

# THE KANSAS ANTHROPOLOGIST

JOURNAL OF THE KANSAS ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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*Archeology at the University of Kansas:  
Williston - Eiseley - Spaulding - Smith*

*Edited by Marlin F. Hawley*

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## KANSAS ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

The Kansas Anthropological Association is the oldest amateur archeological organization in the state. Its membership is made up of individuals and institutions interested in the prehistoric and historic peoples of the area. The objects and goals of the association are the preservation and interpretation of archeological and ethnographic remains within the state; the scientific study, investigation, and interpretation of archeological remains and ethnographical materials; the publication and distribution of information concerning Kansas archeology and ethnology; and the development and promotion of a greater public interest and appreciation for the heritage of the state.

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Edited by Marlin F. Hawley

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## PREFACE

This issue of *The Kansas Anthropologist* chronicles the "early" archeological work of Samuel W. Williston, Loren C. Eiseley, Albert C. Spaulding, and Carlyle S. Smith at the University of Kansas. "Early" is enclosed in quotes because, with the exception of the work of Williston, sustained archeological research was slow to come to Kansas, being by and large a post-World War II phenomena. While the history of anthropological, and more specifically, archeological research has a respectable time depth and pedigree in the Central Plains, the story of archeological investigations in Kansas is more varied and not as long as it is in neighboring states. As Waldo Wedel pointed out more than a half century ago, those early researches, though often the work of scientists, tended toward the vague and suggestive.

One of the sterling exceptions was the work of Samuel W. Williston, a paleontologist and, incidentally, the dean of the University of Kansas School of Medicine. Williston was by no means prolific in his archeological researches but, nonetheless, produced a few brief papers of lasting significance. Williston's report on the find of a projectile point in association with extinct forms of bison by William T. Overton and Handel T. Martin in 1895 pre-dates the unequivocal discovery at Folsom, New Mexico, of other distinctive points and Pleistocene fauna by many years. There was nothing at all equivocal about the point and its association at Twelve Mile Creek, yet curiously it made no impression on the nascent anthropological community at all. To top it off, the point itself vanished, apparently purloined at a faculty tea, or so one version of the story goes. Pending Williston's departure from the University of Kansas, archeological researches there died as abruptly as the Pleistocene megafauna.

Just prior to Williston's arrival on the scene, an historian and political scientist named Frank W. Blackmar came to the university. Intending to establish a department of political science, Blackmar found the soil of Populist Kansas much too inhospitable and so he named his new department sociology. In 1889 it was the first such academic department in the nation. Decades later, it was under the rubric of sociology that archeology, reborn as anthropological archeology, would once again find a place at the University of Kansas. This time, though, it would be taught. This time, it would take hold.

Curiously, it was one of Alfred Kroeber's students at Berkeley who was to have the most influence on anthropology and archeology at the university in the years just prior to and after World War II; this despite the fact that he never held a position there. The student's name was William Duncan Strong. Strong came out to the Plains from California in 1929 to teach at the University of Nebraska and went on to the Smithsonian Institution and, later, Columbia University in New York. He left his mark on Plains archeology with several brilliant papers, including "Plains Culture Area in Light of Archeology" in 1933 and his "Introduction to Nebraska Archeology" two years later. At Nebraska, he did one other thing of interest here: he inspired a young man named Loren C. Eiseley to pursue anthropology as a career.

In the roundabout way of things, Eiseley found himself, after taking graduate degrees at Pennsylvania, back out on the Plains as the first anthropologist at the University of Kansas. Eiseley eventually became well-known as a writer, his elegant ruminations on nature and evolution recorded in such books as *The Immense Journey*, *The Night Country*, and *Darwin's Century*. His books have earned him a distinguished place in 20th Century American literature. On the other hand, it would be hard to understate his impact on Plains archeology. Indeed, the only archeology which he himself directed was in Kansas, at the nearly forgotten Spring Creek site. By the time he left Kansas, his interest in climbing to the top of his profession was at a low. While at the university, he not only

taught and tested the Spring Creek site, but tried to secure funds for a long term WPA archeological project. He had hopes, too, of studying the recently uncovered ossuary in Saline County, Kansas, but the war shattered those ambitions. Weary of the university, the town, and the time, he left in 1944, his true talents only just beginning to awaken.

In the meantime, Strong had moved on to Columbia to teach. Two of his students, Albert C. Spaulding and Carlyle S. Smith, would go to succeed his undergraduate pupil at the University of Kansas. Spaulding, who stayed only 18 months, nonetheless, as I hope will be clear, immersed himself in the details of Kansas archeology. It is interesting to speculate on what would have happened had he stayed, but he, too, went on to bigger and better things, becoming one of the century's most distinguished archeologists. First known to many graduate and undergraduate students alike from Binford's warped caricature of him as the godfather of the "new archeology," Spaulding's contributions to the discipline have proved durable. Strong had taught him well, instilling in him not only archeology as a science but as a humanistic discipline.

Carlyle S. Smith was his friend and colleague's replacement at Kansas in 1947. Coming out to Lawrence, a shabby backwards town compared to the East, Carlyle would remain at the University of Kansas for the duration of his career, retiring in 1980 but still active as an archeologist. Smith's career was to be the most varied of the lot with important contributions to the archeology of Coastal New York, the Central and Northern Plains, Easter Island and the Pacific Basin, and in historical archeology. Under his direction, the data base of Plains archeology, as represented in artifacts curated in the Museum of Natural History and, now, the Museum of Anthropology, was multiplied many times over. At the same time, the anthropology faculty grew and, beginning in 1958, began offering the M.A. in anthropology. Eventually the two disciplines split, with anthropology forming its own department in 1964.

Anthropology has continued to diversify at the University of Kansas over the years and these days practitioners of its sub-disciplines conduct research in such places as South Africa, Argentina, Costa Rica, Mexico, Guatamala, France, Austria, Finland, Siberia, the Pacific Islands, Japan, and, even closer to home, in Kansas. These four individuals--Williston, Eiseley, Spaulding, and Smith--prepared the foundation upon which anthropology and archeology at the University of Kansas now rests.

Marlin F. Hawley

## SAMUEL WENDELL WILLISTON KU YEARS: 1890-1902

John D. Reynolds  
Kansas State Historical Society

The Kansas Anthropologist, 13(1&2), 1992, pp. 1-4

*Samuel Wendell Williston moved to Kansas as a youth in 1857. After attending Kansas State Agricultural College and Yale University, he was appointed as professor of geology and anatomy and dean of the medical department at the University of Kansas. Although not an archeologist by training, while at KU Williston was responsible for what, in retrospect, are significant and lasting contributions to Kansas archeology which included work at the El Cuartelejo pueblo site and the Twelve Mile Creek Paleoindian site.*

Samuel Wendell Williston was born near Boston in 1851 and moved to Kansas with his family in 1857 as a part of the Free-State movement (Figure 1). Williston's long and profitable involvement in the human and natural history of the Plains region of North America began during the turbulent years of the Civil War and only ended with his death in 1918. During the intervening years he became one of the world's leading paleontologists and entomologists as well as becoming a physician and surveyor.

Williston graduated from the Kansas State Agricultural College at Manhattan (now Kansas State University) in 1872 and later received the M.A. from that institution. He went to Yale University in 1880 for post-graduate studies and later became a member of the faculty. He began his career at the University of Kansas in 1890. At that time he was appointed as professor of geology and anatomy and as dean of the medical department. Williston remained at KU for only twelve years, departing in 1902 to become the chair of the department of paleontology at the University of Chicago (Blackmar 1912:920).

Williston distinguished himself in several scientific fields, including medicine, geology, paleontology, entomology, and archeology. First and foremost, he was an educator. During his years at the University of Kansas, he helped to establish the KU medical school and served on the Kansas Board of Health during its formative years. He was instrumental in establishing

licensing requirements for medical practitioners, though he himself did not practice medicine.

One of Williston's lasting contributions to the University of Kansas was the development of a major fossil collection at the university's Dyche Museum. While his predecessors had sporadically begun to collect fossils, Williston entered into extensive paleontological research and led several field parties from KU into western Kansas, South Dakota, and Wyoming (Figure 2). Students attending his field schools in paleontology were likely to be entertained in the evenings by Williston's discourses on the taxonomy and habits of the insects that were currently plaguing them.

While at KU, Williston, like most of the professors, was always underpaid, as evidenced by his choice of worn out suits for field clothing. He did, however, find novel ways to supplement his meager salary. In 1892, he and J.T. Willard of Kansas State Agricultural College sold a meteorite which they had found in Phillips County, Kansas. With his half of the \$2,500 which they received for the 1,230 pound meteorite, Williston bought a lot in Lawrence and built a substantial house, a structure that stood at the corner of Lee and Louisiana streets until quite recently when it was torn down by the university to make room for a parking lot (Shor 1971: 135).

Williston's interest in and contributions to the field of archeology are often overshadowed

by his other accomplishments. Actually, his early interest in Native American remains was a determining factor in his development as a vertebrate paleontologist. In 1873, while studying medicine in Manhattan, Kansas, Williston excavated a Native American burial ground and made a study of the recovered osteological material (Shor 1971:53). Although he never published the results of his findings, they apparently had a significant influence on his development as a scientist.

In 1874, after attempting several careers ranging from surveyor to medical student, Williston became a fossil bone collector for O.W. Marsh of the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale. He thus became embroiled in the most famous paleontological struggle in America. Marsh and E.D. Cope of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, were the leading paleontologists in North America at this time and they were involved in fierce competition for fame. Western Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming were recognized by both men as some of the most productive vertebrate paleontological collecting areas on this continent and during the 1870s and 1880s both Cope and Marsh sent numerous parties into the field in search of new fossil finds.

Williston, during his long employment by Marsh, became intimately acquainted with vast portions of this region and he amassed collections of fossil vertebrates that are still being profitably studied nearly one hundred years later. His sojourn to the western Plains took place at a time when paleontology was not the gentleman's pursuit that it is sometimes thought to have been. The collecting parties spent months on the Plains with horses and wagons as their main transport, and with attending hardships of dust, heat, cold, and occasional hostile Native American incursions.

In her biography of Williston, Elizabeth Shor describes an encounter between a three-man collecting party of which Williston was a member, and a group of eleven Apache, that

occurred along the Smoky Hill River in western Kansas in 1875 (Shor 1971:57-60). The leader of the collecting party, Professor Benjamin Mudge, was alone when he met the mounted Apaches. Williston and Harry A. Brous soon arrived at full gallop in a light spring wagon with all of the camps' armament to try to save their aged professor. Mudge had meanwhile engaged the Apaches in conversation and, in response to a request for alcohol and tobacco, he removed his

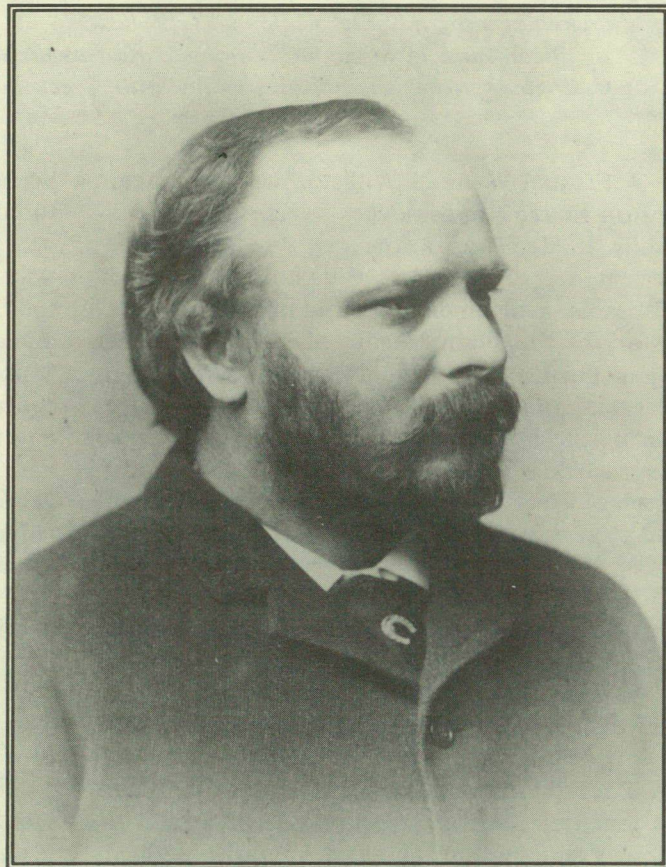


Figure 1. Dr. Samuel Wendell Williston.

Courtesy Kansas State Historical Society

false teeth to demonstrate that he was not a tobacco user. Williston recounted with relish the "excitement and consternation" that attended this event (Shor 1971:59). Although the Apaches eventually departed with protestations of peace and good will, they surprised and killed a party of cowboys the very next morning (Shor 1971:60).

Williston's boundless energy and extensive

field work exposed him to some of the most significant archeological remains in Kansas. One of the more remarkable facts about his archeological studies is that, while his total scientific output comprises more than 4,000 pages, fewer than 45 of these pages were devoted to archeology. Yet these few pages contain the earliest description of the El Cuartelejo pueblo ruin, 14SC1, in Scott County, Kansas; an early, perhaps the earliest, description of a human artifact in association with the bones of extinct animals; and discussions of the probable age and significance of the Lansing Man find in Doniphan County, Kansas.

In 1879, in his earliest published archeological article, Williston described the finding of an outline of a human figure over 60 ft long on a high hill along the South Fork of Solomon River in western Kansas (Williston 1879:16). This obviously male figure was composed of small cobbles laid out in a human shape. This site has only recently been relocated by professional archeologists and Williston's early report provides supporting evidence to argue for the antiquity and probable Native American origin of this remarkable find (Witty 1978).

Williston first visited the El Cuartelejo pueblo ruin in the spring or early summer of 1898 in company with W.O. Bourne (Williston 1899). While he apparently did not test the site at this time, he recognized the possible significance of the site and instructed Handel T. Martin, his field assistant, to excavate it (Williston and Martin 1900:126). Martin excavated the seven room pueblo in September of the same year (Williston and Martin 1900:126). Subsequently, Williston and Martin published reliable accounts of their findings (Williston 1899; Williston and Martin 1900; Martin 1909).

Williston was the first to recognize the Pleistocene association of *Bison occidentalis* remains and a chipped stone projectile point at the Twelve Mile Creek site in Logan County, Kansas, and it was he who instructed H.T. Martin to proceed with excavations at the site (Williston 1897, 1902a). He based his recommendation solely on Martin's description of the geology of the area and his own general knowledge of these deposits, as he was not actually present at the site during the investigations.

As was characteristic of Williston, he was

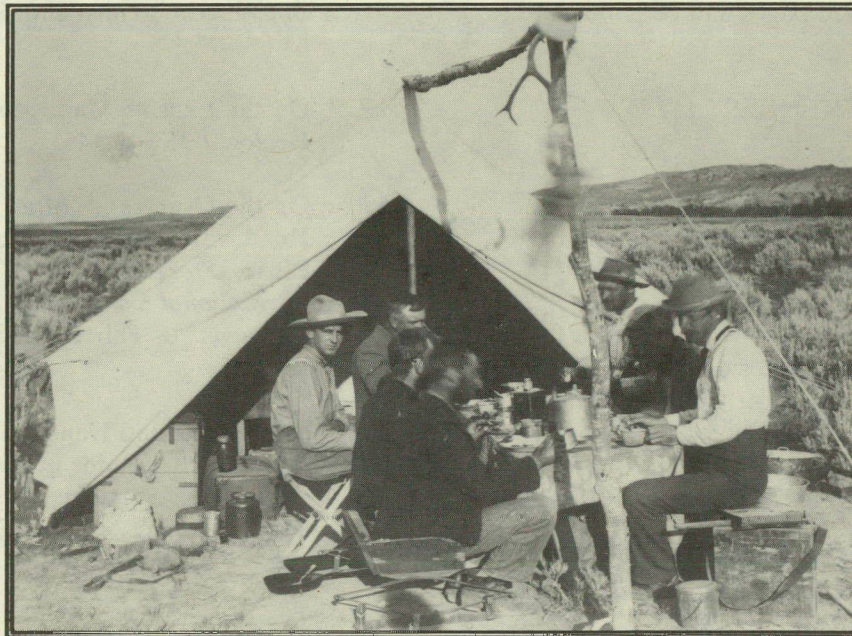


Figure 2. Williston's field camp, unknown location.

Courtesy Kansas State Historical Society

completely honest in giving full credit to Martin and William Overton, the actual excavators (Williston 1897, 1902a, 1905c). In fact, it appears that the only reason Williston eventually published the finding was to bring it to the attention of the scientific community. The find was actually made in 1895, but Martin never published an account of it. Williston's brief articles thus constitute the only published sources on this important find that date from the approximate time of its discovery.

Williston's contribution to the explication of the Lansing Man find (actually, two partial skeletons were recovered) was as an expert witness, as he was not present when the discovery was made and he never saw the human skeletons *in situ* (Williston 1902b, 1903, 1905a, 1905b). His stated belief in the great antiquity of the skeletons, which have since been demonstrated to be Middle Archaic, can probably be understood within this context.

The archeological contribution that Samuel Wendell Williston made in Kansas is important. His wide range of interests and his insistence on publishing important scientific information has left us with a significant contribution to the archeology of our state. In retrospect, one can only wish that more of his 4,000 plus published pages had been devoted to this subject.

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**LOREN C. EISELEY**  
**KU YEARS: 1937-1944**

Marlin F. Hawley  
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*Known primarily as an essayist and poet, Loren C. Eiseley holds the distinction of being the first academically employed anthropologist/archeologist in Kansas. Hired in 1937, he taught in the sociology department and, during World War II, instructed anatomy classes at the University of Kansas. He left Kansas in 1944. Although his career at the university was ultimately unremarkable, he conducted the first test excavations of a probable Archaic site in Kansas in 1937-38. With sociology chairman Carroll Clark, he attempted to secure Works Projects Administration funds for a large-scale multi-year archeological project. Finally, after a year of post-doctoral research at Columbia University, he made plans to undertake a thorough study of skeletal remains at the Salina Burial Pit site. In every case his plans were thwarted by the outbreak of World War II. Nonetheless, he introduced archeology and physical anthropology courses at the University of Kansas. By the time of his departure anthropology was well established in the curriculum of the university.*

Fresh from doctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania, anthropologist, poet, future historian of evolution, and essayist Loren C. Eiseley accepted a teaching position in the department of sociology at the University of Kansas in 1937. His head was filled with a veritable wealth of arcane knowledge "of ethnological lore from the Jesuit Relations of the seventeenth century, about divination through the use of oracle bones. I knew also about the distribution of rabbit-skin blankets in pre-Columbia America and the four-day fire rites for the departing dead. And mammoths gone ten thousand years, I knew them, too" (Eiseley 1975:130). Although the university was the first in the nation to establish a sociology department in 1889 (Christianson 1990:178; Clark 1965), it was slow in coming to anthropology and archeology.

Archeological research within the confines of the university was not entirely new; far from it. Samuel W. Williston and Handel T. Martin, although not archeologists but paleontologists, had in 1895 investigated the Twelve Mile Creek site near Russell Springs in Logan County, Kansas. There, amongst the bones of extinct *Bison occidentalis* "an arrow-head was found underneath the right scapula of the largest

skeleton, embedded in matrix, but touching the bone" (Williston 1905:336). In 1897-1898, the two explorers conducted excavations at a pueblo site in Scott County, western Kansas (Williston and Martin 1900). Williston also examined the site of Lansing Man in northeast Kansas in 1902 (Williston 1905).

Such was the extent of scientific archeology at the University of Kansas prior to 1937. In accepting the position, Eiseley became the first academically employed professional anthropologist/archeologist in the state of Kansas. Though his career at the university was, in any final assessment, unremarkable and interrupted by war, his position signaled the commitment, however tentative, of the university to anthropology and archeology.

#### ARRIVAL

Loren C. Eiseley, a native of Nebraska, came to the University of Kansas as a fledgling Ph.D. with a broad background in ethnology, archeology, paleontology, and sociology. Not yet 30 years of age, "in good health, weight 170 lbs, height 5 ft. 11 inches" (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, February 20, 1937, UKA), Eiseley had a B.A. degree in anthropology and English from

the University of Nebraska (Christianson 1990:125). At Nebraska he had studied under archeologists Earl H. Bell and William Duncan Strong and sociologist James Reinhardt. Continuing his education at the University of Pennsylvania, Eiseley went on to receive his doctorate under the direction of Frank G. Speck. Well read and published in literary magazines, such as the *Prairie Schooner*, as well as anthropological and sociological journals, he had "engaged in productive archaeological and paleontological field expeditions since 1930 under Drs. [E.H.] Barbour, [W.D.] Strong, [F.H.H.] Roberts, and [E.B.] Howard" (F.G. Speck to C.D. Clark, February 20, 1937, UKA).

