanton in his paper on historical-period sites in Mississippi: "Our knowledge of the ethnology of the Mississippi Indians is based almost entirely upon the work of Dr. John R. Swanton, whose careful researches have thrown much light on the linguistic and cultural affinities of the Muskhogean and other southern stocks." However, Collins (1932:37-38) also noted that "There yet remains the task of determining the limits of various groups in pre-historic times [and] their relations one to another and to other southeastern groups, an undertaking that as yet has been hardly begun." Collins (1932:38) believed the most immediate problem facing southeastern archaeologists was the lack of a "basis for chronology", and he, like his colleagues at the National Museum and Bureau of American Ethnology, advocated using the direct historical approach. Collins had done the same in an earlier paper on Choctaw village sites in Mississippi, in which he stressed how important it was for Southern archaeologists "to seize upon every available source of tribal identi-

fication of the cultures represented, and to accomplish this end thee is probably no safer beginning than to located the historic Indian village sites and to study their type of cultural remains for comparison with other sites of unknown age" (Collins 1927:259-260).

By the time of the Birmingham Conference, Collins was convinced that of all the "available source[s] of tribal identification," pottery held the most hope for developing chronological ordering:

> [P]otsherds are of decided value of chronological determinants and, if present in sufficient quantities to show the entire pottery range of the site, are of far more significance than a number of complete vessels which might not happen to show such a range. In fact, the obliterating effect of white civilization has reached such a point that at many aboriginal sites potsherds are the only really useful material that the archaeologist is able to salvage. The lowly potsherd thus seems destined to bear much of the weight of the chronology that we all hope may sometime be established for Southern archaeology. (Collins 1932:38)

As we discuss in detail elsewhere (O'Brien and Lyman 1998, 1999b, 1999c), Collins (1927) also believed that a pottery type designated an ethnic group such as a tribe, that ethnic groups had histories, and that a pottery type designated a specific period in the history of an ethnic group. These were common assumptions among Southwesternists (Lyman et al. 1997), but they were novel thoughts by someone working in the Southeast. In short, they provided the warrant for application of the direct historical approach (Lyman and O'Brien 2000).

Of all the federal archaeologists working in the Southeast, Collins would have the most significant and lasting impact, though his seminal role often is overlooked. His work in Louisiana and Mississippi during the 1920s is of particular interest because of the impact it had on succeeding generations of archaeologists–an intellectual genealogy that can be traced from Collins through James A. Ford, who from the late 1930s to the middle 1950s was a dominant force in southeastern archaeology. Collins trained Ford in the late 1920s when the latter was still a high-school student, and Ford later used what he learned, as he set about the arduous task of carving up prehistoric time in the lower Mississippi River valley (O'Brien and Lyman 1998, 1999b; O'Brien et al. 2000).

THE LEGACY OF THE CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN PRE-HISTORY

In his remarks that opened the second day of the conference, Linton (1932:3) stated explicitly the research questions that would soon guide much of the southeastern archaeology: "The worker in any of the surrounding regions finds evidences not merely of diffusion, but of actual migrations coming into his particular area from the southeast, but until the history of that region is better known, it is impossible for him to tell when such migrants left the southeast, what part of it they came from, what their cultural or racial affiliations may have been, or how they are linked to other cultures marginal to the same area."

Stirling (1932:20-21) reiterated Linton's remarks, thereby reinforcing them in the minds of those in attendance. He also specified the procedure for addressing the issues Linton raised: "The first problem in developing the archaeology of the given locality is to isolate the known historic cultures leaving a residue of unknown prehistoric, should such exist. Both vertical and horizontal stratigraphy can usually be applied . . . . From our knowledge of the pottery used by the historic tribes, many significant hints are offered regarding pre-historic movements of peoples." This procedure was nothing more than the direct historical approach. Stirling (1932:22) also offered the important caution that "the inter-relationship of cultures [is] a flow rather than a series of static jumps." The significance of that caution was lost not only on archaeologists working in the Southeast but on those working in the Americas generally (Lyman and O'Brien 1997; Lyman et al. 1997; O'Brien and Lyman 1998, 2000).

Collins (1932:37) indicated, for example, that one could determine "the limits of the various [ethnic or tribal] groups in pre-historic times," and he stated that typological differences in pottery denoted "cultural differences" (Collins 1932:40). This was, in short, a way of saying that his understanding of the archaeological record was derived from ethnological theory and ethnographic data. Tribes were viewed as discrete chunks of humanity that bore distinct cultural traits and had particular locations in time and space. Assuming that it was possible to identify cultures in the archaeological record (usually on the basis of some typologically distinctive artifacts), when such an identification was made, each prehistoric culture must, it was thought, represent a discontinuous ethnic unit such as a tribe. This way of thinking was simply the notion of culture areas, popularized in the earlier work of Clark Wissler (1914, 1916, 1917, 1923, 1924) and having its roots in the culture-classification work of Otis

T. Mason (1896), in Cyrus Thomas's (1894) regional groupings of mound forms, and in William Henry Holmes's (1886, 1903) regional groupings of pottery. This approach was already coming under close scrutiny by several midwestern archaeologists, and its replacement would form the central focus of the third regional conference organized by the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, which was held in Indianapolis in 1935 (O'Brien and Lyman n.d.).

With the benefit of hindsight, the parallels between the concept of biological species and the concept of prehistoric cultures are remarkable (Lyman and O'Brien 1997, Lyman et al. 1997). The analytical problem is one of identifying the historically antecedent species or cultures that were also ancestral (in an evolutionary sense) to historically or ethnohistorically documented species or cultures, respectively. In other words, histories of cultures were determined between about 1910 and 1970 in precisely the same sense that prehistoric *Homo erectus* is today conceived to have evolved into *Homo sapiens*. The procedure for determining these histories was introduced in the Southeast so that culture history could be written there as it had elsewhere in the Americas.

The procedure focused on *homologous* similarity, or similarity resulting from shared ancestry. Thus, for example, Frank Setzler's (1934) work at Marksville, Louisiana, resulted in the conclusion that the people who occupied that site were culturally and biologically related both in the sense of homology to people who deposited artifacts assigned to the Hopewell culture of Ohio (O'Brien and Lyman 1998). The diffusion from the Bureau of American Ethnology and the National Museum to southeastern archaeologists of the general idea that typological similarity denoted homologous similarity was completed in grand fashion by the end of the Birmingham meeting. The idea made sense from the perspective of Swanton, Linton, Walker, and Collins, all major figures in the discipline at the time, and everyone in attendance adopted it. The take-home message was simple: Work from the known to the unknown so that you have (a) a chronological anchor for your temporal sequence of cultures and (b) the most recent evolutionary descendant of a cultural lineage to use as a comparative base for determining historically antecedent cultures. This was not really a new message, but southeastern archaeologists adopted it wholeheartedly and took the direct historical approach to heights unparalleled in Americanist archaeology (O'Brien and Lyman 1999c).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Times and interests change, as do federal funding priorities, and by late 1935 the National Research Council felt it had supported archaeology long enough. Besides, other branches of the government had become heavily involved in archaeology–the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was created in May 1933, the Civil Works Administration later that year, and the Works Progress Administration in 1935–primarily in an effort to stabilize the economy and get people back to work. Archaeology, being a labor-intensive endeavor, was the perfect vehicle for employing large numbers of people. Ironically, the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys disbanded shortly after these programs began and just as millions of federal dollars were starting to pour into local and state coffers to fund archaeological projects. In some quarters the work that resulted from relief efforts was highly innovative (Haag 1985; Setzler and Strong 1936), but in others it was an unmitigated disaster. At the point where a strong central body such as the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys could perhaps have done the most good in terms of quality control, it was dissolved. The committee's dissolution, however, was not a signal that all the ills plaguing archaeology had been cured, and in fact the majority of sentiment ran in the opposite direction. Many of the problems on which the committee had focused from the beginning were as bad or worse in 1935 than they had been fifteen years earlier. One of theses was the destruction of archaeological sites, which if anything had accelerated in the 1930s despite the best efforts of Carl Guthe and his colleagues. This is how Frank Setzler and William Duncan Strong (1936:308-309) saw the problem in their mid-1930s assessment of federal relief efforts:

> The present actual status of archaeological conservation in the United States... is deplorable... The Antiquities Act of 1906 forbids unauthorized archaeological excavation on public lands, but the law is difficult to enforce and, so long as archaeological specimens can be sold on the open market, can have at best a very limited effect... It is a sad paradox that at this time, when trained men are becoming available and new techniques for determining archaeological history are reaching a high pitch of development, the materials themselves should be vanishing like snow before the sun.