Securing an anthropologist for his department had been a goal of sociology chairman Carroll D. Clark. Clark, born in Minneapolis, Kansas, in 1898, had received his degrees in sociology from Kansas and Chicago and had been the department chairman since 1933 (C.D. Clark Papers, Biographical notes, n.d., UKA). Seeking an anthropologist to round out what he perceived as a weakness in the sociology curriculum, Clark soon came upon Eiseley. Speck, who was equally enthusiastic about getting Eiseley's career going, began negotiations with Clark aimed at obtaining the assistant professorship for his prize student (Christianson 1990:176; F.G. Speck to C.D. Clark, February 19, 1937, February 20, 1937, UKA).

Support for Eiseley and the position was quick to follow. Waldo R. Wedel, a former student at the University of Nebraska and friend of Eiseley's, now at the Smithsonian Institution, U. S. National Museum, felt that "the state of Kansas is an extremely promising area from the standpoint of human culture history." He added, "It is gratifying to learn that the University of Kansas is considering the possibility of adding to its faculty a person with anthropological as well as sociological training" (W.R. Wedel to C.D. Clark, March 11, 1937, UKA).

William Duncan Strong, who as a newly minted Ph.D. from Berkeley had taken a similar position, i.e., teaching anthropology in the department of sociology at the University of Nebraska from 1929 to 1931 (Wedel 1982b), also

responded in Eiseley's favor: "Mr. Eiseley would seem to be the ideal man" (W.D. Strong to C.D. Clark, March 24, 1937, UKA). Strong's earliest impressions of Eiseley, from a field expedition in 1931, were not as positive as his later recommendation (Christianson 1990:92-93). Strong briefly reiterated Wedel's heartfelt concerns regarding the prospects of archeological research in Kansas. Sociologist James Reinhardt and several others added their voices to the chorus of Eiseley supporters. Clark was sold (Christianson 1990:176).

Finding a suitable candidate proved less frustrating than winning the appropriations necessary to hire Eiseley. Initially, the *per annum* salary discussed by Clark and his prospective new assistant was \$2,400. Because of the havoc wreaked upon the Kansas economy by the Great Depression and years of drought, he was quick to suggest \$2,000 as a more likely figure: "One of our present assistant professors receives only \$2,000--a fact I would blush to admit if it were not for the droughts, dust storms, crop failures, and other hardships suffered by the people of our state" (C.D. Clark to L.C. Eiseley, April 20, 1937, UKA).

In a letter dated May 1, 1937, Clark informed Eiseley that his hiring had been approved at a salary of \$2,100. Not much, but "[a] single corn crop would make a tremendous improvement in the outlook" (C.D. Clark to L.C. Eiseley, May 1, 1937, UKA). Eiseley eagerly accepted the position, even before he had completed his dissertation. By 1942, Eiseley's salary was up to \$2,850 *per annum* (Christianson 1990:198).

No immediate appropriation was made for field work, but Clark pointed out that Eiseley "would find considerable materials in Dyche Museum that have been practically unexploited" (Christianson 1990). Although the natural history museum had no archeologist on staff, artifacts and even skeletal materials had been collected by field parties and had been donated to the museum over the years (Old Catalogue and correspondence, KUMA). Eiseley was eventually to make use of some of these (Eiseley and Asling 1944).

The department -- comprised of eleven members (including Eiseley) (Figure 1) and housed in a single office in the university's administration building (Christianson 1990:178) -- already offered three anthropology courses: General Anthropology, Cultural Anthropology, and Evolution of Culture. Eiseley would also instruct at least one introductory course in sociology. He was expected to develop courses of his own at his convenience (C.D. Clark to L.C. Eiseley, May 1, 1937, UKA).

His first year at the university Eiseley taught Elements of Sociology I and II, as well as the three anthropology classes. The next year he added three more: The American Indian, Primitive Society, and Methods of Archaeology and Anthropology (Christianson 1990:178). His actual per-semester course load was four or five classes.

## ARCHEOLOGY

At the time that Eiseley began teaching at the University of Kansas, it had an enrollment of about 5,000 students (Federal Writers' Project 1984:225). Enrollments were destined to drop precipitously during World War II (Christianson 1990:199). Press releases by Eiseley's *alma mater*, the University of Nebraska, and the University of Kansas heralded the arrival of the newest member of the sociology faculty (News and Feature Service, July 28, 1937, UKA; KU News Bureau, September 15, 1937, UKA). Much was made of Eiseley's recent participation in the U. S. National Museum's expedition to Doniphan County, Kansas (Figure 2). His abiding interest in "Folsom Man" was also emphasized. The September 10, 1937, edition of the *Lawrence Journal-World* declared, "New Professor is an Archeologist." The University of Kansas was getting an archeologist.



Figure 1. University of Kansas Department of Anthropology faculty, ca. 1939. Backrow: 1 to r, Marston McCluggage, Loren C. Eiseley, J. Maphens Smith, Carroll D. Clark. Frontrow: 1 to r, Hilden J. Gibson, Ester Twente, Mabel Elliot, Seba Eldridge. Courtesy University of Kansas Archives, Spencer Research Library.



Figure 2. Loren C. Eiseley excavating a test pit in Doniphan County, Kansas, 1937. Photo by Waldo R. Wedel. Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Eiseley wrote Clark in June to tell him of his intention to join the U.S. National Museum's expedition (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, June 22, 1937, UKA). Directed by Waldo R. Wedel, the expedition was part of Wedel's long-held goal to investigate the archeology of Kansas (Wedel 1934, 1938a, 1938b, 1959). A native Kansan, Wedel had received his training at the University of Nebraska under William Duncan Strong. He had participated in numerous field parties in Nebraska and Kansas with Strong and noted amateur archeologist A. T. Hill of Hastings, Nebraska (Wedel 1977).

The 1937 investigations focused on two sites, 14DP1 and 14DP2, located on the bluffs adjoining the Missouri River in Doniphan County. The Fanning site, 14DP1, yielded a plethora of materials, all attributed to the Oneota aspect (Kansa?) by Wedel. Trade items indicated a probable date of A.D. 1700 (Wedel 1959:167-170). The other site, 14DP2, contained both Nebraska culture (A.D. 1000-1450) and

Oneota components (Wedel 1959:127-130). Several nearby burial sites were also examined; these were attributed to the Central Plains tradition Nebraska culture (Wedel 1959:171-175).

During that summer of 1937, Wedel and Eiseley were also drawn into the mystery surrounding the so-called "Coronado Stone." The Coronado Stone, alleged to have been recovered near Oak Mills, Atchison County, Kansas, bore an inscription which led some enthusiasts to assert that Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and his men had journeyed as far north as Atchison County in 1541. Wedel and Eiseley, directed by the Smithsonian to examine the object, were not so sure (Peterson 1989). The object, its authenticity long in doubt, has since been conclusively revealed as a hoax (Peterson 1989; Lees et al. 1990).

Eiseley's participation in these events was amply covered by the Kansas City and Lawrence

papers (Peterson 1989; Scrapbook 41, Vol. 2-3, UKA). Ostensibly, Eiseley's intent had been only to familiarize himself with the archeology of the area (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, June 22, 1937, UKA). He was no stranger to self-promotion, however (Christianson 1990:190-191).

September 1937 found Eiseley ensconced at the University of Kansas, assuming the mantle of teacher. Regarded by some students as a remarkable teacher and others as extremely dull (Christianson 1990:178-179), years later he recalled, "in a few weeks I began to feel like the proverbial Russian fleeing in a sleigh across the steppes before a wolf pack. I am sure Carroll Clark, my good-natured chairman, realized that a highly unorthodox brand of sociology was being dispensed in his domain" (Eiseley 1975:136). Shortly, though, the report of a deeply buried site in northcentral Kansas would raise another specter, that of the elusive "Folsom Man."

*The Spring Creek Site:  
Interesting but Not Folsom*

Eiseley brought with him to Kansas a keen interest in the debate regarding Early Man in America. The 1920s and 1930s were a heady time for archeology. After decades of fruitless searching and countless false leads by amateurs and the nascent professional community (Fagan 1987; cf. Meltzer 1983, 1989), evidence bearing on Early Man was finally coming to light. Recent discoveries, such as J.D. Figgins' 1926 investigations at a site near Folsom, New Mexico, irrevocably complicated the story of the Native American. New World archeologists were galvanized by the artifacts from Folsom and their apparent antiquity. "There was a kind of frenzy that seized men about the events of the terminal ice," Eiseley (1975:105) would write in his autobiography. Although destined to be a minor participant, he was caught up no less than many others in that "frenzy."

In 1932 Eiseley, while still an undergraduate in anthropology at Nebraska, spent part of his summer as a participant of the Morrill Paleontological Expedition. The expedition, in its fifth season, was directed by C.

Bertrand Schultz. Eiseley left the South Party, as it was known, shortly before the discovery of a finely worked dart point in close association with extinct forms of bison at the Scottsbluff Bison Quarry. Other artifacts, including additional dart points, soon were exposed (Christianson 1990:109, 120).

Ultimately, the Scottsbluff site would be the focus of his 1934 master's thesis at the University of Pennsylvania but not before other field outings in search of Folsom. A member of the South Party again in 1933, the 1934 season found him with Edgar Billings Howard in the Guadalupe Mountains of New Mexico and Texas. Williams Cave, in Culberson County, Texas, was the principle site excavated. Nothing indicative of Folsom was forthcoming, although the party did uncover burials attributed to the Basket Maker culture (ca. 3000 B.P.) (Christianson 1990:143-144).

Eiseley's thesis was entitled "A Review of the Paleontological Evidence Bearing on the Age of the Scottsbluff Bison Quarry and its Associated Artifacts." His advisor, Frank Speck, who was also an associate editor of *American Anthropologist*, was impressed enough to encourage Eiseley to publish. As the data had come from Schultz, Eiseley gave the paleontologist top billing in the published report (Christianson 1990:157-158). Ironically, while applying to graduate schools, Eiseley had asked Schultz not to use his name in connection with the Scottsbluff Quarry. He feared that he might not be accepted if it was felt he was too ardent a supporter of Early Man (Christianson 1990:121).

The prevailing sentiment was judged to be so heavily weighted against remains older than ca. 4,000 years that a dampening effect was produced. While it is certainly true that many claims of early sites were soundly quelled, the commonly held notion that a small group, namely Ales Hrdlička, William Henry Holmes and others, promulgated an anti-Early Man dogma is not entirely true (Meltzer 1983, 1989). Nonetheless, the perception was there and caution prevailed. The *American Anthropologist* article placed both men in the Early Man camp. A suggested date for the site was 12,000 to

15,000 years B.P. (Schultz and Eiseley 1935). The complex has since been dated closer to 8500 B.P.

Eiseley was privileged to work for a season on another early site, this one being the famed Lindenmeier site near Ft. Collins, Colorado. Although known to local amateurs since 1924, systematic investigations were not begun until 1934. Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr., of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, visited the site in that year and soon established that intact deposits remained. These deposits yielded extinct bison bone and the distinctive Folsom points. Roberts continued to excavate at the site until 1940 (Wilmsen and Roberts 1978:1,4). After having read his paper with Schultz on the Scottsbluff Quarry, Roberts invited Eiseley to work at the site (Christianson 1990:160; Wilmsen and Roberts 1978:8, figure 9).

Upon his arrival in Kansas, Eiseley commented to the press on the efforts of Williston and Martin saying, "Finds of later years fully corroborate Dr. Williston's report" and "though the exact time of extinction of certain ... ice-age animals is a problem, few would estimate the elapsed time since their disappearance as less than 10,000 years" (KU News Bureau, September 15, 1937, UKA).

His comments touched on a major issue that followed the initial reports from Folsom. While the association of projectile points with extinct megafauna was accepted by "everyone of fair judgement" (Schultz and Eiseley 1935:306), the question of the timing of extinctions arose. "For the assemblage of ghostly forms which once, in the opinion of paleontologists, characterized the Pleistocene, have, almost without exception, suddenly stirred in their graves and moved forward into the Recent" (Schultz and Eiseley 1935:306; cf. Eiseley 1942). The issue was not fully resolved until the advent of radiocarbon dating techniques in the 1950s (Meltzer 1989; Meltzer and Mead 1985).

Intending to focus on the dating of Lindenmeier for his dissertation, Eiseley was deterred from collecting the necessary data by the death of his uncle (Christianson 1990:161). The chronology of terminal Pleistocene events

remained a concern of Eiseley, however, as in his never fully completed dissertation, "Three Indices of Quaternary Time and Their Bearing on the Problems of American History: A Critique." Although two portions of the work were completed, the final third was not. Nonetheless, with Speck's influence, Eiseley was graduated with a Ph.D. (Christianson 1990:173-174).

At the university, Eiseley also proffered a statement on the need for scientific archeology in Kansas, as well as a call for interested persons to come forward with information on sites. "Kansans having knowledge of Indian sites of any nature are urged ... to get in touch with the University" (KU News Bureau, September 15, 1937, UKA). As it happened, the news that Eiseley was seeking information on sites had to travel no further than a few doors down Oread Avenue.

Within a few weeks of Eiseley's arrival a sculptor in the university's art department, Bernard "Pogo" Frazier, approached him about a site in Smith County, Kansas. Frazier had grown up in the area and had known of the site since he was a child (KU News Bureau, October 3, 1938, UKA). The site, which came to be known as the Spring Creek site (14SM308), lies to the northeast of Smith Center on Spring Creek (Figure 3). Charcoal and cultural material had been exposed by erosion in a meander cut under nearly 10 ft of overburden. The depth of the deposits intrigued Eiseley as it suggested great antiquity. Immediately, he thought of Folsom.

No stranger to interdisciplinary research, Eiseley enlisted the aid of geologist H.T.U. Smith to unravel the alluvial history of the site (Figure 4). At the University of Kansas from 1935 until 1956, Smith had taken his Ph.D. in geology at Harvard in 1936. A specialist in geomorphology, photogrammetry, and photogeology, he had studied under Kirk Bryan while at Harvard (Nichols 1977). Bryan was himself deeply involved in the investigations of early sites, having conducted geologic investigations of several Folsom locales (e.g., Bryan 1937). Eiseley, Smith, Frazier, a local amateur named Ivan Phetteplace, and several

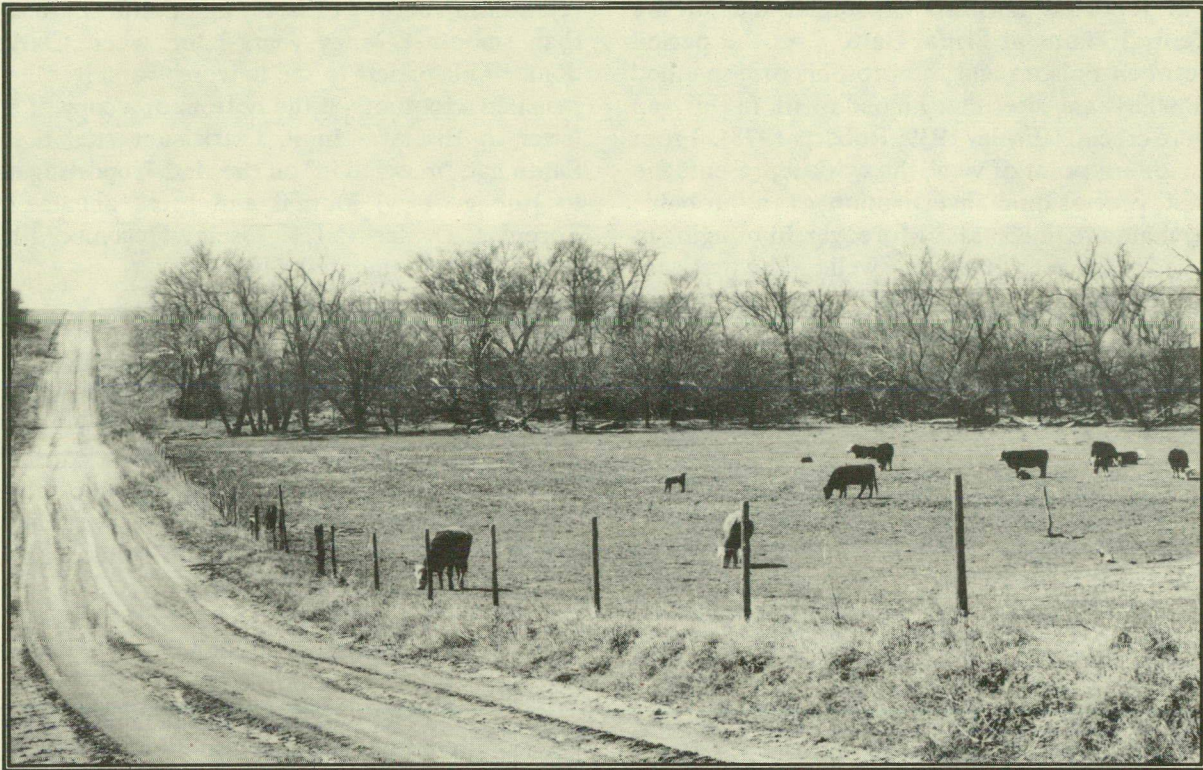


Figure 3. The Spring Creek site.

students labored at the site on weekends through the winter of 1937-38 and in August 1938 (KU News Bureau, October 3, 1938, UKA).

Investigations were confined to a one-yard-wide area of "a 21-foot cut-and-fill terrace" (Smith 1938:1901; cf. Frazier 1966). Ten and a half ft of earth overlay a thin cultural deposit from which were recovered "numerous flakes and rejects, a few scrapers and a single point. The material is intermixed with the charred and fossilized remains of bison and other animals" (Eiseley 1939:221). Charcoal also marked the deposits. Other cultural horizons above the lower unit apparently went unnoticed. The projectile point, discovered by Phetteplace, was described by Eiseley as "not Folsom, but a well-worked artifact of a size suggesting its use with the bow" (Eiseley 1939:221). The projectile point, the notable lack of pottery and obvious cultigens suggested a post-Folsom date but still an age "predating by a considerable margin the appearance of agriculture in the central plains" (Eiseley 1939).

Smith's geomorphic evaluation lent support to this interpretation. The Spring Creek valley had experienced the deposition of 10.5 ft of alluvium, followed by a lowering of the base level for the area. Subsequently, a floodplain 14 ft below the present ground surface was formed. Another drop in base level occurred, with the formation this time of the modern floodplain. The floodplain was about 100 yd across (Smith 1938:1901). "Comparison with observed rates of post-Wisconsin erosion in glaciated areas indicates that these events could have taken place in the latter half or third of postglacial time" (Smith 1938). Eiseley summed up Smith's overview by suggesting a date of 5000 years B.P. or older (Eiseley 1939).

Archeological testing at the Spring Creek site is of some interest. To Eiseley "the importance of the site lies in its contribution of additional evidence of the existence of nomadic bison hunters in the central plains below the recognized ceramic cultures, but evidently later in time than the Folsom horizon" (Eiseley 1939:221). Previously only Strong (1935:224-239)

had reported horizons of similar age in the Central Plains at Signal Butte. As the period between Folsom and the protohistoric spanned 10,000 years, sites that helped to fill in this gap were crucial (Eiseley 1939; Roberts 1978). From a modern point of view, the work represents the first professional investigation of a probable Archaic site in Kansas. Moreover, in bringing in a geologist, the testing may well be the first case of interdisciplinary research directed on an

relationship between Eiseley and Smith was less than smooth. Many years later, when Clark donated his papers to the university archives, he penciled a footnote at the bottom of a copy of a letter to Eiseley. In it, Clark suggested that Smith had "muscle in" on the find, "reporting it to [the geology] journal and press ahead of Loren" (C.D.Clark to L.C. Eiseley, December 10, 1940, footnote undated, UKA).