One bright spot in the mid-1930s was the creation of yet another organization, and in many respects it acted in the same capacity as the Committee for State Archae-

ological Surveys had since its inception. However, the new organization differed in structure in that it was a national body and comprised nonprofessional as well as professional archaeologists. The genesis of the organization was a query posed to the committee in 1933 as to why there was no national society dedicated solely to archaeology in the Americas (Guthe 1967). The committee agreed to look into forming such an organization, and in April 1934 a prospectus was mailed to 192 persons with whom the committee corresponded (Griffin 1985). These included both nonprofessionals as well as professionals because, as James B. Griffin (1985:265) later pointed out, if only the latter had been included, their dues would have been prohibitively high in order to fund publication of the journal that the organization proposed to publish. Given the mix of the membership, what should the society be called? After toying with several names the committee decided on the Society for American Archaeology, the organizational meeting of which took place on December 28, 1934.

Despite worries on the part of some of the founders that the new organization would be viewed by some as a vehicle for moving archaeology away from the more traditional societies such as the American Anthropological Association (Guthe 1935), this was not the intent: "[T]he Society was not the expression of a separatist movement, but an attempt to bring anthropologists using the archaeological method into closer contact with the public, and to establish a wider appreciation of the methods and principles of scientific study" (Guthe 1967:438). Further, it was felt that under then-current conditions, "the original objectives of the Committee [on State Archaeological Surveys] would have a better chance of attainment through such a national membership organization" (Guthe 1967:438). The committee was discharged at the end of June 1937, having been in existence for seventeen years, and the newly created Society for American Archaeology took over its role as the leading national organization for archaeology in the United States.

In assessing the accomplishments of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, one is struck by the parallels between Americanist archaeology in the 1920s and early 1930s, and Americanist archaeology today. The destruction of archaeological sites did not abate afer the Society for American Archaeology took over the committee's functions in 1937, and those in the discipline today, both professionals and nonprofessionals, are as concerned with the problem as their forebears were. Much of the destruction is attributable to such things as road construction, urban sprawl, and the like, but part of it comes from indiscriminate digging by people who have no business putting a shovel in the ground. Sometimes such digging is driven

by monetary gain, although the enactment of state laws regarding the desecration of human burials has curtailed this to a degree, but we would guess in the majority of cases it is driven simply by curiosity or a professed "love of the past". This might be an excellent quality to have, but one has to be careful of how it is manifest. Too often, curiosity and devotion, no matter how lovingly applied, are fatal to the patient. Clark Wissler, Carl Guthe, and other professional archaeologists knew this, and they enlisted the aid of knowledgeable nonprofessionals such as Peter Brannon to channel the energies of avocational archaeologists into activities that worked for preservation rather than against it. They never told nonprofessionals, "Don't dig"; they told them, "If you must dig, seek the advice and assistance of someone who knows more than you about how to do it correctly." Or, in an emergency, read the guide leaflet and follow it assiduously. That advice, given in 1930, still applies seventy years later.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ENDNOTES

1. A longer version of the National Research Council's role in Americanist archaeology appears as *Setting the Agenda: The National Research Council Archaeological Meetings of 1929, 1932, and 1935* (O'Brien and Lyman n.d.). We thank the University of Alabama Press for allowing us to use excerpts from that book.

2. Letter dated March 20, 1922. National Research Council Archives, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, Washington, D.C.

3. "Report of the Chairman on a Trip through the Mississippi Valley, September, 1928," unsigned but written by Carl E. Guthe. National Research Council Archives, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, Washington, D.C.

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APPENDIX I: GUIDE LEAFLET FOR AMATEUR ARCHAEOLOGISTS

The guide leaflet produced and distributed by the National Research Council's Committee on State Archaeological Surveys in 1930 was adapted from an earlier leaflet on the aims and methods of statewide surveys that was distributed in 1923. The committee modified the pamphlet, added line drawings, and reissued it in 1930. We reproduced the leaflet (following this page) in its original layout and with the original pagination. We standardized punctuation and corrected a few typographical errors but otherwise made no changes to the text.

Number 93 Price 25 cents

Reprint and Circular Series of the National Research Council

Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists

Issued under the auspices of the
Committee on State Archaeological Surveys

Division of Anthropology and Psychology
National Research Council

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
Washington, D.C.
1930

Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists

IN 1920 the National Research Council organized the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys to encourage systematic study of the fast-vanishing Indian remains. In the ten years of its existence the committee has assisted in the formation of research organizations in various states has sought to systematize and unify methods of investigation, and through publications, conferences and visits of its Chairman, has endeavored to keep all workers in the field informed of the progress of archaeological research throughout the United States.

The activities of the committee have been purely advisory. It has not sought to control the actions of any group or State, but has freely offered its help and advice in the advancement of scientific work. It now seeks to extend its services to amateur archaeologists and to all who are interested in the early history of our country. In presenting this booklet, the committee hopes to enlist the active cooperation of all intelligent laymen in the preservation of archaeological sites. It seeks to give information which will enable the local investigator to carry on work according to the most approved methods, so that he may assist in unravelling the story of human development on the American continent.

It is evident to everyone that the great majority of our Indian remains have already been destroyed. This has been due in part to the fact that many prehistoric sites have been occupied by white settlers who have found it necessary to level Indian mounds and earthworks in order to utilize the land for farm purposes, for city development, or to make way for roads. However, the greatest destruction has been wrought by curio hunters who have dug into the mounds in search of relics, without realizing that they were destroying valuable historical material. To open an archaeological site without knowing how to preserve the record is equal to tearing pages out of a valuable book, a book which can never be re-written.

In each State there are some people who are interested only in securing specimens which they can sell for personal gain. They care nothing for history or science, and are not disturbed by the fact that their ruthless methods destroy materials of great interest to their fellow citizens. This leaflet is not addressed to such. Their activities will only cease when public opinion is strong enough to make their work unprofitable. Today no scientific institution and no well-informed person will purchase archaeological material which is not accompanied by a full record. When intelligent local collectors take the same attitude the work of these com-

mercial "pot hunters" will cease. An Indian relic without data is as worthless as an unidentified postage stamp or bird's egg. The pages which follow seek to show how amateur archaeologists may assist in recovering the pre-history of our country, and at the same time help to preserve the existing Indian sites for future generations.

It is well known that some of our Indian tribes were nomadic. They were wanderers who made their camps near to favorable hunting grounds and who moved to new sites whenever whim or necessity dictated. Other Indian groups were chiefly dependent on agriculture, and these made permanent settlements which were occupied for long periods. But exhaustion of soil, hostile raids, epidemics and other causes led to their abandonment and the establishment of new camps. Thus it sometimes happened that a single camp site was occupied several times, and the record of these periods of occupation can now be read by careful excavation. In some places it is possible to carry back the record through successive stages of development from historic to ancient times. Examples of such stratification are rare and should be noted with the utmost care. Through them we can trace the movements of peoples, the growth of culture, and the effects of environment on man in America.

But such a story cannot be obtained by the careless digger, or by those who are interested only in beautiful specimens. It can only be revealed by those who preserve every evidence of this early life. Every potsherd, every implement of bone or stone, no matter how crude or fragmentary, every animal bone or vegetable product, becomes an important part of the record. Nothing should be discarded until it has been made the subject of careful study. Even the scattered surface finds have great value if their location is recorded, for when their distribution is plotted on a map they tell of migrations, of trade routes and of local development.