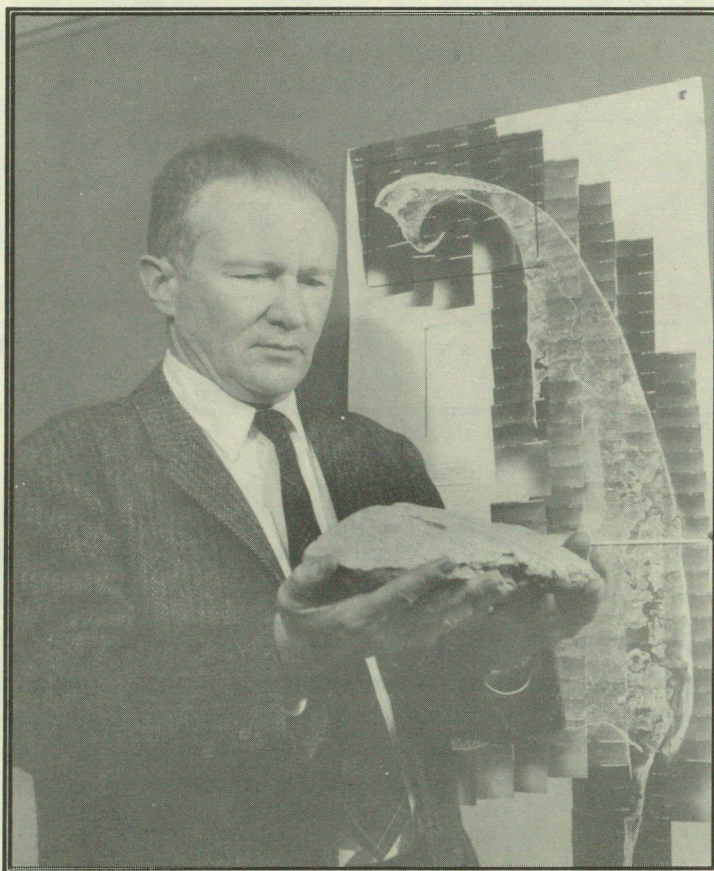


Figure 4. Harold Theodore Urh Smith in 1961.  
Courtesy University of Massachusetts Archives, Amhurst, Mass.

archeological site in the Central Plains.

Because of the importance of the site, it is somewhat surprising that full-scale excavations were never undertaken. The site and especially the collection were woefully under reported. No description of the point or comparison with Strong's data from Nebraska were offered, for instance. The collection itself subsequently disappeared. One explanation may be that the

Within the letter itself, Clark mentioned to Eiseley, who was then in New York doing post-doctoral study, that Smith had recently dropped by. As Clark put it, Smith seemed "cordial and a bit inquisitive. I could not be ... certain what he had up his sleeve ... No doubt you are correct in thinking he will need a bit of watching" (C.D.Clark to L.C. Eiseley, December 10, 1940, footnote undated, UKA).

The story is a bit more complicated than that, however. Smith reported his findings on the site at the annual meetings of the American Geological Society in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on December 29, 1938 (Berkey 1938). Eiseley delivered his paper on the Spring Creek site, December 30, 1938, at the American Anthropological Association meetings in the Commodore Hotel in New York (American Anthropological Association 1938). Although Smith did beat Eiseley to the punch by one day, it hardly merits condemnation. After all, Smith reported the site to the geological community and Eiseley to the anthropological. While Smith may not have sought the approval of his colleague in sociology beforehand, he

freely acknowledged that the testing was directed by Eiseley (Smith 1938). Exactly what transpired between the two men will probably never be known but the perception arose that Smith had violated Eiseley's trust.

Disappointment may well have been another factor in the cessation of investigations. Eiseley, caught up in the excitement of the era, had his sights set on Folsom, but the Spring

Creek site turned out to be something else (Christianson 1990:188). While he found it of interest and did publish a brief report--which is better than no report at all--the fact remains, the site was not the site he wanted. Possibly he did intend to more fully describe the collections and setting at a later date. If so, then as with so many of his plans, it did not come to pass. Despite the great potential of the site (cf. Frazier 1966) and encouragement from Kirk Bryan to continue the investigations (KU News Bureau, October 3, 1939, UKA), nothing further was accomplished at Spring Creek.

In all fairness to Eiseley, the reality of excavating a deeply buried component such as that at Spring Creek may just have been too daunting. The investment of time, money, and labor would be phenomenal, then, as now. Such an effort would have made considerable demands not only upon Eiseley and Smith, but their respective departments, and ultimately the university. While the university budget committee did appropriate funds to Eiseley, those monies never amounted to more than \$100 per year, vastly below the capital requirements necessary for full-scale investigations.

The following year Eiseley's friend C. Bertrand Schultz called Eiseley to a site on the Platte River in southeastern Nebraska. There, quarrying activity uncovered a partial human skeleton and a lens of charcoal under 38 ft of overburden. Eiseley, once again, entertained grand hopes that this was the break he had been awaiting. "The find belongs to a much older period than the Smith County site upon which Dr. H.T.U. Smith and myself have been working. There are traces of extinct fauna and I feel confident that the site will be demonstrated to be of a high antiquity" (L.C. Eiseley quoted in KU News Bureau, April 1939, UKA).

Schultz and Eiseley were so excited that they decided to write a book on the Folsom period and even signed a book contract with Macmillan. For a variety of reasons, including World War II and Eiseley's own lack of follow through, the book was never written (Christianson 1990:188-189).

### *A Modest Proposal*

Two and half years passed and, with the exception of test excavations at Spring Creek and sporadic surveying, Eiseley was no closer to filling in the gaps in the understanding of Kansas prehistory. Content no longer to search for and investigate sites in his spare moments, Eiseley and Clark conceived of a modest, but nonetheless ambitious, "Proposed Plan for State Archaeological Project Sponsored by the University." The plan was drawn up and submitted to the university administration in March 1940. The plan certainly had Clark's support. In fact, Clark had sounded out budget committee chairman E.B. Stouffer as early as January 1938 about just such a scheme (C.D. Clark to E.B. Stouffer, January 17, 1938, UKA).

The stated reason for proposing the plan was "the great opportunity presented by the almost untouched archaeological resources of Kansas ... The Smithsonian Institution and other national agencies are interested in seeing these resources exploited by competent scholars. Unless the University assumes responsibility... careless and destructive tactics on the part of amateurs, vandals, and those seeking commercial benefits are certain to deplete materials that are invaluable and irreplaceable" (Eiseley and Clark 1940:1).

Federal relief monies were already being used to fund archeological research in Montana, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Texas, and Nebraska (Wedel 1982a). As the two so adroitly pointed out, several of the sponsoring institutions had "gained enviable prestige" as a result (Eiseley and Clark 1940:1).

The two men called for the university to inaugurate an archeological project, the purpose of which was initially to fund survey work, beginning as early as June 1940. The start-up cost of these operations was to be \$3,240. The budget for the first summer included the following (Eiseley and Clark 1940:2):

- (1) Equipment (including pick-up truck, tents, cots, and implements) (\$600)
- (2) Salary of Dr. Eiseley (2½ months) (\$690)

- (3) Travel expense (\$850)
- (4) Salary of assistant field supervisor @ \$200 per month for 2½ months (\$500)
- (5) Wages for cook and miscellaneous expenses (\$250)
- (6) Rations for field party (\$150)
- (7) Compensation to private land owners (\$200)

Although Eiseley and Clark provided an itemized budget totaling \$3,240, later in the document they suggested \$4,000 as a more realistic figure (Eiseley and Clark 1940:3).

The survey would seek archeological sites all over the state of Kansas and would run through the summer (Eiseley and Clark 1940:2). Advanced students would supply much of the labor for which they would pay a fee and receive college credit. Another professionally trained archeologist was to be hired to supervise field parties (Eiseley and Clark 1940).

Of course, laboratory and storage facilities were critical to the enterprise but were not specifically included in the first year's budget (Eiseley and Clark 1940:3). Laboratory space and equipment were addressed in the second part of the plan, however, as detailed below (Eiseley and Clark 1940:3):

- (1) Summer field work, after the first year (\$2,500)
- (2) Travel expense (\$400)
- (3) Maintenance of equipment and outfitting laboratory (\$100)
- (4) Graduate assistant (\$450)
- (5) Photographic work, plates for publications, etc. (\$75)

After the first year, it was assumed that costs could be reduced. Once outfitted, equipment need only be maintained, for instance. The amount needed to keep the project operational was, then, \$3,500 per year. While more than their actual budget for the first year, it was \$500 less than their final estimate of \$4,000 for start-up funds.

Ultimately, it was felt that, with such a project in full gear, Works Projects

Administration (WPA) funding could be sought to supplement and possibly reduce the university's support. But it was clear that, for the first year anyway, the university would be on its own: "We believe that a preliminary survey of this sort is highly desirable, if not indispensable, *before* taking steps to sponsor a W.P.A. project on a state-wide basis [emphasis added]" (Eiseley and Clark 1940:2). Without the university providing the money to get the ball rolling, "we doubt seriously if the University would be in a strategic position to obtain a W.P.A. project" (C.D. Clark to Chancellor D.W. Malott, March 19, 1940, KUMA).

Clark and Eiseley stressed that, after WPA funds were forthcoming, the cost of the project for the university would likely be lower than their estimates. The university might also offset some of the expense by providing salaries of consultants, such as geologists and paleontologists, as well as opening up the University Science Series to publish reports (Eiseley and Clark 1940:5). It was expected that some funding would always be provided by the University of Kansas (Eiseley and Clark 1940).

Notably, Eiseley specifically mentioned both geologists and paleontologists as outside specialists who might be brought in on site investigations. Clearly, Eiseley still had his sights set on Paleoindian remains. The need for such expertise (especially in paleontology) on late sites, e.g. Upper Republican, Nebraska, etc., was hardly necessary. Of interest, too, is that the first year's funds were to be directed toward the location of sites, as it is necessary to know where the sites are before they can be investigated. No mention was made of continuing at the Spring Creek site and foregoing survey.

The plan won the staunch and immediate support of familiar allies William Duncan Strong and Waldo R. Wedel. Before Clark and Eiseley had even submitted their written proposal to the administration, each signaled his approval. Strong, who was now at Columbia University, wrote:

It has come to my attention that the University of Kansas, through your

department, is considering archeological work within that State in cooperation with WPA or some such governmental agency. I would like to take this opportunity to point out to you, or to those who may be concerned, the crying need of detailed scientific archeological activity in the State of Kansas ... a great deal of extremely valuable work ... has been accomplished within the last ten years in the adjoining State of Nebraska. Since the aboriginal cultures of this region seem to be derived from the southeast United States, all work in the Northern Plains is now ... dependent on knowing what were the ... cultures of Kansas ... between the northern and southern centers of native civilization. It is my belief that archeological work controlled by your University and directed by trained archeologists would yield much material of value to science. If the University of Kansas undertakes this work, I believe that it would greatly rebound to the credit of that University [W.D. Strong to C.D. Clark, January 13, 1940, KUMA].

Waldo Wedel added, "From here it looks as though the advantages of WPA cooperation would decidedly outweigh the disadvantages" (W.R. Wedel to L.C. Eiseley, January 12, 1940, KUMA). According to Wedel, a major disadvantage of WPA cooperation was that "projects were organized with the primary purpose of reducing unemployment" (Seltzer and Strong 1936:301), rather than for strictly scientific reasons. That fact notwithstanding, WPA archeology was preferable to none at all. Wedel reiterated Strong's comments on the importance of filling in a crucial gap -- Kansas -- in the archeological picture of the region.

Clark and Eiseley soon found themselves in *terra incognita*: interpreting the plan and its need to the chancellor and other administrative officials was one problem, but securing funds was another matter altogether. Clark lamented,

"we have been confronted with the difficulty that there is little in the way of precedent or previously established work to aid in obtaining increased funds, nor is there any well organized private group, museum, or historical society with a definite backing for archaeological work" (C.D. Clark to W.D. Strong, May 23, 1940, KUMA). Hence, the support of recognized scholars such as Strong and Wedel was critical to their efforts.

In June 1940, Eiseley left Lawrence for Columbia University for post-doctoral training and research in biometry. In his absence, Clark continued to push for funding for their project. Clark wrote Eiseley in July (?), "In making up and submitting our biennial request, I 'shot the works' for archeology" (C.D. Clark to L.C. Eiseley, July [?] 1940, UKA). Late in the year, "the request we made for archaeological field study was approved by the Chancellor and Budget Committee, at least in part ... Regents must have approved some allotment ... because in the Chancellor's Biennial Report, which lists the requested appropriations for 1941-43, mention is made of Archeological Exploration of Kansas During the Summer." (C.D. Clark to L.C. Eiseley, February 7, 1941, UKA). Of course, final say was the responsibility of the legislature.

The Budget Committee appropriated \$100 for the 1940-41 fiscal year (University of Kansas 1940). No funds were earmarked for archeological field work the following year, 1941-42 (University of Kansas 1941). In the end, though, it hardly mattered:

In June 1940, when national defense work was greatly accelerated, the WPA began to increase its work on projects contributing to national defense. In the war period, beginning in December 1941, the WPA directed its efforts to projects of value to the Nation's war program [Works Projects Administration 1947:84].

Ranking archeology on par with national defense is something to trouble the dreams only of a chosen few.

## Biometrics

Eiseley's venture into physical anthropology began with the auspicious news that the Social Science Research Council had awarded him \$2,700 for a fellowship at Columbia University and the American Museum of Natural History (*Kansas City Star*, April 11, 1940). In New York, Eiseley spent the summer in directed reading in various aspects of physical anthropology under Harry L. Shapiro and unofficially under William King Gregory and Edwin Colbert in vertebrate paleontology (Christianson 1990:191; L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, July 11, 1940, UKA). Eiseley was thrilled to meet Franz Weidenreich, the German excavator of Zhoukoudien, who was shortly returning to China, and who "is persona non grata at home these days, having Jewish blood" (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, July 11, 1940). Eiseley found it deeply ironic that during World War II, a war waged in part against racial tyranny, the University of Kansas denied entrance to blacks, Jews and Japanese Americans (Christianson 1990:213).

Autumn found him taking courses in anatomy and human dentition. Shapiro allowed Eiseley access to recently collected Ipiutak skeletal remains from Alaska. From December 1940 until March 1941, Eiseley was immersed in studying biometric techniques. This involved the analysis of Basket Maker skeletons from Canyon de Chelly and Canyon del Muerte excavated in the 1920s and 1930s by Earl Morris (Christianson 1990:195-196; Eiseley 1943a).

Eiseley became interested in the possibility of statistically investigating racial and phylogenetic relationships via detailed metrical analyses of skeletal populations (Eiseley 1943a). He proposed to address such issues as heredity, the affects of primitive economy on physical types, and the diffusion and admixture of populations (Christianson 1990:196).

His ultimate hope appears to have been the statistical "seriation," so to speak, of Plains Native Americans in the period from Folsom to more recent populations (Christianson 1990:196). Clearly, to accomplish this Eiseley would need a sizeable data base. "There exists, now, in Kansas

material which deserves such study, and which is available to me" (L.C. Eiseley, Social Science Research Grant, quoted in Christianson 1990:196). He had in mind recently excavated material in Saline County, which he hoped might be available for such a study.

The material he was referring to was in an ossuary, 14SA1, better known as the Salina Burial Pit. Located about four miles east of Salina, Kansas, on the Smoky Hill River, the site consisted of the ossuary itself, as well as a dozen or more house remains. The ossuary contained the remains of almost 150 individuals, ranging from infants to adults, of both sexes. The site was occupied and used by people of the Smoky Hill aspect between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1500 (Wedel 1959:512-525; Stein 1989).

In July 1936, a Salina police sergeant and amateur archeologist, Guy L. Whiteford, together with his wife Mabel and son Jay Dee, excavated the remains of an earthlodge. By the standards of the time, Whiteford was an able and meticulous investigator, who made notes and photographs of his work (Thomas Witty, personal communication, January 3, 1992).

The work attracted the attention of several thousand visitors. It also reminded the owner of an adjoining farm, Howard Kohr, of a story. The first homesteader on the property, B.F. Marlin (or Martin?), had, 70 years before, come across bones while making improvements. Recalling this, Kohr did some preliminary digging to confirm the presence of burials. Finding human remains, he called Whiteford. Whiteford and his family, with technical advice from A.T. Hill and Waldo Wedel, proceeded to unearth close to 150 burials over the next couple of years (Figure 5) (Whiteford 1936, 1941; Wedel 1959:512-523).

The burials, somewhat remarkably, were left *in situ*. Whiteford constructed a building over the site and made it a pay museum beginning in 1937 (Figure 6). The property was sold in 1946, and the new owners, Howard and John Price, took control of the facility (Thomas Witty and John Reynolds, personal communication, January 3, 1992). The so-called "burial pit" attracted not only many thousands of

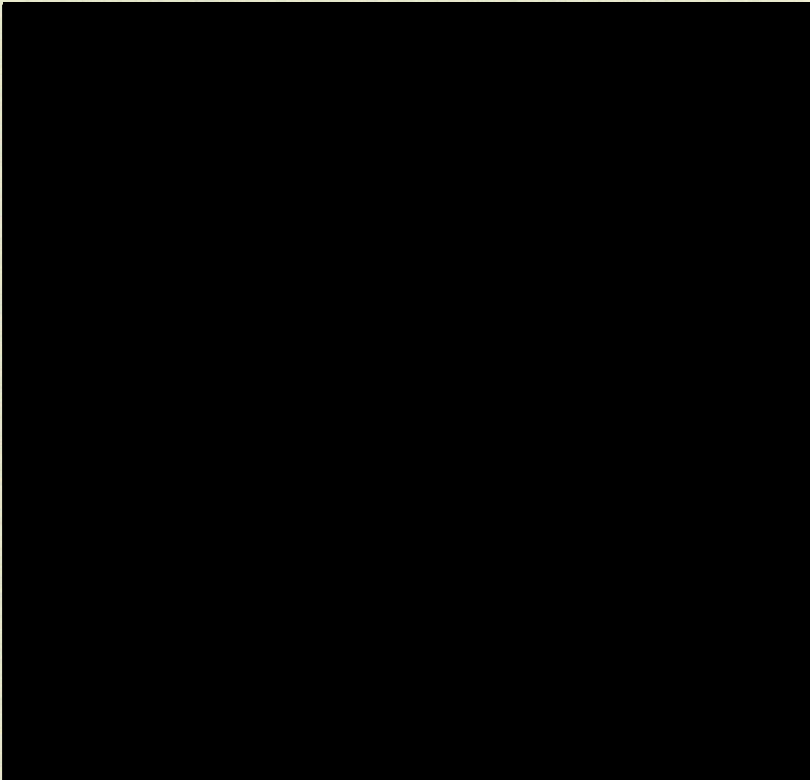


Figure 5. Guy, Jay Dee, and Mabel Whiteford at the Salina Burial Pit in 1937. Courtesy Kansas State Historical Society.

tourists over the next 50 years (before being sealed up in early 1990 after lengthy Native American opposition), but also many interested scholars -- historians, archeologists, and physical anthropologists (Whiteford 1941). One of those interested in the site was Loren C. Eiseley.

Eiseley felt that it was "a great tragedy that the material fell into the hands of commercial exploiters" (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, October 30, 1940, UKA). Nonetheless, he held out "a great hope of getting at ... [the] burials" (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, October 30, 1940, UKA). Eiseley, accompanied by Dr. Clark, visited the site in the late 1930s or possibly very early 1940s, and his interest was piqued. His studies at Columbia demonstrated to him that "there is no record of anything like it, from the standpoint of a single time and a single culture, in that whole section of the Plains, physical remains from which are, on the whole, fragmentary" (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, October 30, 1940, UKA). The discovery of other ossuaries, e.g., the Woodruff ossuary in Phillips

County, Kansas (Kivett 1953), would be forthcoming after the war. None of these was as extensive or possessed the overall degree of preservation as was found at 14SA1.

Eiseley and Whiteford exchanged a brief correspondence in the spring of 1941. Eiseley was still in New York. Whiteford hoped to secure Eiseley's help in reconstructing a lodge near the burial pit (C.D. Clark to G.L. Whiteford, April 22, 1941, KUMA). Clark responded on Eiseley's behalf, suggesting some arrangement might be made. Clark was certainly aware of his subordinate's interest in the skeletons.

Eiseley himself soon wrote to Whiteford and, as he told Clark later, "propositioned him on the matter of going after his skeletal material. As far as

the lodge business was concerned I could only make suggestions, as he probably would want it done this spring for the summer trade." He added, "I do hope we can make a deal, which ... would have certain advantages ... if he is intelligent enough to see it" (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, May 4, 1941, UKA).

To Clark, he worried aloud about studying the skeletons *in situ*, "That has difficulties, is not completely satisfactory from the standpoint of accuracy of measurement, and might force us into merely describing skulls, without attention to long bones" (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, May 4, 1941, UKA). Eiseley wanted the remains out of the ground and in a well-equipped lab. Whiteford's use of the site as a tourist attraction made that impossible.

#### DEPARTURE

None of Eiseley's hopes and dreams were destined to come to fruition in his years at the University of Kansas. The one deeply buried

site he was able to investigate revealed itself to be merely Archaic and not Folsom. Fate -- in the guise of global war -- intervened and put a definite end to plans of large-scale surveys and morphometric seriation of skeletal remains. By the middle of the year 1942 he was teaching not only in the sociology department but in anatomy, as well.