In some places the Indians built great earthworks, fortresses and pyramids. In others they constructed mounds of earth in the form of birds and animals—the so-called effigy mounds. In some localities they buried their dead in graves dug in the earth or surrounded them with stone slabs. In other places they placed the corpses on the surface and raised over them mounds of earth, some of considerable size; still others constructed mounds in which they placed the dead. Many different methods of preparing the body were employed. Sometimes it was laid out full length on its back. Again it was placed on its side with hands and feet drawn close up to the body. In some instances cremation was practiced, while still other groups placed the dead on platforms until the flesh had vanished, then tied the bones into bundles and placed them in the mounds. All these methods are of extreme interest to the student, and

the record of their presence may go far toward identifying the Indian groups in question.

It not infrequently happened that a mound was originally built by a people practicing one method of burial, but was later used by incoming tribes. Such intrusive burials are most instructive in deciphering the sequence of cultures.

In the Southern, Eastern and far Western States, Indians living near to the sea lived largely on shell fish, and during long periods of occupancy built up great refuse piles in which are found animal bones, broken bits of pottery and other objects which help to reveal the life and habits of the builders.

Cave dwellings are for the most part restricted to the Southwestern part of the United States, yet important sites have been discovered in the Mississippi Valley and elsewhere.

Within recent years reports of finds of early man have been current. These range from the finding of utensils associated with the bones of animals now extinct, to the discovery of arrowheads and similar objects lying in undisturbed gravels at points where river erosion or excavation has exposed successive strata. Still other important sites are ancient mines and quarries from which the Indians obtained their flint and in some cases copper.

HOW TO OBTAIN THE RECORD

No single collector can hope to obtain a representative exhibit from the whole country, nor would such a collection be desirable, for upon the death of the owner it is almost certain to be scattered and its scientific value lost. However, each local archaeologist can become a specialist in his own locality. He can gather the most accurately recorded collection from that area. He can obtain information which when added to that of his fellow workers will ultimately reveal the pre-history of America, and he can have the satisfaction of knowing that he has assisted in preserving prehistoric monuments for future generations.

The survey.

In many sections of the country it is possible to obtain plat books which give locations of farms, roads, lakes and other features which may serve as guides in the field. If these are not obtainable, township or section maps may be used, but here it is necessary to transfer from county maps, streams, roads and other information by which it is possible definitely to locate a site. On such a map first place all existing Indian sites, then those whose former existence can be definitely determined, and

finally the approximate location of doubtful sites. In order that all work may be uniform, the symbols shown in Figure 1 are suggested.

Indian trails which can be located from old land surveys, maps, or county histories should be drawn in with blue pencil, but only so far as they can be definitely and accurately identified.

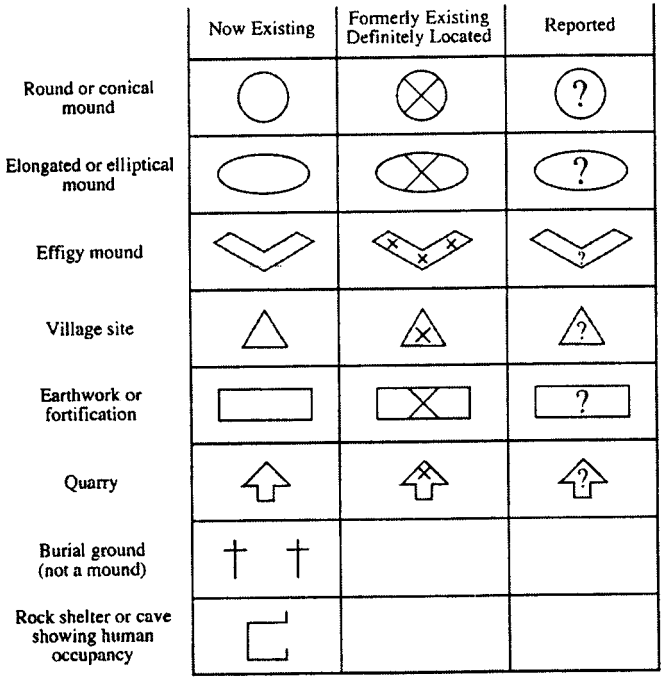

Figure 1

Should there be several mounds so close together as to make it impossible to place them on the map, this can be indicated by placing a number at the lower right-hand side, as, for eight circular mounds: O_8. If further identification becomes necessary in describing, letters can be placed above the figures, as $O\frac{A}{8}$.