He had returned to Lawrence in time to teach for the fall semester 1941. In fact, inspired by his recent post-doctoral endeavors, Eiseley asked Clark if it might be possible to add a physical anthropology course to the curriculum (L.C. Eiseley to C.D. Clark, July 23, 1940 and March 18, 1941, UKA). Clark approved and even found sympathy for the acquisition of anthropometric apparatus from Dean Paul B. Lawson (C.D. Clark to L.C. Eiseley, June 5, 1941, UKA). Introduction to Physical Anthropology was added to the curriculum for the school year 1941-42 (Christianson 1990:196).

Before the year was out though, the

United States was involved in World War II. Enrollments at the university, which had been declining anyway, were halved by conscription. Many students, even junior faculty, were drafted or volunteered. Carroll Clark reenlisted in 1942 because, although he was 44 years old, he felt that he could not ask his staff to do what he would not (Christianson 1990:199-200).

The next two years were a period of transition for Eiseley. The anatomy department was sorely understaffed and as anatomical training was considered to be crucial, Eiseley began teaching in anatomy in 1944. He was deferred from military service and in exchange "taught young reservists almost round the clock" (Eiseley 1975:146; cf. Christianson 1990:206-207). He continued to teach three or four classes per semester in sociology (Sociology grade sheets, 1942-44, UKA).

Despite the teaching load in two departments, Eiseley found time to use some of his new found knowledge of physical



Figure 6. A group of servicemen visit the Indian Burial Pit ca. 1945.

Courtesy Kansas State Historical Society.

anthropology, publishing three papers in the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science* (Eiseley 1943a, 1943b; Eiseley and Asling 1944). One of these papers discussed his recent research at Columbia while another briefly focused on a non-metric feature of the Foxhall mandible. This fossil was discovered at Swanscombe, England, in 1867. Its temporal placement was still in doubt. On the basis of the mental foramina (depicted in a drawing, as the fossil itself had long since disappeared), Eiseley postulated that it was of Pleistocene age (Eiseley 1943).

Eiseley co-authored a lengthy discourse on a skull from northeast Kansas with anatomy colleague C. Willet Asling. The skull was from a burial in Doniphan County, Kansas. Amateur archeologist R.S. Dinsmore had donated it to the Museum of Natural History many years previously. Of possible Nebraska phase affiliation -- a date of A.D. 1300 was suggested -- it was unusual for the degree of scaphocephaly or elongation it displayed (Eiseley and Asling 1944).

In terms of what Eiseley was to become, this period is regarded by Eiseley scholars and critics as a crucial time in his later development as a writer. During the war years at the University of Kansas, he began writing articles for a more general audience. On the Folsom period, in terms of style, tone, and content, these articles are seen to prefigure his later essays (Christianson 1990:200-201).

The year 1944 rolled around and found Eiseley increasingly frustrated by the lack of research opportunities at the university, "abrasive administrators" (Eiseley 1975:146), and the character of wartime Lawrence. He began looking to other universities for a way out. He wrote to Harry Shapiro in June 1944, chronicling, as he phrased it, his "latest adventures in escaping from Kansas" (L.C. Eiseley to H.L. Shapiro, June 1, 1944, quoted in Christianson 1990:214). Soon after he was off to Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, where he had accepted the position of chair in the department of sociology (Christianson 1990:210-214).

## CONCLUSIONS

Eiseley possessed a vision which, but for World War II, would surely have gained for the University of Kansas and himself some of the "enviable prestige" he and Clark had spoken of years before. Due to circumstances beyond his control, Eiseley's role ultimately became that of a pathbreaker. While he achieved few of his goals, his presence was important in the long run. As a result, anthropology and archeology were firmly established in the curriculum. Despite budgetary problems and the war, anthropology remained viable after Eiseley left. For Eiseley, fame and recognition lay in the future.

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**ALBERT C. SPAULDING  
KU YEARS: 1946-1947**

Marlin F. Hawley  
Kansas State Historical Society

The Kansas Anthropologist, 13(1&2), 1992, pp. 23-57

*Albert C. Spaulding became the second professional archeologist in Kansas when he accepted a position at the University of Kansas in 1946. In addition to teaching in sociology, as had his predecessor, Loren C. Eiseley, Spaulding also received a half-time appointment as assistant curator of anthropology at the Museum of Natural History. Although Spaulding stayed in Kansas only until July 1947, he accomplished a good deal of research, touring southeastern and central Kansas to look at collections and sites, testing a site in Labette County and initiating cooperation between the University of Kansas and the Inter-Agency Archaeological Salvage Program, better known as River Basin Surveys. His contacts with a number of amateurs were amicable and led, in one instance, to a co-authored paper published in American Antiquity in 1948. In July 1947, Spaulding left Kansas to take a position at the University of Michigan.*

Loren C. Eiseley was the first academically employed, professional anthropologist/archeologist in the state of Kansas. Between the years of 1937 and 1944 Eiseley was an assistant professor of sociology and anthropology at the University of Kansas. For two of those years, he had taught not only in sociology but, as his role in the war effort, in anatomy. Ultimately dissatisfied with the university and its limited opportunities, Eiseley left Kansas in the summer of 1944 to take a position at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio.

Eiseley's absence left a hole in the sociology curriculum. Moreover, other disciplines such as biology regularly required some of Eiseley's anthropology courses. As a consequence, the sociology department and Museum of Natural History initiated a search for a replacement. The position was to be a dual appointment in sociology and in the museum of natural history. In 1945, the respective departments had decided on a suitable replacement: Albert C. Spaulding. Spaulding was at the time a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University in New York. A student of William Duncan Strong, his training was primarily in archeology. Although his stay in Kansas was destined to be brief, only a year and half, Spaulding taught and conducted a great deal of

field survey and limited site testing.

**ARRIVAL**

A year had passed since Eiseley had made his departure. The "Good War" had ended. Fascism had been defeated in Europe, it was hoped for good, and, in a shattering triumph of "big science," two Japanese cities had nearly ceased to exist. At the University of Kansas, enrollments were up, dramatically so, jumping from a pre-war figure of about 4,000 to 9,000 by fall 1946 (Registrar's Records, UKA). It was time to get back to the serious business of teaching.

One of the first orders of the day for sociology was to fill the vacancy left by Eiseley. With concern mounting about the commitment of the university to sociology, Seba Eldridge, the acting chairman of the sociology department, wrote to Dean Paul B. Lawson:

Following conversations with Dr. [E.R.] Hall of the Museum of Natural History, I am venturing to write you regarding the candidacy of Mr. Albert Spaulding for the vacancy in anthropology, which involves a division of work-load

between the museum and our Department [S. Eldridge to P.B. Lawson, November 30, 1945, UKA].

The vacancy represented "a serious matter for our Department ... anthropology courses are not and cannot be given until an instructor ... is engaged ... until Eiseley left at least one course in anthropology was required of all our majors" (S. Eldridge to P.B. Lawson, November 30, 1945, UKA). Eldridge found the situation disturbing, and according to him, so did his colleague in natural history.

While in Ann Arbor in September 1945, the director of the museum and field archeology at the Nebraska State Historical Society, Mr. A.T. Hill, heard from James B. Griffin that a search was underway at the University of Kansas for Eiseley's successor. Hill understood that Griffin himself had considered the position (A.T. Hill to A.C. Spaulding, January 23, 1946, KUMA). As Griffin recalls it:

E. Raymond Hall came into my office [at the University of Michigan], must have been 1945 and inquired about my going to the Museum of Natural History. I was made Curator in the Anthropology Museum that year and was trying to become Director. While I was born in Atchison and was thus a native Kansan I was quite sure I did not want to leave Ann Arbor for Lawrence [J.B. Griffin to M.F. Hawley, March 1992].

Instead, Griffin "strongly recommended" a former student, Albert C. Spaulding (J.B. Griffin to M.F. Hawley, March 1992). Spaulding was then a doctoral candidate at Columbia University in New York.

Upon returning to Lincoln, Hill lent his support to Spaulding, dispatching a letter to Hall, stating, "we are acquainted with Mr. Al Spaulding" and "have a very high regard for his ability as a field archeologist ... if you are interested in a man to take up that kind of work, you could find no better" (A.T. Hill to E.R. Hall, October 8, 1945, KUMA). Hill's friend and

Spaulding's professor, William Duncan Strong, was another influential advocate on Spaulding's behalf (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, January 14, 1946, UMMA). Spaulding was the second of his students to seek -- and get -- the position at the University of Kansas.

Within the university, Spaulding found allies in Eldridge, Hall, and presumably the absent chairman, Carroll D. Clark. Clark had instigated the hiring of the first anthropologist for the sociology department in 1937 and he was involved in hiring the second, as well (S. Eldridge to P.B. Lawson, November 30, 1945, UKA). As Clark was on leave at Harvard, Eldridge proposed to Dean Lawson that, as Clark was nearer to Spaulding, arrangements might be made for him to interview Spaulding.

E. Raymond Hall, professor of zoology and director of the Museum of Natural History, was also a Spaulding supporter (Figure 1). A native Kansan, Hall had taken his B.A. at the University of Kansas and graduate degrees at Berkeley in mammalogy. Hall assumed directorship of the museum in 1944, a position he held until 1967 (E.R. Hall file, UKA; see also Graham 1983). Hall had written to Lawson in early 1945 suggesting that Spaulding be invited to Kansas for interviews, but as Eldridge bluntly put it in his subsequent letter to Lawson, "apparently you have not found a move in this direction expedient" (S. Eldridge to P.B. Lawson, November 30, 1945, UKA). Eldridge's persistence, and his initiative in bringing in Clark, apparently worked. Spaulding was hired in December 1945 and was to begin teaching with the February term (KU News Bureau, January 31, 1946, UKA).

Spaulding's arrival at the University of Kansas was greeted with little fanfare. Not the first, and not the master of publicity Eiseley had been, anthropology and archeology had evidently also lost a bit of their "newness," as well. Spaulding, a native of Missoula, Montana (KU News Bureau, January 31, 1946, KUMA; Voorhies 1992), had received his B.A. in economics from the University of Montana in 1935. Two years later he had completed his M.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan.

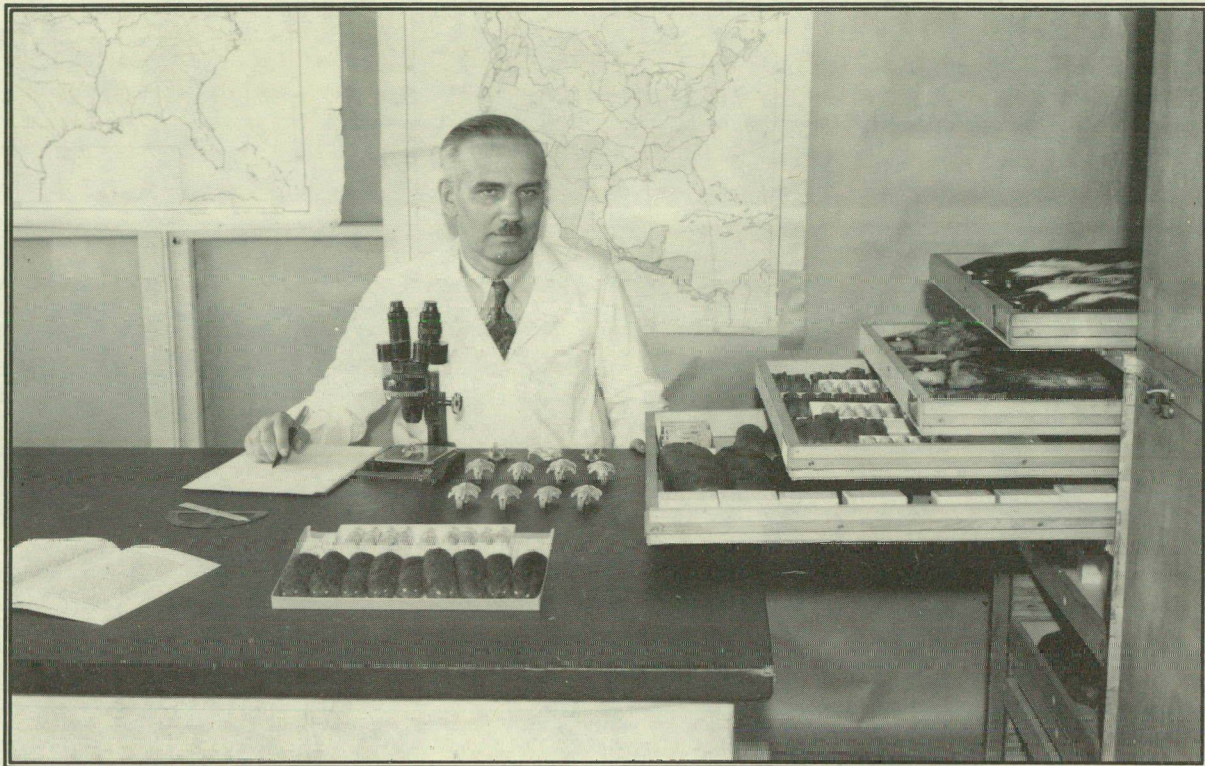


Figure 1. Museum of Natural History director E.R. Hall in 1947.  
 Courtesy University of Kansas Archives, Spencer Research Library.

Thereafter, he began supervising Works Projects Administration (WPA) archeology projects under Webb in Kentucky. After entering graduate school, he served as Strong's field foreman on the jointly run Columbia University and South Dakota Historical Museum's excavations at Arzberger and Buffalo Pasture in 1939 (Figure 2) (Spaulding 1951). In 1940, he supervised a crew during survey of the Natchez Trace in Mississippi (Haag 1985). The following year, he supervised trenching of a site on Bow Creek near Wynot, Nebraska, for the University of Nebraska (Champe 1978).

Entering graduate school in anthropology at Columbia University in 1938, Spaulding completed all but the final requirement for his Ph.D. -- publication of his dissertation -- by 1942 (Voorhies 1992). The years of World War II were:

spent as a civilian working for the topographic unit of the United

States Forest Service as a plane table man, photogrammetrist, and computer ... then we were leased to the Hydrographic Office of the Navy and became their mapping unit ... I emerged with a head full of sines and cosines and an active dislike of mules [A.C. Spaulding to C.E. Guthe, December 13, 1946, KUMA].

His hiring in 1945 occurred before he had published his dissertation. In early 1946 that requirement was completed and his title was duly changed from "instructor" to "assistant professor" (Spaulding 1946a; S. Eldridge to P.B. Lawson, April 1, 1946, UKA).

Elated by his new job, Spaulding informed A.T. Hill:

I have finally managed to get myself back in Plains archaeology after

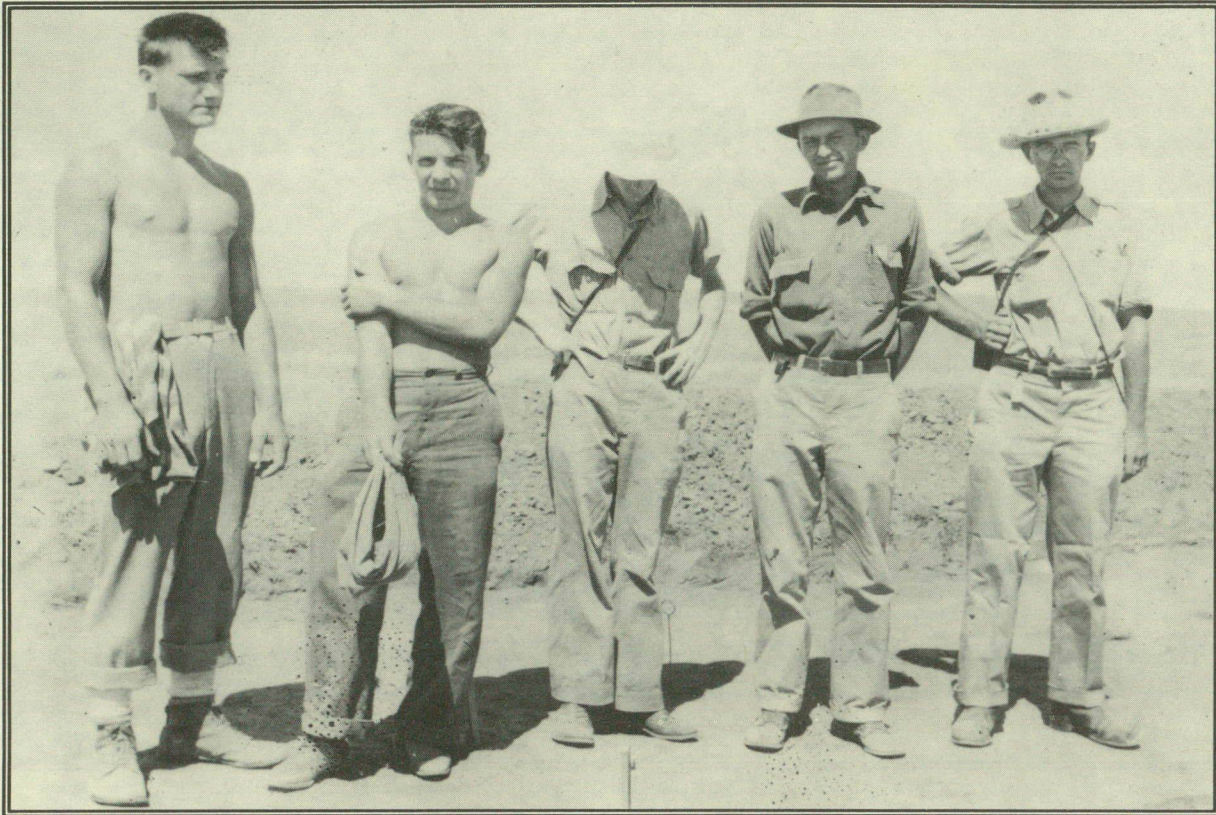


Figure 2. Ralph Solecki, Moss Fletcher, Robert Cumming, Albert C. Spaulding, and Carlyle Smith at the Arzberger site, August 1939.

Courtesy of C. S. Smith.

three years of war ... It feels very good. I have just been appointed as Assistant Curator of Anthropology and Instructor of Anthropology here at Kansas. It seems a very good job to me, as the Museum is anxious to start a research program. I don't know yet just what I will be getting in the way of money for field work, but I ought to be able to promote something [A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, January 18, 1946, NSHS].

The position about which he was so excited committed him half-time to both sociology and the Museum of Natural History. In the sociology department, Spaulding instructed four anthropology courses: General Anthropology, The American Indian, New World Archeology, and Primitive Society (University of Kansas 1947a). Of course, half-time meant that he was responsible for only one course (three credit

hours) per semester. As he left after three semesters, he never taught all of the courses.

As assistant curator of anthropology, Spaulding was to make sure archeological or ethnological materials were properly catalogued, numbered, and stored; keep the university library abreast of current anthropological titles and cooperate with the library in ordering new books; file field notes and maintain the museum's anthropology library; and check up on delinquent loans. Hall expected that researchers would check out artifacts in the same manner that the zoologists checked out specimens. For all his efforts to get an archeologist for his museum, Hall exhibited a profound lack of understanding concerning the very purpose of archeology (C.S. Smith, personal communication, 1992). In regards to assigned museum duties, the director was to be kept informed as to what his staff was up to (Hall 1947).

Eventually, Spaulding was assisted in the museum by Carlos H. Aguilar, a Costa Rican national and graduate of the University of Mexico. Aguilar arrived in the United States in September 1946 on a fellowship to attend graduate school. "He wanted to come here even after I told him that I was not the most distinguished archaeologist in North America" (A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, July 15, 1946, NSHSA).

Spaulding was paid a total of \$3,540 his first year at the University of Kansas. The salary was divided evenly between sociology and the museum, each contributing \$1,750. An additional \$40 in assistance money came from the Natural History Museum's budget (University of Kansas 1947b). Initially, his salary from each department was to be \$1,600 for a total of \$3,200 a year (University of Kansas 1946). The increase was likely the result of a couple of factors: his change in status from instructor to assistant professor and the almost constant barrage of letters from Griffin at Michigan with job offerings (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, February 7, 1947, UMMA). Spaulding enjoyed a substantial salary increase the following year. His combined pay for the 1947-48 fiscal year was budgeted at \$4,400 plus an additional \$100 assistance money (University of Kansas 1947b).

### ARCHEOLOGY

The 1930s and 1940s witnessed the rapid transformation of American archeology. The search for Early Man had been fruitful but, what many missed in the heat of battle was that it was not the finds themselves in many ways which were important. Rather, out of the debate archeology emerged a science (Meltzer 1983). Moreover, Works Projects Administration digs, Tennessee Valley Authority archeology, River Basin Surveys, and the birth of new organizations such as the Plains Anthropology Conference (1932) and the Society for American Archaeology (1935) accelerated that process by disseminating a veritable wealth of new data and interpretations, as well as theoretical matters, typology, taxonomy, etc. These concerns marked a generation (e.g., Taylor 1983; various papers in Watson 1985; Wedel 1982).

At the University of Kansas, Eiseley had been aware of the changes and, with his proposal to secure WPA funds, even sought to participate in them. Eiseley later confessed, however, to "a growing disillusionment with some aspects of scientific values" (Eiseley 1975:146). Spaulding, on the other hand, observed in retrospect, "as a graduate student in the 1930s and 1940s in two American anthropology departments, I had no doubt that I was a student of science" (Spaulding 1988:264). For a new Ph.D. like Spaulding, archeology was an open field, one full of challenge and promise. "An archeologist who [was] intelligent, literate, and numerate" (unattributed quote in Anonymous 1981:470), Spaulding threw himself into his new role as the only professional archeologist in Kansas.

### *Taking Stock*

Spaulding had hardly settled into his new job when Hall requested that he prepare a budget for the 1946-47 year (E.R. Hall to A.C. Spaulding, March 4, 1946, KUMA). He produced not only a budget but conceived of several planning documents at the same time. While only one is dated, there is little doubt that all were written about the same time, probably in March 1946. Overlapping somewhat, the plans include "Provision for Normal Activity in Archaeology" (Spaulding 1946b,c,d), "Archeological Conservation in Kansas" (Spaulding 1946e), and "Preliminary Outline of Anthropology" (Spaulding 1946f,g). Before too much more time had passed he had also drafted yet another, "Summer Field Work in Anthropology" (Spaulding 1946h). For his own use as much as anything, only two of them appear to have been passed along to Hall: "Provision for Normal Activity" and "Summer Field Work". Both bore the imposing heading "Memorandum for the Director." The former included the 1946-47 anthropology budget.

### Provision for Normal Activity in Archaeology.

The first of these planning documents, "Provision for Normal Activity in Archaeology" exists in three drafts, one hand written (Spaulding 1946b), one typed with numerous pencilled revisions (Spaulding 1946c), and a final statement dated March 22, 1946 (Spaulding 1946d). Spaulding briefly summarized previous research in Kansas,

paying special attention to systematic efforts.

Rated particularly high was the work of Waldo R. Wedel of the U.S. National Museum. Over the past several years, Wedel had planned and executed systematic research in western Missouri and Kansas. Importantly, results were "promptly reported" (Spaulding 1946d). As a result of Wedel's work, it appeared that the prehistory of Kansas was similar to that observed for Nebraska, although "the information is far from complete" (Spaulding 1946d).

A few special studies, such as those of Samuel Williston and Handel T. Martin, reports on Lansing Man, and unattributed locational data on Pawnee sites in northern Kansas received mention. By far the largest category, though, were "sketchy or pseudo-scientific reports on various aspects of Kansas archaeology" (Spaulding 1946d). While not completely without merit, reports such as those by Warren King Moorehead, J.V. Brower, as well as "obscure publications of several amateur archaeologists" -- of variable quality -- "do not appear to have much promise" (Spaulding 1946b; cf. Wedel 1934:213).

Finally, he considered museum collections, both those at the university and in other Kansas institutions, to be of some value. Once again, however, their haphazard provenience data and frequent non-diagnostic qualities limited their utility to teaching collections and technological and distribution studies (Spaulding 1946d).

Following this review, Spaulding laid out a research program of his own. After examining the museum's collections he concluded, "the problem of highest priority is the identification and excavation of sites of the tribes of the early historic period" (Spaulding 1946d). With the exception of the Wichita, early historic peoples such as the Kansa, Osage, and western tribes like the Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne were "virtually unknown from an archeological standpoint ... A thorough knowledge of the material culture of these groups is fundamental" (Spaulding 1946d).

Immigrant tribes were not included in this program (Spaulding 1946c) for the simple reason

that, armed with a detailed knowledge of historic groups, Spaulding proposed then working backward in time. Using the direct historical approach in spirit, if not in name, he hoped by "excavations at selected sites to establish a chronology of cultural succession" (1946d). The effort would be of necessity interdisciplinary in nature for in dealing with the recent period the assistance of an historian was essential.

Early sites, on the other hand, demanded specialized geological studies, "The work to date can only be considered preliminary in view of the fact that some 13,000 of a probable 14,000 years of human occupation in Kansas is not represented by described archaeological sites" (Spaulding 1946d). Aside from consideration of this course of action, Spaulding observed that salvage operations at seven reservoirs planned or already being built were looming ever larger on the horizon (Spaulding 1946d).

The handwritten draft of the "Provision for Normal Activity in Archaeology" had another section on field techniques which was excised from later drafts. Finding sites was obviously a critical first step. Two men, lightly equipped, could best accomplish such reconnaissance via study of aerials, on the ground survey, and questioning of local residents, collectors especially. "Probably 90 per cent of archaeological sites in the Mississippi Valley are located by questioning rather than direct exploration" (Spaulding 1946b).

When located, sites would be plotted on the photos, surveyed, a sample collection made, and if it was deemed necessary, minor excavations carried out. Information would be recorded on "a standard form to be filed in a general state index of sites" (Spaulding 1946b). As of yet no standard site form existed (but would soon, along with the trinomial site numbering system, courtesy of River Basin Surveys) and certainly there was no central repository for the information. Significant sites, defined as those with the potential to fill in the gaps in the archeological record, could then be excavated. Crews would be hired either locally or comprised of unpaid student labor, provided with room, board, and laundry (Spaulding 1946b).

Coming around finally to expenditures, Spaulding proposed a tentative budget requesting money for not only field work but for laboratory processing of materials, cataloguing, curation, and maintenance of the collections (Spaulding 1946d):

Field Equipment  
Station wagon (\$1500.00)  
Surveying equipment (\$350.00)  
Photographic equipment (\$200.00)  
Excavating equipment (\$50.00)

Field Operating Expenses (\$350.00)

Research and Equipment  
Storage cases (\$800.00)  
Office furniture (\$400.00)  
Paper trays (\$15.00)  
Special items (calipers, profile gauge, etc.) (\$75.00)

Laboratory Operating Expenses (\$50.00)

Cataloging and Care of Collections  
Student Assistant (\$40.00)  
Stationary and other supplies (\$15.00)

Exhibit Maintenance (\$315.00)

Travel (\$200.00)

Total: \$4,360.00

Field operating expenses, he was quick to point out, was a budget item dependent upon federal monies from the River Basins Surveys. Without cooperation of the university with the Smithsonian Institution, "the figure would cover only reconnaissance and minor excavation" (Spaulding 1946d). Spaulding was apparently under the impression that substantial sums of federal money would soon be released to cooperating institutions. No large sum of funds was to be forthcoming, however. Wedel assured him that many of the administrative details of the River Basin Surveys would soon be resolved (W.R. Wedel to A.C. Spaulding, February 12, 1946, KUMA).

The actual 1946-47 fiscal year allocation for anthropology, excluding his salary, totaled \$400. Fifty dollars was earmarked for maintenance and the remainder for field work (University of Kansas 1946). Much less than the sum requested, Spaulding made the best of it. By summer he could report to A.T. Hill, "At long last I have a car ... a 1929 Chevrolet truck. It won't be luxurious, but it will be transportation, I hope" (A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, July 15, 1946, NSHSA). His "I hope" was justly warranted. The car was something of a lemon as it was frequently in the shop (Spaulding 1946i). As for other equipment, "I haven't done too well ... although the University is willing to pay for it" (A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, July 15, 1946, NSHSA). Subsequent equipment purchases included a transit, a 100 ft. chain tape, a 6 ft tape, a rod level, a table board with compass, storage cabinets, and other items.

*Archaeological Conservation in Kansas.* On the ever important topic of the preservation of sites, Spaulding highlighted three main causes of site destruction: looters, amateurs, and engineering operations. Comprehensive and soundly constructed antiquities laws could be designed, he hoped, "to curb dealers' activities without antagonizing the amateur group" (Spaulding 1946e). "The legal basis for such a bill," he mused, "is dubious except in the case of governmentally owned land" (Spaulding 1946e). And, of course, there was the sticky little problem of enforcement. On the issue of the amateurs and engineering operations, he saw a possible conjoining and envisioned an educational program aimed at the amateur community:

Destruction of sites by amateurs is also a serious problem. This digging ranges from quite expert and well recorded excavation to ordinary looting, the latter being more common. The only remedy here is an educational program stressing the unique character of archaeological remains, the necessity for careful excavations and complete recording to recover and preserve the information in the ground, and the importance of making the results of

the excavation available to all interested students. The amateur collector can play a very important part in research by building up a well cataloged collection of surface materials, and should be encouraged to do this.

The destruction of sites by engineering operations, particularly dam and highway building, is another perennial problem. Some damage from this source is inevitable, but an effort should be made to minimize the loss through contacts with authorities on the larger projects. Here again the local amateur is the key figure, since most of the problems arise unexpectedly and the only possibility of salvage is through quick action.

The most practical approach to the whole problem is through an educational program directed at the amateur collectors, and no opportunity to present the scientific point of view should be neglected. The State Historical Society offers one means of reaching this group collectively [Spaulding 1946e].

Spaulding believed that amateurs, if properly motivated and taught, could be a positive force. The responsibility sat squarely on the shoulders of the profession, however. His final suggestion, made at a time when the attitude toward archeological research at the Kansas State Historical Society was generally negative (Hawley 1991a), anticipated the society's Kansas Archeology Training Program by almost 30 years.

*Preliminary Outline in Anthropology.* The day after he first recommended Spaulding for the position in early 1945, Hall told a possible museum donor, "we are well equipped to give lasting care to ethnological materials" (E.R. Hall to L.A. Hartley, January 15, 1945, KUMA). Despite his assertion, Spaulding's final planning document makes it clear that problems existed. There was a necessity to examine all specimens,

both archeological and ethnographic, and "to straighten out cataloging" (Spaulding 1946g). Consolidation of storage was also high on the list of priorities.

The archeology exhibits were in need of reorganization. Information in some of the displays was completely inaccurate. "El Quartejejo does not date back to time of Coronado" (Spaulding 1946f). In some instances, description was non-existent, as with a display of pottery exhibited without any indication from where the material came. Northwest Coast objects were indiscriminately and carelessly grouped with those attributed to Greenlandic Eskimo. Zulu furniture was inappropriately labelled. A broadsword was among the Native American artifacts without apparent reason (Spaulding 1946f).

After the many errors, omissions, and inconsistencies were rectified, he intended to move on to an "overall plan for display of Kansas archaeology" (Spaulding 1946g). The display was to be organized chronologically and "to give some sort of functional picture for each culture and noting geographical factors" (Spaulding 1946g).

All in all, however, such problems were comparatively minor to those reported by Carlyle S. Smith. Several years after taking over as assistant curator, Smith was directed to a large collection of Northwest Coast materials being stored, by natural history and the art department, in the basements of Hoch Auditorium and the administration building. Needless to say, these places were less than ideal storage areas. Dampness and lack of temperature controls resulted in some materials, such as textiles, being virtually destroyed (C.S. Smith, personal communication, 1987, 1992). Probably this is not what Hall had in mind when he boasted to the aforementioned donor, "plans are underway for the regulation of the temperature in that part of the Museum of Natural History where specimens are kept, thus guarding against the disintegration of materials" (E.R. Hall to L.A. Hartley, January 15, 1946, KUMA).

### *The Summer of '46*

The spring of 1946 found Spaulding in eager anticipation of his proposed summer of fieldwork. As planned and related to Dr. Hall, he intended "to examine existing collections of archaeological material and to become acquainted with local collectors, to locate sites for future excavation, and to make surface collections of material for the museum study collections" (Spaulding 1946h).

To achieve his goals, Spaulding proposed not one but two field trips. The first was to be a month-long swing through southeastern Kansas -- "a little known sector" (Spaulding 1946h) -- before heading west to the Garden City area. The return to Lawrence would include a side tour to Kanopolis, the locale of some of the first River Basin Surveys' explorations in Kansas. Along the way stops would be made in a number of towns to see collections, and where possible, visit sites.

Ottawa, Hamilton, Chanute, Fredonia, Cedar Vale, Winfield, Arkansas City, Wichita, Garden City, Scott City, Ellsworth, Lindsborg, Salina, Clay Center, and Manhattan were on his itinerary. Spaulding's knowledge of many local collectors and amateurs was quite detailed. The probable source of at least some of the information was the paleontologists on staff in the natural history museum, in particular Claude Hibbard (A.C. Spaulding, personal communication, 1987).

The second trip was not to be so elaborate, involving brief sojourns from Lawrence to northeastern Kansas and Kansas City. He hoped to see the Zimmerman collection in Highland and locate some of the sites collected years earlier by R.S. Dinsmore and G.U.S. Hovey. In Kansas City, the attraction was the Trowbridge collection of Kansas City Hopewell and Spiro materials. The Kansas City Hopewell sites, in particular, fascinated him (e.g., Schultz and Spaulding 1948; Spaulding 1978):

An important objective ... is to locate sites of Hopewell (Ohio Mound Builder) culture for

excavation, as the origins and distribution of this culture is one of the most important problems in eastern American archaeology. The problem of salvage here is almost as great as that of the dam basins as the sites are in a thickly settled area and are intensively looted [Spaulding 1946h].

**The archeological fieldwork appropriation** for the fiscal year 1946-47 was \$350. Because of the scheduling of the appropriation, his archeological tour of Kansas did not begin until July. On July 21, 1946, after a morning getting the car radiator flushed, Spaulding drove down to Ottawa to visit Allen Graffham. Graffham, a geologist with an interest in archeology, escorted him to several sites on Sac and Tequa creeks, including one exposed under a meter of overburden in a cutbank (A. Graffham to M.F. Hawley, June 16, 1992). The points in Graffham's collection from the site "are suggestive of Folsom" (Spaulding 1946i).

The following day found him (with son Ronald) in Highland "to take a preliminary look at the famous northeastern corner of the state" (Spaulding 1946i). After a time, courtesy of local amateur Fenn Ward, he was able to see the remnants of Mark Zimmerman's collection. Zimmerman had been an avid collector in the first quarter of the century and for a time styled himself the "state archeologist" of Kansas (Hawley 1991a). Spaulding exclaimed:

it is evident that the importance of the area has not been exaggerated. Saw Nebraska culture or Upper Republican, Woodland, and Oneota pottery, and a number of other artifacts from the Leary site and others ... This is the most productive area I have seen in the Plains [Spaulding 1946i].

No mention was made of any efforts to relocate sites.

Several days later, after additional radiator work and a visit to the Kansas City Museum to see a portion of the Trowbridge collection,

Spaulding took to the road. Over the next two weeks he visited collectors throughout southeastern and central Kansas. In a Fredonia collection he saw heavy, grit tempered, cordmarked sherds; smooth, possibly grit tempered, grooved paddle-impressed sherds; and thin sand tempered pottery, all alleged to be from a rockshelter on the Verdigris River near Independence. Unfortunately, the legal location he was supplied with puts the shelter several miles from the river it was supposed to overlook. Two days later, with Bert Moore, of Winfield, he:

spent most of the day [August 2, 1946] examining the well-known flint quarries in Cowley Co., Kans. and Kay Co., Oklahoma. Started at Maple City and worked south ... and did a little exploratory work. The quarries now show as an extensive series of pits on the ridge top formed by the resistant bed of limestone containing the flint nodules ... The various sites are distributed over a linear distance of about 12 miles, in roughly a north-south line ... There are 6 areas with prominent workings, consisting of nearly continuous pits bordered by slabs of the quarried limestone. The pits are now from 1 to 4 [feet] deep, and usually stretch for 100 or more yards along the ridge top. We

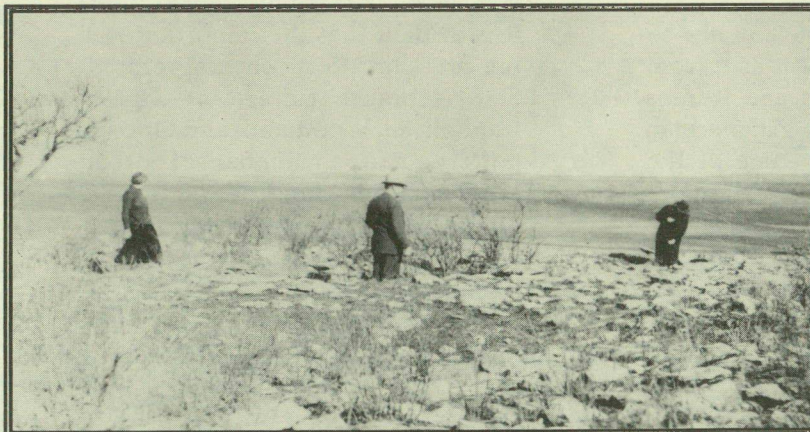


Figure 3. The Maple Hill/Kay County chert quarries in the 1920s.

Photo by Bert Moore. Courtesy, Kansas State Historical Society.

did not find any artifacts associated with them, but large ovoid blanks are fairly common [Spaulding 1946i; cf. Wedel 1959:476-480 and Spring 1966].

Following the visit to the quarries (Figure 3), the two men drove to Dexter and looked at a collection from Grouse Creek. "Pottery is not too well represented in the collection, but the sherds I saw include Hopewell [Cuesta?] and Woodland type, some of Wedel's Wichita or Paint Creek type, and other cord-marked sherds" (Spaulding 1946i). Spaulding noted, "this creek is reported to be extremely rich in sites, which must cover a considerable period, to judge by the ... collection" (Spaulding 1946i). Recent survey in the Cowley County portion of the U.S. 166 Highway Corridor bears out that claim (Hawley et al. 1992).

The next day, Moore took Spaulding into Kay County, Oklahoma, where they looked over the famed Deer Creek site, an historic Wichita village (cf. Wedel 1988). Moore had collected off of the site for almost 50 years. At the site were:

a number of low mounds, those in plowed ground showing ashes and numerous flints, sherds, scrap bone, etc. The site was apparently fortified, with ditch and embankment following roughly the bank of Deer Creek. I could not make out a complete enclosure, however, and Mr. Moore ... tells me that he has not observed any complete enclosure. The Moore surface collection from the site is extensive and includes pottery, bone points, awls, and hoes, various types of flint tools, including points, end scrapers, etc., and a very important series of trade goods. The trade materials consist of gun

parts, 1/2 ounce musket balls, iron axes, knives, and hoes, gun flints of local manufacture, glass beads, parts of brass kettles, copper bangles, etc. The engraved trigger guards and other gun parts have been examined by Arthur Woodward of the Los Angeles Museum and by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Both agree that the specimens are of French manufacture, probably early 18th Century [Spaulding 1946].

Another nearby site, roughly contemporaneous with Deer Creek, had an oval enclosure. The next stop was the Country Club site (14CO3) west of Arkansas City. They also examined a collection of pottery from "sites on the bottom of the Walnut just north of Ark City [Larcom-Haggard-14CO1?]" (Spaulding 1946i; cf. Wedel 1959).

Spaulding made it eventually to Salina to meet with Guy Whiteford and examine the Salina Burial Pit. His route to Salina was a circuitous one, however. Though part of the record has been lost, he visited Friends College in Wichita before going through Lindsborg and then north to Beloit (and possibly places in between). Eventually, he went to Alma, Nebraska, to see A.T. Hill and crew. There, he told Hill later, "I ... succeeded in finding only your tracks" (A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, August 16, 1946, NSHSA).

Unable to find Hill, he drove down to Salina. The car's oil pump failed near Minneapolis and repairs delayed him for a few hours. In Salina, Whiteford showed Spaulding the ossuary before taking him to a village site where they made a surface collection of pottery and chipped stone. Spaulding tried to get in touch with Floyd Schultz in Clay Center on August 13th but Schultz, a Clay Center businessman and amateur anthropologist, was apparently out of town (Hawley 1991a, 1991b).

Spaulding drove over to Manhattan and "examined the archaeological material in the museum of the State College" (Spaulding 1946i). Artifacts included cordmarked pottery and "one

queer baggy [?] pot, cordmarked with rim fillet" (Spaulding 1946i). As per the usual, provenience on the specimens was next to useless. A few hours later, he was back in Lawrence, his field trip completed. He had \$207 remaining in his field work budget. The field trip cost a whopping \$92. Previous to his trip, he had already spent \$51 (Spaulding 1946i).

Although he had not been able to contact several of the collectors on his list, and did not get as far west as he would have liked, he did follow up on a few leads on sites and collections that he had not known of before. Small surface collections were made at several sites. Spaulding's provenience data provided in the museum catalogue were scanty, often lacking legal locations (Old catalogue, KUMA). He expended a fair amount of film on his trip, as well. Regrettably, few, if any, of the photographs he took during his 18 months at the university, including the ones from this field trip, appear to be extant.

Whether Spaulding reckoned his three week journey a success or not is something that he did not record in his notes. In a letter to A.T. Hill he commented: "My trip was just a quick swing through eastern and south central Kansas ... I contacted a number of collector's so as to get an idea of the sort of thing they are finding, and looked at quite a few sites" (A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, August 16, 1946, NSHSA). He ended on a plaintive note, however:

The sites down here don't show up much on the surface, at least those I have seen; I haven't seen a real house ring since I left Nebraska, although they have them in the northern part of the state, as you know better than I [A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, August 16, 1946, NSHSA].