For describing particular sites, squared paper should be used, and the exact location and size of each mound should be noted. Thus each square might be considered as five feet, and the group of mounds $O\frac{A}{8}$ might be shown as in Figure 2.

In such a case the use of a tape and compass is necessary to place the mounds in their exact relationship to one another.

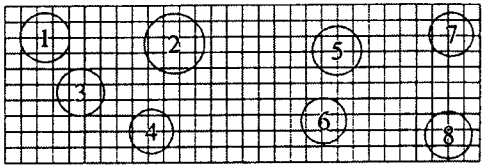

Figure 2

Surface collecting.

When mapping the Indian remains in a township, it is desirable to make surface collections, and to locate the material with relation to the nearest mound, village site, and so on. Such surface material should be carefully numbered and entered in the catalogue. Never depend on your memory alone for locating specimens.

Village and camp sites are often located by the profusion of broken pieces of pottery on the surface. Black earth containing charcoal and burned animal bones is also a good indication of former occupation. In places, low circular mounds reveal the foundations of wigwams, while low mounds with central depressions may be the remains of earth lodges.

Survey of collections.

In nearly every section of the country private collectors will be found. These may be farmers who have preserved only the specimens found on their property, or they may be those who have collected materials from several townships. In all cases where the owners have any knowledge of the locality from which their collections came, it is desirable to make a record of their specimens. For this purpose it is not necessary to draw in or photograph every piece. First of all, separate the arrowheads into *classes.*

Figure 3

Then with a lead pencil trace in the outline of one of each class, and state the number of such pieces in the collection. Or place one of each type on a suitable background, photograph them, and indicate the number of each. Thus, if three classes of arrowheads are found they might be indicated as in Figure 3.

A similar method should be followed for stone axes, hammer stones, and so on. It is desirable to photograph pottery, but if this is impossible, make drawings, and always indicate the style of decoration if any is present. Also state if the pottery is sand or shell tempered. Pictures and descriptions of potsherds are also desired. With such information it will ultimately be possible to learn the distribution of type utensils. Local archaeologists can render service of great value if they will obtain the data indicated and make them available to the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, or to the local institution whose name appears on the last page of this leaflet.

Excavation.

Every amateur who desires to carry on excavation should first of all receive instruction from a trained archaeologist. The ability to see the record in the ground frequently depends on training and experience. A beginner, with the best of intentions and with every attempt at care, will often miss stratification lines, or fail to recognize the difference between disturbed and undisturbed deposits.

Your State University or Museum, any member of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys of the National Research Council, and particularly the institution furnishing these instructions will gladly assist you. *You are urged not to excavate without this instruction unless it becomes necessary to save the record of a site which is about to be destroyed.* In such a case, the following methods should be followed (the letters refer to the points and lines so designated on Figure 4):

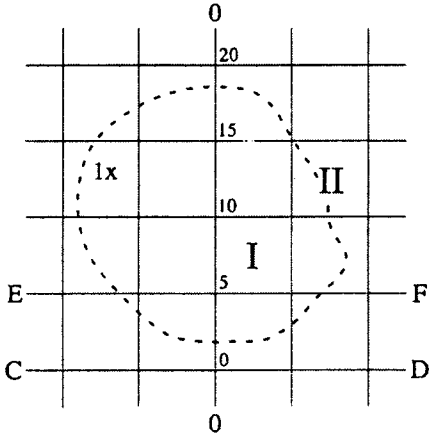

Figure 4

Run a line across the north and south axis of the mound, as line 0—0. Five feet to the east run another line parallel to 0—0, and continue these five-foot lines until you are well outside the mound. Now, do the same on the west side of 0—0. Then, beginning on the south, well outside the mound, run an east and west line C—D. Five feet to the north run another such line, E—F, and continue this procedure until you have gone beyond the northern limits of the mound. Now place stakes at each point of intersection of the lines, and your whole site will be divided into five-foot squares. Before starting work you should make a map of the squares, such as Figure 4. Along the line C—D sink a trench to a depth of about 2 feet below the surface or disturbed soil. Now carry this trench forward much as you would cut a loaf of bread. Always keep a straight face to the cut, throwing the dirt behind you so as to leave an open space.