#### *River Basin Surveys: Present at the Creation*

A persistent theme which runs through Spaulding's 18 months at the University of Kansas, as well as the tenure of his successor, is the River Basin Surveys (RBS). "The inception

of the River Basin Surveys was an event of transcendent importance to American archaeologists" (Jennings 1985:281). A program of awe inspiring dimensions, the legacy of RBS continues to shape American archeology in myriad ways (for reviews, see especially Wedel 1967 and Jennings 1985; see also Woodall and Perricone 1981).

Anxious to participate, to Spaulding must go the credit for initiating the long cooperation between RBS and the University of Kansas. Within days of his arrival, Spaulding wrote to W.R. Wedel (W.R. Wedel to A.C. Spaulding, February 12, 1946, KUMA); John C. Frye, of the Kansas Geological Survey (J.C. Frye to A.C. Spaulding, February 7, 1946, KUMA); Professor Jesse Wrench, of the University of Missouri (J.E. Wrench to A.C. Spaulding, February 20, 1946, KUMA); and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' officials. Sought was information on the possibility of cooperation between the university and the federal agencies involved in reservoir planning and construction for archeological investigations of threatened sites. The responses reveal that much was still in the air and that Spaulding knew about as much as everyone else.

Wedel, whose position at the Smithsonian Institution put him close to the decision making process, responded:

The archeological program for the Missouri Valley is still hanging fire. As you are doubtless aware, several Engineer Corps projects are under way in Kansas; others are authorized for early construction and there are several recommended projects not far from Lawrence. It is our hope that funds will soon be available for the initial survey. Since we shall probably have to proceed on a more modest scale than was originally hoped for, it may be some sort of cooperative set-up can be arranged that will be mutually satisfactory. As now contemplated, the work in the Missouri Valley will not consist of outright grants on a WPA basis, but I believe that by making use of local

organizations we will still be able to accomplish a good deal. In the long run, much depends on what Congress does with the appropriation bill for the coming fiscal year since it would be unwise to build up a large professional organization on temporary funds which might leave us hamstrung when the new fiscal year opens [W.R. Wedel to A.C. Spaulding, February 12, 1946, KUMA].

Slowly, ever so slowly, the program was coming together. Wedel promised further information by mid-April (W.R. Wedel to A.C. Spaulding, February 12, 1946, KUMA).

RBS was a response by the archeological community and the Federal Government to a crisis:

Late in the autumn of 1944, archeologists throughout the United States began to realize that the development and expansion of a nation-wide program for flood control, irrigation, hydroelectric, and navigation projects by the Federal Government would eventually destroy many archeological sites [Roberts 1951:351].

These projects, already underway in some instances with hundreds of additional reservoirs planned in at least sixteen states, originated in the Flood Control Acts of 1938 and 1944. The responsibilities for carrying out the proposed projects fell to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Corps) and the Bureau of Land Reclamation (BuRec). Inevitable jurisdictional disputes arose but were soon forestalled through an interagency agreement thrashed out by Colonel Lewis Pick, of the Corps, and W. Glenn Sloan, of BuRec in 1944 (Worster 1985:287-288). The emergent compromise, known as the Pick-Sloan Plan, signaled the go ahead for planning and construction of literally hundreds of dams and ancillary projects.

The threat to the nation's archeological and historical heritage was not immediately

obvious except to the agencies involved, namely the Corps and BuRec. As the governmental agency charged by the Antiquities Act of 1906 and the Historic Sites Act of 1935 with protecting archeological and historic sites, the National Park Service (NPS) was also aware of the problem. At the Smithsonian Institution, a few farsighted anthropologists, namely Julian Steward, Frank H.H. Roberts, and Frank Seltzer, "were aware of and alarmed by the situation" (Jennings 1985:282).

In June 1946 the profession formed the Committee for the Recovery of Archeological Remains. The committee was comprised of several distinguished archeologists; William S. Webb, A.V. Kidder, J.O. Brew and Frederick Johnson. By the time it was formed, Roberts had devised an emergency scheme. Roberts acted as liaison between the Smithsonian and the committee. The committee functioned, in part, to alert the greater archeological community to the crisis and enlist the support of as many archeologists as was possible (Jennings 1985; Roberts 1951; Brew et al. 1947).

By mid 1946, agreements between the Corps, BuRec, NPS, and the Smithsonian Institution resulted in the formation of the Inter-Agency Archeological Salvage Program. NPS would supply the Smithsonian Institution with proposed Corps and BuRec reservoir locations and to the Smithsonian would fall the responsibility of advising "the National Park Service as to the number and importance of the known archeological or paleontological sites located within such areas and would recommend such surveys in the field as might be indicated" (Roberts 1951:352). The surveys were to be administered by the Smithsonian Institution through its Bureau of American Ethnology. "The terms of the agreement ... inept and inefficient at best ... gave the NPS the task of annually submitting and defending the budget required for the huge salvage program" (Jennings 1985:283). NPS retained funds sufficient for administration of the overall RBS. Later on, beginning in the early 1950s, NPS entered directly into contracts with archeologists. Roberts was named Director of the RBS program (Jennings 1985:283).

The arrangement proved to be, if not a paragon of efficiency, then at least workable. "Because of the size of the Missouri Basin, the 105 projects already authorized and in many cases under construction there, its importance to American archaeology in general, and the fact that very little was known about most of the region," the Missouri Basin Project was the first to be established (Roberts 1947:218). Waldo R. Wedel, Associate Curator, Division of Archeology, U.S. National Museum, was named as field director of the Missouri Basin Project. Based out of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Wedel "made his plans, assembled personnel, and took to the field in July of 1946" (Roberts 1947:218). That first year Wedel had at his disposal "a staff of six archeologists, an allotment of \$20,000 for the year, no vehicles, and 34 high-priority projects of the Bureau of Reclamation and Corps of Engineers to survey" (Wedel 1967:591).

In late July 1946, Spaulding received a letter from Wedel which indicated that uncertainty was still the order of the day:

The Missouri Valley work is getting under way, but not as fast as we would like. Transportation is tough, and so our work this summer will consist altogether of preliminary scouting with a view to more intensive survey and probably some excavation next spring and summer. We're getting space in John Champe's laboratory, and hope to get some sort of lab force lined up. Ultimately, of course, much more room will be needed ...

I have been in Lincoln about three weeks now, and will doubtless have to stick around until the parties can be dispatched into the field. Then I hope to contact interested persons, such as yourself, in other Basin states and get some idea from them as to what we'll have to do. In proportion to the job that lies before us, the funds and personnel available seem rather small, and we'll certainly have to pool our

resources to salvage the most we can [W.R. Wedel to A.C. Spaulding, July 30, 1946, KUMA].

Despite the shortcomings, three crews of two men each travelled over 13,000 miles in eight weeks, making preliminary surveys of twenty-eight of the thirty-four reservoir projects: eight in North Dakota, six in South Dakota, four in Montana, six in Wyoming, two in Colorado, four in Nebraska, and three in Kansas (Wedel 1947). The "units" surveyed in Kansas were Kirwin, Cedar Bluff, and Kanopolis.

A Corps project, Kanopolis Reservoir was formed by dam construction on the Smoky Hill River. The dam, constructed at a final cost of nearly \$12 million, had actually been partially built prior to World War II. Upon commencement of hostilities, work on the dam, as with numerous others, was halted so that resources could be diverted elsewhere. As of June 30, 1946, the dam was estimated to be about 53% complete (Kivett and Shippee 1947). With construction underway once again, Kanopolis was on the priority list. "I expect to have Kivett and another man in the Kanopolis area sometime soon," Wedel wrote in July (W.R. Wedel to A.C. Spaulding, July 30, 1946, KUMA). Spaulding was out of the office, having begun his tour a week earlier.

The news that an RBS crew, comprised of Marvin Kivett and J. Mett Shippee, was at Kanopolis came then not from Wedel but from Guy Whiteford in Salina. Spaulding interrupted his visit with Whiteford and set out immediately for Kanopolis. After the usual mechanical problems -- the generator this time -- he "went ... to the basin area and started survey, first driving to dam to inquire about Kivett and Shippee, with no result. Located one site, and obtained collector's name through a farmer I interviewed" (Spaulding 1946i). Later that evening, August 8, he finally ran across the survey party in Ellsworth. After supper, he accompanied the pair on a visit to an area collector, William O. Leuty. Over the next few days, Leuty was an almost constant companion.

The preliminary survey of Kanopolis took six or seven days (Figure 4). Spaulding spent

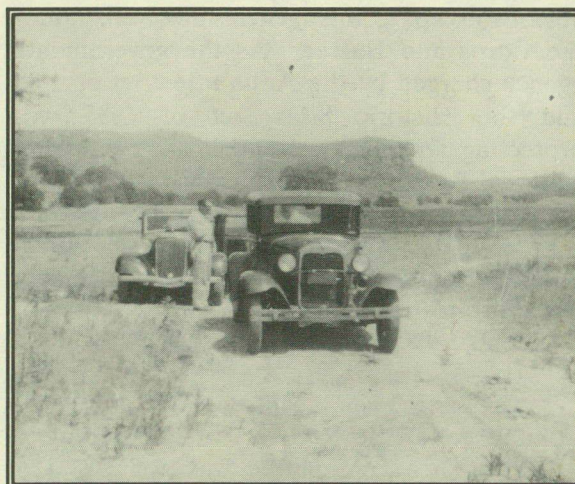


Figure 4. Surveying in the Kanopolis Basin, 1946.

three days at Kanopolis, participation for which he was duly credited in the report issued the following spring (Kivett and Shippee 1947). The morning of August 9, Kivett, Shippee, and Spaulding worked along "Thompson Creek, with good results. Material very scanty, owing to dusty and dry conditions, but enough to indicate sites are there. Looked at Bluff Creek stone mounds" (Spaulding 1946i). A little later, the trio picked up Leuty, who took them "to see some possible lodge sites and pictograph bluffs with negative results" (Spaulding 1946i). The next morning, Spaulding began the laborious task of hand copying Kivett and Shippee's field notes. The afternoon was spent, once again, in Leuty's company. The archeologists examined several caves north of Carneiro "but found no pictographs or other evidence of occupation. Made a search in a corn field at junction of 2 creeks ... finding a few pieces ... and 1 flint chip, but conditions so poor that this may have been a site" (Spaulding 1946i).

Kivett and Shippee finished their work on August 10 and moved on. Spaulding and Leuty were on their own. As it was Spaulding's intention to cooperate with RBS on further surveys, testing, and excavation in the reservoir, he likely stayed on to familiarize himself more with the area. At 14EW17, "Kivett and Shippee found two sherds of rouletted pottery and a stemmed flint point plus a stemmed end scraper suggesting Hopewell. We collected a few sherds,

plain and cordmarked and some flints, but nothing distinctively Hopewellian" (Spaulding 1946i).

Visits were made to a couple of other locales before heading "to the old Ft. Ellsworth site ... Here there is a lot of debris from white occupation, and also flint and cord marked sherds. The site is mostly plowed, and extends north across a small basin for 1/4 mile or more" (Spaulding 1946i). Located at the upper end of the reservoir and not to be inundated, Fort Ellsworth had been occupied from 1864 to 1866 (Mattes 1947). RBS investigated numerous historic sites but occasionally encountered vocal opposition for doing so (Corbett 1961:10-12). Spaulding's tiny surface collection was comprised entirely of artifacts representative of the site's prehistoric component. As with his other collections, those from the Kanopolis area were not well provenienced (Old catalogue, KUMA). The morning of August 12, Spaulding departed the Kanopolis area, resuming his "site seeing" tour of Kansas.

With the assistance of Leuty and Whiteford, the RBS investigations of Kanopolis resulted in recording "a total of 18 sites in the immediate reservoir area" (Kivett and Shippee 1947:3). Many of these sites had been previously located by Leuty and Whiteford. The sites, recorded using the recently developed trinomial system, included "13 occupational areas, 3 petroglyph sites, and 2 burial sites" (Kivett and Shippee 1947:3). Kivett and Shippee were well aware that "intensive survey under favorable conditions will undoubtedly reveal additional sites" (Kivett and Shippee 1947:3). As Spaulding's notes indicate, surface conditions were generally lousy. Twelve of the habitation sites would go under when the reservoir filled. Sections of the sandstone bluff faces, engraved with Native American petroglyphs and Euroamerican graffiti, would suffer the same fate (Kivett and Shippee 1947:3; cf. O'Neill 1981).

The preliminary survey of Kanopolis complete, little mention is made of RBS in Spaulding's papers until the following spring. Crews surveyed until the end of September and used the fall and winter to not only analyze and

write up the results, but to develop uniform report formats, plan further work, and sort out who was going to do what come springtime. Into its first year, doubts were raised as to whether RBS would even survive as a program. Spaulding reported to Griffin at one point: "I recently spent a weekend in Lincoln. There was an atmosphere of gloom in Champe's basement so thick it was difficult [to] find one's way around. I take it that Congress is really going to chop off the River Basin funds" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, May 14, 1947, UMMA). Despite the fears, funding ultimately materialized and RBS continued.

In February 1947, NPS dispatched Jesse Jennings to Kansas to confer with Spaulding (G.D. Edwards to A.C. Spaulding, February 11, 1947, KUMA). Jennings was pleased by what he saw, as the NPS regional director wrote:

He reports that you have made detailed plans for work in the Kanopolis Reservoir and have gathered together equipment for a full summer of archeological field work in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution in its archeological salvage program. It is very gratifying to the Service to see state institutions beginning to lend a hand in the important work ... In the matter of the Smithsonian Institution permit ... possibly you should write to Dr. Roberts asking him for a ... letter of clearance designating you as the Smithsonian Institution cooperating representative in the Kanopolis area. The National Park Service will then advise the Corps of Engineers and request for you such assistance as can reasonably be given ... Excavation of one or two sites in Kanopolis appears to be an urgent problem. The Engineers hope to close the gates in late July or early August [L.C. Merriam to A.C. Spaulding, March 7, 1947, KUMA].

Apparently Spaulding did as suggested and wrote

to Roberts. He volunteered to take on more than just Kanopolis, as well. Roberts reported at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archeology, "Dr. Albert C. Spaulding, University of Kansas, has offered to assume responsibility for a reconnaissance in the Fall River Reservoir basin, a project in southeastern Kansas outside the Missouri Basin, and also hopes to take over and excavate some of the sites in the Kanopolis Reservoir, one of the Missouri Basin units" (Roberts 1947:219).

Spaulding was sent the format for survey reports recently devised for RBS and, more importantly, the Tulsa District Corps of Engineers was notified as to his cooperating status. Because the Fall River Reservoir was in the Arkansas Basin and not the Missouri Basin, some administrative details had to be sorted out, as in this exchange between the Tulsa and Omaha Corps offices:

The question has been raised as to whether Dr. Spaulding should deal separately with Region Three [Tulsa] on the Arkansas River sites or whether Region Two [Omaha] will advise and assist him all Kansas work ... We believe it will be in the interest of the Smithsonian Institution and their cooperating state agencies for them to deal with our Region Two in Missouri and Kansas. But to simplify procedures so far as your District Office and the National Park Service are involved, we believe it will be preferable to continue your contacts through this office ... This is not intended to preclude the possibility of such direct contact between the Smithsonian Institution representatives, or collaborating local research agencies, and your office [M.R. Tillotson to Col. C.H. Chorpeneing, March 18, 1947, KUMA].

This convoluted protocol, intended to simplify matters, also provides a glimpse of day to day inter-agency procedures still being resolved. Such problems, inevitable in operations of the

size and complexity of RBS, must have cropped up on an almost daily basis.

Administrative matters aside, Spaulding was soon called to Kanopolis by a report from Leuty. Two sites, both unrecorded, had been exposed in the area by construction activities. Spaulding and four of his students, Aguilar included, arrived at the dam the morning of March 22, 1947, to salvage what they could from the endangered sites. Site 14EW20, exposed in a river cutbank, had been damaged when "a ditching machine ... ripped out a shallow refuse-filled pit" (Spaulding 1946i). The crew "worked out the most productive section of the river bank, getting some sherds and flints -- potsherds Upper Republican" (Spaulding 1946i). Late in the day, Leuty took them to 14EW21, another new site "uncovered in building trench silo. Collected there for some time" (Spaulding 1946i). The archeologists made a long day of it, arriving back in Lawrence early the next morning.

Two days later Spaulding received a letter from Jennings which further underscores the urgency and true nature of salvage archeology.

I call attention to site 14EW15 near the dam. That is a huge site buried approximately three feet which is being destroyed now by earth moving equipment. It seemed to me either Upper Republican or Woodland. If when you get in there you could get the use of a LeTorneau or a road patrol to remove several hundred square feet of that silt overburden, you could get a lot of information rather quickly, and the site will go under water very soon after they close the gates to the dam (if it isn't entirely destroyed before that time) [J.D. Jennings to A.C. Spaulding, March 24, 1947, KUMA].

RBS pioneered the use of heavy machinery, utilizing such equipment to remove plowzone or sterile overburden, thus effectively cutting costs and allowing for the more efficient deployment of personnel (Jennings 1985; cf. Wedel 1951).

Although in its early years the salvage program "consisted largely of jerking pots and bones from the ground as rapidly as possible" (Corbett 1961), the goal of RBS was to work far enough in advance of construction to avoid such problems.

Spaulding left Kansas in July 1947, leaving Kanopolis to his successor, C.S. Smith (Smith 1949). Before going, Spaulding received the go ahead from the Corps for a preliminary survey of the Fall River Reservoir in southern Greenwood County, Kansas. The Fredonia project office reported that "personnel of this office have no information relating to Indian sites or fossils in the reservoir area" (J.R. Soderberg to A.C. Spaulding, April 10, 1947, KUMA).

After the spring term, Spaulding, Aguilar, and another student drove down to look over the Fall River dam. The survey actually lasted one and a half days. On May 17, 1947, the group "examined the spillway, but did not find anything. Engineers report no archaeological or paleontological material observed during construction activities. Spent rest of day sampling bottom areas in conservation pool limits ... Found 3 sites, no doubt many others not observed. Extremely muddy, which made survey very slow." (Spaulding 1946i). The next day they worked "till 12:30 [P.M.] in additional survey work, locating 3 more sites" (Spaulding 1946i). Four hours later they were back in Lawrence, preliminary survey complete. Five of the six sites were subsequently inundated; the sixth was in the flood pool. Apparently no report was ever submitted although site forms were written (Elcock and O'Brien 1979).

*The Hanthorne Site:  
"Dirt" Archeology in Southeast Kansas*

A summer of survey, looking at collections in both private hands and institutions, and limited participation at Kanopolis notwithstanding, by fall 1946 Spaulding had yet to do any "dirt" archeology in Kansas. In due course, the opportunity arose but, perhaps somewhat ironically, not as the result of his many contacts with amateurs and his own field efforts. He had just begun his much anticipated

summer fieldwork when a letter from Benjamin V. Hanthorne arrived in the sociology department.

Hanthorne inquired as to whether there was anyone at the university interested in helping dig a site he knew of in southeast Kansas. A native of Oswego, Kansas, Hanthorne currently resided in Lansing, Michigan. Thinking that Spaulding was away in the field, Carroll Clark responded on Spaulding's behalf. "The University has at various times cooperated in the excavation of archaeological sites. In the absence of any statewide agency for safeguarding such deposits we have tried to do as much as possible to preserve their scientific value" (C.D. Clark to B.V. Hanthorne, July 25, 1946, KUMA).

Hanthorne apparently mentioned that he was planning to dig relatively soon but Clark encouraged him to wait. "Excavation done by lay people, undirected by trained archaeologists, is likely to destroy whatever scientific utility" the site might possess (C.D. Clark to B.V. Hanthorne, July 25, 1946, KUMA). Within a few days, Spaulding, who had actually been sitting around in the museum anxiously awaiting car repairs (Spaulding 1946i), sent his own reply to Hanthorne indicating that he was very much interested in the site (B.V. Hanthorne to A.C. Spaulding, September 12, 1946, KUMA).

The site alluded to was on the Hanthorne farm southwest of Oswego, Kansas. In 1940, Labette County farmer Lyman Hanthorne and his son happened upon a mound in the woods. Realizing that the mound was, at least in part, cultural, over the next couple of years father and son dug a couple of holes in it. One hole yielded human skeletal remains and both apparently produced a mix of cultural material (Spaulding 1946j; *Oswego Democrat*, October 11, 1946). One vertebrae, which they took to be human, even had a chipped stone projectile point protruding from it. In a later, rather lurid account published in his insurance company's newsletter, Hanthorne interpreted the site as the scene of a grisly "Morning Star Sacrifice" (Hanthorne 1946). Fortunately, the significance of what they had found was not lost on them and, for several years, they ceased digging.

Eventually, intending to resume the work, they sought the advice, and if it was forthcoming, the assistance of an archeologist.

Hanthorne wrote Spaulding that he was returning home soon to visit and suggested excavation proceed on Wednesday, October 9, 1946 (B.V. Hanthorne to A.C. Spaulding, September 12, 1946, KUMA). "This will be a historical event and therefore I feel that you might like to bring a complete class or two in archeology for a field trip to assist in and observe the excavation" (B.V. Hanthorne to A.C. Spaulding, September 30, 1946, KUMA). Spaulding did not follow Hanthorne's advice but arrived at the farm at 8:20 A.M. the morning of the appointed day, October 9. With him were museum assistant Carlos Aguilar, and another student, (Mrs.) Blanche Miller. Shortly Spaulding, his students, Lyman Hanthorne, and Hanthorne's son Benjamin set to work digging a test trench (Figure 5) (Spaulding 1946j).

Situated about 90 paces north of the confluence of two perennial streams:

the only surface feature of the site is the mound itself, rising about 4-5' above the level of the creek bottom. The creek bottom and mound are densely wooded with predominantly saplings, and has some vague depressions and very low ridges, presumably traces of old stream channels. The mound itself rises fairly sharply from this general level, and is a very noticeable feature. Its approximate dimensions are 110' x 80,' with the long axis approx NW x SE [Figure 6] [Spaulding 1946j].

Pit depressions, about 20 ft apart, still showed from the two holes dug by the Hanthornes. The central pit, in the highest part of the mound, was reported by the Hanthornes to have produced the jumbled remains of three skeletons, including the vertebrae with the "flint arrow or spear point of fair size" embedded in it (Spaulding 1946j). There is no way of knowing if the bone was actually human. Spaulding did not see it as Benjamin kept it at his home in Michigan. However, he accepted that it was

human and reported it in his notes without equivocation. The second pit apparently turned up little.

The field party confined their activity to the center of the mound, opening a trench 20 ft long and about 4 ft wide. The trench was set perpendicular to the long axis of the mound. "We chose the center trench method because of our desire to get quick results as to the general nature of the mound" (Spaulding 1946j). Fill was apparently sifted, at least in part (*Oswego Democrat*, October 11, 1946). By 5:30 P.M. the excavators were ready to call it a day. The trench had been excavated to a depth of 2.5 ft:

The fill for this depth was very black and riddled with roots and root holes, and with hard but crumbly dirt, making neat excavations difficult. The profile does not show any apparent stratification or lensing, which is hardly surprising in view of the numerous roots and probably rodent burrows [Spaulding 1946j].

At the north end of the trench, the soil was noticeably more compact. Spaulding was unable to decide if the change represented the base of fill or merely the depth of the most intensive root penetration. The mound fill:

contained a great deal of refuse -- animal bone, broken and occasionally gnawed, some fragments of human bone, 3 flint points, all probably leaf-shaped and fairly large (one showing shallow side notches, the other two broken), cord marked sherds, flint chips, many subangular or angular rock fragments, some showing reddened areas from fires, a few smoothly rounded pebbles varying in size from a "hammerstone" perhaps 6 inches in length to a small pebble an inch in diameter, some small fragments of charcoal, and some large pieces of a soft, fine ground, grayish material that looks like badly decomposed limestone. I



Figure 5. Excavations at the Hanthorne site, 1946.  
Benjamin V. Hanthorne, Lyman Hanthorne, and Carlos H. Aguilar.  
Courtesy Auto Owners Insurance Co., Lansing, MI.

could see no particular significance in the location of most of this material [Spaulding 1946j].

Faunal material included turtle, clams, deer, and dogs, or so it was reported by the local press (*Oswego Democrat*, October 11, 1946). Scattered throughout the mound fill, which Spaulding

recognized as village refuse, were several incomplete human burials (Spaulding 1946j).

Human remains were encountered about 2 ft down and in the southern portion of the pit. Skeletal materials often showed old breaks and, for the most part, were not arranged in anatomical order. The burials, of which there appeared to be three, were only partially uncovered on the first day. The party resumed excavations the next morning, Thursday, October 10. With the material more fully exposed, Spaulding was able to make a few observations.

Burial #1, which protruded from the east trench wall, "is apparently a bundle burial, made before the body had decomposed entirely. The ribs are in articulation with the [three] vertebrae. Beneath the tibia are a fragment of humerus and radius and ulna in articulation, the elbow being near the distal end of the tibia. Humerus shows old break" (Spaulding 1946j). The bones appeared to be of a subadult.

The second burial, a few feet to the south

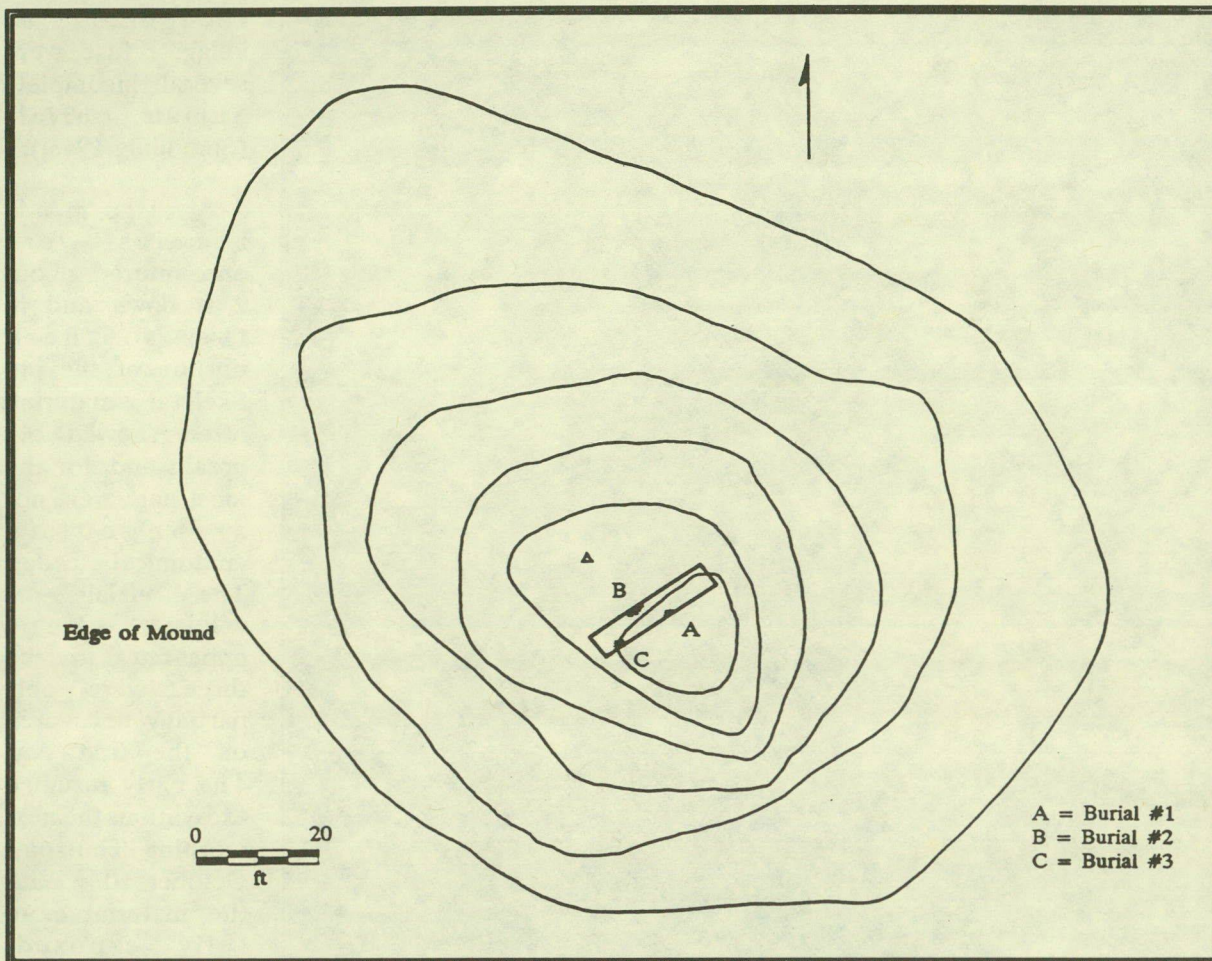


Figure 6. Contour map of the Hanthorne site mound (14LT335), Labette County, Kansas.

and in the west trench wall, was not as well preserved. "At the S end of the burial are the distal ends of two tibias, showing old breaks, with associated foot bones. One foot to W approx., and .5 feet higher is the proximal end of a tibia ... Two feet to north of the foot bones are [seven] articulated vertebrae" (Spaulding 1946j). Spaulding concluded that two adults were represented by the remains in this cluster. "From near the distal fragments came a corner notched flint point" (Spaulding 1946j). He suggested that it might have been intentionally placed with the burial as "grave goods" (Spaulding 1946j). Notably, it was the second point found or reported in close proximity to the human remains. The obvious disarray of this burial led him to conclude that it had been disturbed at a later time.

Burial #3 "is a series of vertebrae with [three] ribs in articulation and fragments of skull" (Spaulding 1946j). Possibly a flesh burial, it appeared to be that of another subadult.

Excavation ceased about 2:00 P.M. on Thursday, October 10. During the course of the two days at the site, Spaulding had employed his wartime skills and mapped the site. The burials were apparently treated *in situ* with a shellac-like substance to harden them and all were photographed (Hanthorne 1946). By the end of the second day, Spaulding was convinced of the site's importance. Accordingly, he talked the owners into leaving the burials in place and backfilling the trench (Spaulding 1946j). A small collection of cord roughened potsherds, a few pieces of debitage, and a mussel shell fragment

were returned to the museum. The projectile points were apparently turned over to the Hanthornes.

The random nature inherent in all of the burials bothered Spaulding. "The whole situation in regard to the bones is obscure" (Spaulding 1946j). Although he inferred both flesh and bundle burials, he was anything but certain. The burials were "peculiar ... or [in] a disturbed situation as a result of digging after the mound was built. I could see no evidence of an intrusive pit to support the latter idea" (Spaulding 1946j). Disturbance via roots and rodents had not helped.

Of the mound, Spaulding commented to the local press, "if it were located in southern Minnesota or Wisconsin, it wouldn't be so puzzling" (*Oswego Democrat*, October 11, 1946). The projectile points and cordmarked ceramics suggested a Woodland affiliation: "It may also be Hopewell, although there is no direct evidence to support this" (Spaulding 1946j). Coming from the East, Spaulding had seen and heard a great deal about Hopewell and, not too surprisingly, tended to see it everywhere.

The Hanthorne site excavations are the first conducted by Spaulding in Kansas. The most likely reason for his never reporting the dig is the inconclusiveness of the testing and, of course, time. He recognized the importance of the site but "it does not look like we will get the answer without extensive excavation" (Spaulding 1946j). And those investigations, "including clearing [the] site, excavating [the] mound, and some village site excavation would take 400 man days" (Spaulding 1946j). Three years later, after Benjamin Hanthorne made rumbles about continuing the work at the site, Spaulding wrote C.S. Smith and suggested that he get in touch with Hanthorne. "It might be pretty important" (A.C. Spaulding to C.S. Smith, April 22, 1949, KUMA). If anything, with RBS operations in full-gear, Smith was even busier than Spaulding had been.

#### *The Amateurs*

Spaulding's work attracted the attention of a number of people, including Alfred M. "Alf"

Landon. Landon, a two-term governor and 1936 presidential candidate, owned land in Woodson County, Kansas, on which one of his hired men had found a site. In late 1946, Landon apparently notified Spaulding about the site. Spaulding met Landon in Topeka in November (Spaulding 1946i). When the weather warmed up and their schedules cleared, Landon proposed a field trip to Woodson County (D. Richmond to A.C. Spaulding, May 1, 1947, KUMA).

On May 6, 1947, the archeologist and the politician looked at the site and made a surface collection, mostly of cord roughened pottery. Landon's hired man turned over a sample of his collection, too. Governor Landon seems to have taken an interest in archeology, at least as a weekend pastime, "Sunday, we looked over the hills, up and down the valley, for old Indian cairns. I think we spotted one, and I have some fellows looking for more. Will advise you later" (A.M. Landon to A.C. Spaulding, May 13, 1947, KUMA).

Although hobnobbing about with the former governor was a pleasant diversion, Spaulding was well aware that many of the raw data of Kansas archeology lay elsewhere, in the hands of the state's collectors and amateurs. Spaulding observed later, "at that time, I was making an effort to get in touch with the Kansas amateurs" (A.C. Spaulding to M.F. Hawley, April 8, 1986). The whole point of his tours of northeast, southeast, and central Kansas had been to contact as many amateurs and collectors as possible.

Spaulding had come into contact with one amateur several years before he came to Kansas. Perhaps the foremost archeologist in the Central Plains, amateur or otherwise, was A.T. Hill (Figure 7). His career started as a Hastings, Nebraska, auto dealer and ended as the Director of the Museum and Archeology at the Nebraska State Historical Society. For many years, Hill had pursued, often at his own expense, his interest in archeology, investigating numerous sites in Nebraska and Kansas. Hill developed contacts with a number of professionals, such as W.D. Strong and James Griffin, as well as an aspiring archeologist named Waldo Wedel



Figure 7. Asa T. "A.T." Hill in the field.  
Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE.

(Strong et al. 1953). Spaulding's first contact with Hill came during his field season at Arzberger in 1939:

I am writing to you at Dr. Strong's suggestion and of my own volition also to get some advice and information about our problems here in South Dakota. We have been working since June 7th on a large site about 8 miles downriver from Pierre ... It is on a bench above the river and is almost completely surrounded by a trench having regular bastions. There must be 70 or 80 houses enclosed in the trench, with a large number of house rings.

We have opened three houses so far and have a fair quantity of material. The pottery is not much like the Arikara pottery from the Leavenworth Site; it has practically no cord marked decoration on the rims. Strong has a sample of it and says that it shows considerable

resemblance to the Upper Republican pottery from the Lynch Site, and also faint trace of historic Pawnee influence. However, the site is prehistoric so far as I can tell, as we have not found any trade material at all. I should like very much to know where the site is in South Dakota on which you and Dr. Wedel found pottery resembling proto-historic Pawnee. We would like to make a surface collection there too and try to see the relationship with our site, if any. The rest of the material does not seem very distinctive to me -- bison scapula hoes, end scrapers, small triangular points, often side notched, bone awls of various kinds.

The houses are difficult to work out. We didn't find any floor on the first we tried, although we shaved it down carefully, using the horizontal technique. I didn't see any trace of a fireplace and there were only a few erratic black spots which may or

may not be post holes. There are several cache pits, though, and the level of their tops should indicate the floor level. The second house does have a fireplace and a rather vague post hole pattern. It is round. The central posts and the entrance don't show up at all well. The post holes are hard to see and can be found better by texture than by color. The third house is only partly dug, but it is probably round too [A.C. Spaulding to A.T. Hill, July 17, 1939, NSHSA].

In describing the seemingly protohistoric Pawnee ceramics and structural remains for Hill, Spaulding put his finger on a problem he was to resolve in his later Arzberger report with the idea of the Initial Coalescent (Spaulding 1956).

Shortly, Hill, who was in the field near Cotesfield, Nebraska (his crew included C.S. Smith), made it up to the site for a visit (A.T. Hill to A.C. Spaulding, July 21, 1939, NSHSA). The following year, the two men met again when Hill paid a courtesy call to Spaulding's camp near Wynot, Nebraska. Hill recalled the visit warmly, "I remember your wonderful wife and son and the kind treatment I received at your camp while you were working Bow Creek" (A.T. Hill to A.C. Spaulding, January 23, 1946, KUMA). Hill parlayed that fond recollection into quick support when he heard that the University of Kansas was considering Spaulding's hire.

A few weeks after Spaulding and his family moved to Kansas, Hill informed him, "you will note that I recommended you as an archeologist as we did not know what kind of teacher you might be ... I could have said that I believed you would make a good instructor but I did not want to state what I believed so I stated what I knew to be the facts" (A.T. Hill to A.C. Spaulding, January 23, 1946, KUMA). He used the occasion to offer any assistance that he could, extending to lists of sites in Kansas "which need immediate attention" (A.T. Hill to A.C. Spaulding, January 23, 1946, KUMA).

During the summer and fall of 1946

Spaulding initiated contact between a number of notable Kansas amateurs, including Fenn Ward, Albert F. Moore, Harry M. Trowbridge, J. Mett Shippee, William O. Leuty, Guy L. Whiteford, and Floyd Schultz. His meeting with Ward, a Highland, Kansas, collector was brief. Ward showed Spaulding artifacts that Zimmerman had collected, as well as his own collection (Spaulding 1946i). Some years before, while he was working in northeastern Kansas, Wedel found Mr. Ward to be "most helpful" (Wedel 1959:xv). Ward maintained a correspondence with Wedel for many years after the 1937 season.

Albert F. "Bert" Moore is another figure known to readers of Wedel's classic *Introduction to Kansas Archeology* (1959). Moore was a lifelong resident of Cowley County, having been born on his father's homestead in 1874. At various times he served in public office, once as deputy county clerk and later as oil tax assessor (Winfield *Daily Courier*, August 20, 1954; F. Cullison to M.F. Hawley, May 5, 1992). His interest in Native American remains began early and he had extensive surface collections from numerous sites, including the Deer Creek site in Kay County, Oklahoma.

Wedel met Moore while testing sites in the vicinity of Arkansas City in 1940. Moore, Wedel later said, "was a frequent visitor to our excavations, guided us to other sites in Kansas and Oklahoma, and assisted unendingly with local contacts" (Wedel 1959:xv). Spaulding found him similarly helpful six years later when he visited the Arkansas City area (Spaulding 1946i).

Spaulding's keen interest in Hopewell culture led him inevitably to another amateur archeologist and collector, Harry Martin Trowbridge. Trowbridge, an employee of Abner Hood Chemical Company, had begun collecting Native American artifacts as a child (*Kansas City Star*, March 26, 1946). Little came of his hobby until April 1928, when he purchased a new home in Bethel, Kansas. Within a few weeks "neighbors who were gardening lot 24, showed him arrowheads they had found on the ground. He secured permission to examine the lot, and in a minute or so had plenty of evidence a

village had once existed there" (Trowbridge 1943).

Trowbridge widened his investigations to other nearby lots:

This was the beginning of many, many hours spent in hard labor, removing the overburden and working in the camp debris, itself ... Excavations were largely confined to portions of week-ends in the spring and fall, because it was only after the rains that progress could be profitably made. In summer, the ground was baked so hard, it could not be removed without too much effort for the results obtained [Trowbridge 1943].

Excavations were conducted every year, at least, into the mid 1940s.

Trowbridge became rather well-known. While directing field efforts on the Renner site in North Kansas City in 1937 and 1938, Wedel took the opportunity to examine the collection and to compare the artifacts recovered from Renner with those from the Trowbridge site. Wedel became interested in a "roulette pottery marker, No. 1894, excavated on June 11, 1939 ... [and] ... gave Trowbridge the courtesy of joining him in a paper, 'A Prehistoric Roulette from Wyandotte County, Kansas'" (Trowbridge 1943). Trowbridge added parenthetically, that the paper, subsequently published in *The Proceedings of the U.S. National Museum* in 1940, was "nearly entirely Wedel's" (Trowbridge 1943).

Spaulding made a couple of attempts to contact Trowbridge in the summer of 1946, with no success. By the fall, though, the two men were corresponding. One or the other apparently broached the subject of the ultimate disposition of the Trowbridge collection. Spaulding must have indicated that the University of Kansas likely would be unwilling to purchase the collection. Trowbridge responded:

I think I understand and appreciate the position of the University with respect to its policy of having [as] its

primary duty, the study of the archaeology of Kansas, rather than of some other region. It had not been my thought that any arrangement the University might make for my collection as a whole, would be from school funds, but from some private source.

I do not feel as many do, about archaeological and other cultural materials leaving the state of origin. There is much to be said for keeping relics within the state, and yet if the idea were followed through, institutions like the British Museum ... would not exist. Collections accessible to scholars and to the public, are probably of much more value to society than if the objects were left in remote spots or in the cities of those areas.

Personal sentiment would cause me to wish the collection permanently housed in the state of Kansas, if other factors were favorable. However, prehistoric Americans did not have our state boundaries to observe. The Hopewellians at Kansas City ranged on both sides of the Missouri and the Kaw; The Spiro peoples likely did some of their shopping across in Arkansas [H.M. Trowbridge to A.C. Spaulding, October 26, 1946, KUMA].