As you enter the mound, you may find evidence of a prepared or hardbeaten floor, or of the undisturbed ground upon which the mound was erected. You should be constantly on the watch for fire lines or evidences that the mound was built in two or more different periods. If the primary mound stood for years, and grass and other materials accumulated on the surface, and then at a later time more earth was heaped upon it, this will probably be indicated by a dark or humus line. All evidences of this character should be carefully noted, and your record should indicate the situation for each square. Likewise, every find of a stone implement, pottery or skeleton should be accurately placed in your plan, and should receive further notice in your field notebook. By following the plan indicated in Figure 4, it is an easy matter to place every object found in its exact place on the map.

Thus such a square as the one marked "I," which begins on the 5-foot line E—F and lies east of the zero line 0—0, can be written: I=5E0 (i.e., it begins on the 5-foot line, east of the zero line), while square II=10E5 (i.e., it begins on the 10-foot line, 5 feet east of zero line). If an object is found at 1x, it can be written in your notebook as 12.5–W–7, which indicates that it lies 12 feet and 5 inches north of the line C—D, and 7 feet west of the line 0—0. You should also note in your book how far below the present surface and how high above the floor of the mound the object lies. Each time an east and west line is encountered, as E—F, you should measure the height of the mound from the floor at each stake. By following such a method, you will have a complete record of the mound, its composition and its contents. In all excavations test pits should be sunk from time to time below the level of your work, to be sure

that you are not overlooking some more ancient site. Village sites and cave deposits should be staked for excavation in like manner.

Utensils.

A pick and shovel can be used for the preliminary trench, but when entering the mound it is necessary to use other tools. A mattock with a short handle can be employed for shaving down the face of the cut from top to bottom, until objects of interest are encountered, when smaller tools, trowels, dull knives, orangewood sticks, whiskbrooms, and smaller brushes become necessary.

Preservation of material.

Never remove a specimen by pulling it out. Always expose the object fully by cutting away material above and on either side of it, and if it appears to be associated with other objects or with a skeleton, allow it to lie in place until all are uncovered and photographed. Pottery, human and animal bones are sometimes so soft when encountered that they cannot be removed without injury, but exposure to the air for a few hours often hardens them considerably. Very fragile bones can be strengthened by spraying them with a very thin solution of shellac. Often it is desirable to cut below a fragile object, and slip in a thin piece of wood or tin, on which it can be removed. When working around bones and similar materials, remove the soil by means of thin knives, orangewood sticks, or by brushes. Any object which is worth uncovering is worth preserving. *Unless you are willing to give this time and care to preserving the record, you should not attempt excavation.* Preserve all fragments of pottery and bone; they may be capable of restoration later. Each specimen should be numbered and entered in a notebook. Since tags are easily lost, it is wise to mark each specimen with a 6-H (hard) pencil. Then wrap separately in paper and attach tag to this. When many potsherds are found together, they may all be placed in a box and properly labeled. Never place pottery, arrowheads and heavy stone specimens in the same box. Copy all your notebooks, drawings and pictures in duplicate, and send one copy to your local institution or to the State Archaeological Surveys Committee for interpretation and safekeeping. Your interests will be protected and you will be given full credit for any information used.

Mention has been made of the possibility of finding evidences of early man in places where excavations or stream cutting is exposing the strata of the rock. In all such localities) the face of the cut should be carefully studied and if human bones or stone utensils are found at considerable depths or associated with extinct animals,

your state institution or the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys should be notified at once.

Last but not least, every collector should make provision for the care and disposition of his collection in case of his death. The amateur collector has made himself custodian of information of great historical interest and he should guard it against loss or scattering.

The foregoing instructions are far from complete, especially the pages dealing with excavations. Opening a prehistoric site is a task which should only be undertaken in an emergency. Use your influence to preserve all mounds and village sites until you can have assistance or advice from a trained archaeologist. The Committee on State Archaeological Surveys and your local organization is anxious to aid you in recovering and preserving the story of man in America.