Trowbridge invited Spaulding to his home in Bethel "to continue our discussions on a week end, and to get better acquainted, apart from the matter of the collection" (H.M. Trowbridge to A.C. Spaulding, October 26, 1946, KUMA). Artifacts from the Trowbridge site, 14WY1, are curated at the KU Museum of Anthropology, but much of the Kansas City Hopewell portion of the Trowbridge collection itself has come to reside in the Wyandotte County Museum.

Trowbridge and Spaulding seem to have hit it off. Spaulding obtained for Trowbridge a copy of Williston's paper on the Twelve Mile

Creek Paleoindian site. "This find is one of the most important ever made, not only in Kansas, but in the whole United States, and it is shocking to think someone stole the specimen while being given the courtesy of examining it!" (H.M. Trowbridge to A.C. Spaulding, March 24, 1947, KUMA). Upon receipt of the paper, a grateful Trowbridge wrote:

My hearty thanks to you ... There is a certain satisfaction in being able to look up in the library here at home, the reference to Williston's reporting of the find ... While both of his accounts are the briefest of sketches, yet as historical reportings, antedating the Folsom recoveries by three decades, they have, it seems to me, high importance [H.M. Trowbridge to A.C. Spaulding, May 16, 1947, KUMA].

Spaulding made the acquaintance of another Kansas City amateur, J. Mett Shippee, during the RBS investigations of Kanopolis. Shippee, born in Greenleaf, Kansas, in 1896 and reared in Kansas City, eventually became the acknowledged authority on Kansas City area archeology. Over the years he published numerous articles in *American Antiquity*, *The Missouri Archaeologist*, *Plains Anthropologist*, as well as other journals and newsletters. During the late 1940s, under the auspices of RBS, Shippee assisted in surveys, testing, and excavations (Feagins 1990).

The two extant letters from Shippee to Spaulding were posted from Woodruff, Kansas, while he and Kivett were "digging a 'shell bead ossuary' we located last August" (J.M. Shippee to A.C. Spaulding, October 30, 1946, KUMA). The site in question was the famed Woodruff Ossuary, encountered during survey of the proposed Harlan County Reservoir by Kivett and Shippee in August 1946 (Kivett 1953). Shippee's second letter provides a firsthand glimpse of the site, as well as the adverse conditions under which he and Kivett labored:

We are neck deep in work complications caused by the rain, snow and freezing. The same thing

has put the roads hub deep in mud and last Saturday we got stuck so bad it's a wonder we ever got out. I really think we may have to go in before long. The ossuary dig is finished and we are testing the villages from here to Republican City. We are just praying for sunshine.

The ossuary was quite a valuable thing in my opinion but we did not find enough adult skulls. The indians had evidently had another place for them. Our best skeleton was a semiflexed one, quite whole and in good condition. It was of a boy (?) about 14 and he was fully decked out with about 3000 beads (estimate) which extended from a necklace of some sort, down his front and completely covered the middle of his remains with string after string, jumbled on in profusion. Pendants and a bone handle of what I think was a dog whip were also with the burial. We took it up in a cast in case Wedel wants it for museum use. I think it quite a nice find since I have never heard of one being uncovered before. We found enough evidence with the bones to point toward Woodland-like people but it may not be accepted as sufficient. Possibly laboratory analysis will help [J.M. Shippee to A.C. Spaulding, November 17, 1946, KUMA].

While at Kanopolis Shippee and Kivett introduced Spaulding to William O. Leuty. Leuty, a civil engineer with the Army Corps, had come to Ellsworth for the Kanopolis project. A surveyor, he was involved throughout the design and construction of Kanopolis. Upon completion of the reservoir, Leuty remained in the area, forming a surveying business. Archeology continued as his principle pastime with surface collection and some limited digging, mostly in Ellsworth and Rice counties.

Leuty had been in contact with Wedel as

early as 1942 regarding sites in the Ellsworth area (Wedel 1959:483). Along with Guy Whiteford, he proved to be of nearly inestimable value to the various RBS parties (Kivett and Shippee 1947; Mattes 1947; Smith 1949). After meeting Leuty, Spaulding observed in his journal: "This man knows the area well" (Spaulding 1946i). The two men spent several days together, Leuty showing the archeologist sites with which he was familiar. Leuty kept in touch with Spaulding, alerting him to the potential destruction of two sites in the spring of 1947.

It had been Guy L. Whiteford who told Spaulding that the RBS team was down surveying on the Smoky Hill River. Whiteford, a Salina police sergeant, his wife Mabel, and son Jay Dee had opened a Smoky Hill ossuary in 1937. The Whiteford's left the nearly 150 burials *in situ* on earthen pedestals, built a building over it, and ran it as a pay-per-view museum (Wedel 1959:512-523; Stein 1989). The couple also owned the "Indian Curio Shop" in Salina.

In 1946, the property, including the ossuary and building, which was owned by Howard Kohr, changed hands. The Whiteford's had worked out some arrangement with Kohr which allowed them to operate the popular tourist attraction. The new owners, Howard and John Price, were not inclined to continue that arrangement but operated the facility themselves until its 1990 closing.

Spaulding noted as early as March 1946 in one of his planning documents, "I was recently informed by Mr. Whiteford ... that the excavated burial site which he runs as a commercial exhibit is about to go out of his hands through legal difficulties" (Spaulding 1946e). Spaulding expressed concern, "The site is a bona fide collective burial site with grave goods ... If Whiteford loses the site he will undoubtedly wish to sell the specimens and the material will be dispersed. I do not know of any way of preventing this, unless the state took over the site as a state park" (Spaulding 1946e). Sometime afterward, he inked in four question marks and the question, "Does state buy park sites?" (Spaulding 1946e). A plan for state acquisition for museum development was studied

in 1984 but ultimately ran afoul of the issue of Native American reburial (Kansas State Historical Society 1984). The site was purchased by the state in 1990 so that it could be closed and the human remains reburied and sealed.

Spaulding had not yet been to the so-called Salina Burial Pit but planned to stop there as part of his tour. During that trip, he was able to spend some time with Whiteford looking over the ossuary and a nearby village site. A month or so later, the Whiteford's notified Spaulding that "we have made a settlement with the landowners and we are moving ... We are storing our Indian Relics" (G.L. and M. Whiteford to A.C. Spaulding, September 27, 1946, KUMA). Spaulding went back to Salina in October, prior to the sale, to examine more of the material and photograph artifacts from Paint Creek (G.L. Whiteford to A.C. Spaulding, September 27 and October 12, 1946, KUMA).

The next summer the Whitefords wrote seeking information: "We have just received a letter ... telling of seventeen or eighteen stone vault Indian mounds" (M. Whiteford to A.C. Spaulding, June 14, 1947, KUMA). Mrs. Whiteford wanted to know how these burials, located near Kansas City, compared "to the burial we discovered near Salina?" (M. Whiteford to A.C. Spaulding, June 14, 1947, KUMA). Her interest was more business than mere curiosity, however; "We have traveled thru several states and at present are at Salem, Ore - - but foot loose. So we would be interested in this burial" (M. Whiteford to A.C. Spaulding, June 14, 1947, KUMA). In closing, she asked if Spaulding would enter her son's application for the fall term at the University of Kansas.

From Whiteford's, Spaulding had driven that summer to Clay Center to try to contact another amateur, Floyd Schultz. Floyd Schultz was a Clay Center businessman and civic leader. From 1924 to 1935, Schultz excavated numerous burial mounds and earthlodges in the lower Republican River valley. As an excavator, Schultz was reasonably competent, taking ample notes, drawing sketches, and cataloguing the material.

Schultz also had been a regular visitor to

the Potawatomi Reservation in Jackson County, Kansas, from 1926 until his death in 1951. On the reservation, he had taken dozens of still photographs and, more importantly, shot 74 minutes of black-and-white film. Recorded were a variety of activities, such as preparation of foodstuffs, games, and ceremonies (Hawley 1991a, b; Stull 1979).

Exactly when Spaulding and Schultz met is unknown but Spaulding ventured to Clay Center in January and February 1947 to look at his collection (Spaulding 1946i). Spaulding recalled years later, that on one overnight visit, "I almost froze to death in the Clay Center hotel" (A.C. Spaulding to M.F. Hawley, April 8, 1986). While examining the collection, some apparent Hopewellian artifacts from a burial mound in Geary County caught his eye. Convinced of the importance of the material, he offered Schultz coauthorship of a paper and "the collaboration on the Younkin mound was the result" (A.C. Spaulding to M.F. Hawley, April 8, 1986).

Intrigued by what he saw in the collection, Spaulding reported to his friend and colleague James Griffin:

I am beginning work on a short paper on some of the lower Republican burial sites in northern Kansas ... with a local collector who has excavated several. Fortunately he has fairly good field notes and a well catalogued lot of specimens. The particular group we are working on produces a stone platform pipe, a four lobed Hopewell pot, etc. The burial sites are low stone cairns with, according to the field notes, several deposits of scorched and calcined human bone in fragments and an occasional extended skeleton. All this will at least be something funerary to go with the occasional rouletted sherds that seem to be popping up over a good part of the state. This sort of burial also produces some surprises, notably long bone pins with decorated heads. I haven't yet compared them with the Forche

Maline [Oklahoma] or Indian Knoll [Kentucky] specimens, but there may be something significant there [A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, February 7, 1947, UMMA].

A few weeks later he again wrote Griffin about the Schultz collection, this time observing: "These lower Republican cairn burials are worthy of a full dress publication. At present I have material from only one site ... It is plain that I will have to get Schultz to lay out his whole collection, site by site, take his field notes in hand, and start some serious work" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, February 28, 1947, UMMA).

The full assemblage of artifacts from the mound led him to suggest "a Hopewell-Archaic marriage, but whether or not there is an underlying pure Archaic is a matter for the future" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, February 28, 1947, UMMA). He soon set about the task of assembling "enough material for a general paper on [Schultz's] burial sites before leaving Kansas" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, March 11, 1947, UMMA).

Though this paper was never completed (cf. Smith 1978), the paper on the Younkin mound, entitled "A Hopewellian Burial Site in the Lower Republican Valley, Kansas," was published in *American Antiquity* in April 1948. Schultz was credited as the senior author. Spaulding had long since taken up duties at the University of Michigan when the article came out.

## DEPARTURE

Late in the summer of 1946, Spaulding attended the first symposium on Caddoan Archeology in Norman, Oklahoma (J.W. Stovall to A.C. Spaulding, August 19, 1946; J.N. Nelson to A.C. Spaulding, September 6, 1946, KUMA). In April 1947, he presented a paper entitled, "Problems in Kansas Archaeology" at the annual meetings of the Kansas Academy of Science. The meetings were held in Lawrence that year (Kansas Academy of Science 1947). Wedel, who delivered the keynote public address, "Prehistory and Environment in the Central Great Plains,"

was a guest of the Spauldings while in Lawrence (W.R. Wedel to A.C. Spaulding, March 17, 1947, KUMA).

During the meetings, Spaulding was appointed to the Academy's "Committee on Conservation and Ecology" for 1947-48. Although the committee's responsibilities were aimed at the conservation of the resources of the state, Spaulding was no doubt present for his input on reservoirs and their ecological impact (Peterson 1947).

Springtime was budget time and Spaulding was, once again, given the opportunity to prepare the anthropology budget for fiscal 1947-48. In submitting his budget, Spaulding included "a short statement dealing with the budgetary problem in field archaeology. Owing to the lack of precedent in the field at Kansas an explanation to the Budget Committee of the general nature of the work seems in order" (A.C. Spaulding to P.B. Lawson, March 7, 1947, KUMA). This statement, entitled "Financial Requirements of Archaeological Field Work," provided the rationale for archeological field work on a scale unprecedented at the University of Kansas but still far below the level proposed seven years earlier by Eiseley and Clark (Eiseley and Clark 1940):

The accompanying estimates of operating and equipment costs have been prepared to illustrate the general nature of expenses normally incurred in archaeological field work. They are not intended to define closely adequate, or normal, field research, since this concept is a function of both the general financial policy of the University and archaeological necessity or desirability.

The field budget estimate is planned to provide 480 man days of field work, which will ordinarily make possible a reasonably thorough sampling of one village site of the type most frequently encountered in this region. From the archaeological point of view, one

summer of intensive work on a site is preferable to several seasons of excavation with a smaller crew, as the site is the most desirable descriptive unit for publication. However, a small field fund should be available, even if no major excavations are planned for a given season, because of the emergency conditions which frequently arise (for example, archaeological material uncovered in road building). The plan contemplates the use of unpaid student labor housed in a tent camp and provided with board and laundry.

Under the present circumstances, which are far from normal because of the pressing need for salvage excavations in dam basins, it seems logical to recommend operations on the largest possible scale, even at the expense of delayed publication. In regard to archaeological prospects in Kansas generally, there is no practical limit to the amount of work possible. Scientific work had barely started and the state is rich in sites, some of which are of far more than special interest [Spaulding 1947].

The attached budget was detailed, emphasizing basic camp equipment necessary for an eight- or nine-man field party during a sixty day field season. The tentative field budget, totalling \$1,420.60, included \$645.60 for food, cook's wages of \$160 per month for two months, \$55 for "expendable" excavating and camp equipment, \$50 for transportation, automobile running expenses at \$75, and laundry also at \$75. A separate sheet itemized camp equipment. Coming to an additional \$546, the list included tents, cots, chairs, tables, rope, lanterns, cooking equipment, stove, water, gas and kerosene cans, flashlights, and first aid kits (Spaulding 1947).

Spaulding's argument was persuasive. The Budget Committee allocated \$1,400 for archeological field work, nearly four times the previous year's sum (University of Kansas

1947b). Having received the largest appropriation yet granted for anthropology, Spaulding moved on before he had a chance to make use of it.

Spaulding had only been in Kansas a few days when word came from Griffin that there might soon be an opening in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, January 11, 1946, UMMA). He replied a few days later:

I have just received your letter concerning a possible job at Ann Arbor. Had it come a month ago I would have kept the mails overburdened with pleas for an appointment, but as it stands I am well sewed up here for better or for worse. The position as you have described it approaches my ideal, as I have always wanted to work at Ann Arbor ... There is a good opportunity here, however, and I have been treated so well this far ... that I feel obligated to spend a reasonable period with Kansas archaeology ... I will keep you apprised of the latest developments in the Kansas field, although I do not expect to get all the problems solved until I have promoted a desk and swivel chair for my spot in the basement [A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, January 17, 1946, UMMA].

From then on, however, Spaulding was marking time at the University of Kansas.

The University of Michigan continued its siren song. In November 1946, Leslie White wrote Spaulding and, once again, offered him a job. The position was temporary, however, and Spaulding was seeking something long term. A permanent job was, at least for the time being, out of the question. Griffin mentioned, however, that the University of Wisconsin did have a permanent position. He even went so far as to submit Spaulding's name for consideration for the opening (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, November 23 and December 17, 1946, UMMA). Whether or not Spaulding received an offer from

Wisconsin is unknown. Having set his sights on Michigan, presumably he was uninterested and chose to wait. In the meantime, Griffin's offers were not the only overtures made to Spaulding.

On the recommendation of Jesse Jennings, National Park Service historian H.E. Kahler offered Spaulding a position supervising fieldwork in the Natchez Trace Parkway in Tennessee (H.E. Kahler to A.C. Spaulding, December 31, 1946, KUMA). Despite some familiarity with the history of "the Trace" and an offer of \$4,149 *per annum*, he did not accept the proposal. Early the next year William S. Webb, head of the departments of anthropology and physics at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, inquired as to whether Spaulding might like a change of venue (W.S. Webb to A.C. Spaulding, March 4, 1947, KUMA).

Webb had been selected by the Smithsonian in 1933 to lead the RBS prototype surveys of the Tennessee Valley prior to its inundation (Haag 1965). Spaulding had worked under his direction in Kentucky in the mid 1930s (Voorhies 1992). Now, Webb wanted Spaulding for his department. If Spaulding took the position, he would be responsible for developing ethnology classes. Archeological field work might be squeezed in but it was not to be his highest priority (W.S. Webb to A.C. Spaulding, March 4, 1947, KUMA). He, again, declined to accept the invitation. As far as Spaulding was concerned, "Michigan is still the Old Sod" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, February 28, 1947, UMMA).

In late winter, word came again from the north. "It is not impossible that I might have an opening here" (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, February 27, 1947, UMMA). On an even more positive note, a few days later, Griffin added, "I have sent your name in to the administration for a position ... In the meantime, you might be thinking over individuals who might be suitable for your job at Kansas. Right off-hand I should think that perhaps [Carlyle] Smith might be satisfactory" (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, March 6, 1947, UMMA). Spaulding was "delighted ... I am waiting with my fingers crossed" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, March 11, 1947, UMMA).

Spaulding agreed that Smith was the logical choice as his successor. "So far I haven't thought of anyone else with Plains experience plus the required academic background. This job affair is tough, with Jennings and Webb both looking for men, not to speak of the rest of the United States. However, I still think the Kansas job is a pretty good one, and they ought to be able to get someone without too much trouble" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, March 11, 1947, UMMA).

The weeks passed without anything conclusive from Michigan. Griffin could only commiserate with the fretful Spaulding. "I feel for you during this period of indecision, but unfortunately nothing can be done. In the meantime you and your family are eating I trust, so what the hell" (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, May 12, 1947, UMMA). The position, it appeared, would not come through until July (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, May 12, 1947, UMMA). Spaulding consoled himself as best he could. Though he had not resigned his position, he reported to Griffin, "I have ... been suffering in noble silence ... I am extremely anxious for everything to go through ... and any little tidings from Ann Arbor are anxiously ripped open" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, May 14, 1947, UMMA).

The delay, he decided, "will make it possible to put in a summer in the Kanopolis area, and I can now plunge into my half-hearted preparations with something approaching enthusiasm" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, May 12, 1947, UMMA). Griffin soon telegraphed with good news, however. The position, assistant curator in the museum of anthropology with assistant professor status in the anthropology department, had come through sooner than expected. At long

last, Spaulding had his coveted appointment at the University of Michigan. The jubilant archeologist exclaimed:

Resisting an impulse to shout 'Wow,' I told my superiors here the general tenor of the news. They ... offered to meet the Michigan salary, so I promised to make a decision during the course of a field trip [to the Fall River reservoir] ... After 15 or 20 seconds of carefully weighing all the circumstances I decided that Michigan was the place for me [A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, May 19, 1947, UMMA].

Spaulding had, of course, received his M.A. from Michigan and had gained Griffin's respect. Beyond that respect, Griffin felt that Spaulding "had skills I did not have and so complimented each other" (J.B. Griffin to M.F. Hawley, March 1992). Among those skills was "the competence you acquired as a surveyor during the war" (Figure 8) (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, June 13, 1947, UMMA). He further "encouraged Spaulding to develop his capacity for statistical handling of archaeological data"

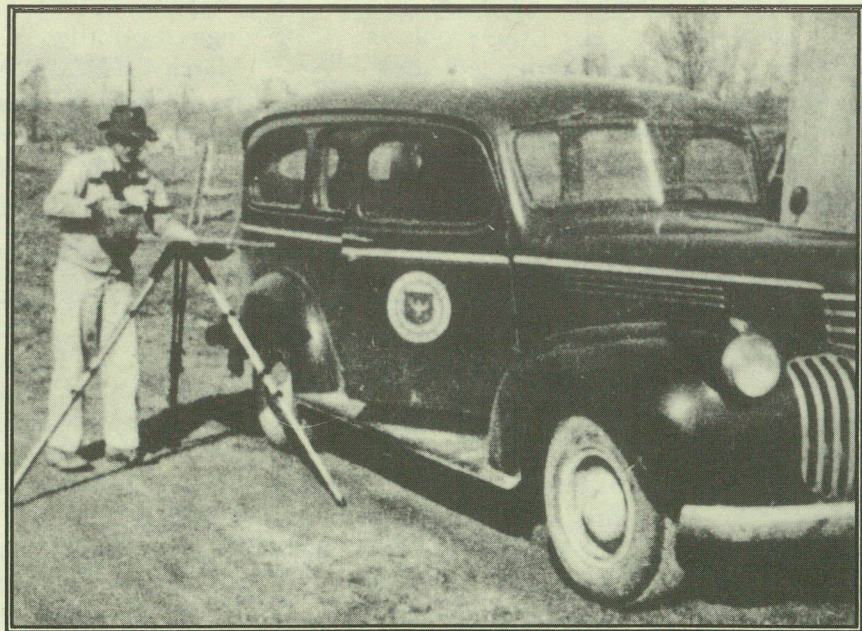


Figure 8. Albert Spaulding mapping in Yazoo, Mississippi, 1948.

Courtesy Charlotte Spaulding.

(Griffin 1976:115).

As to who would succeed Spaulding at Kansas, Griffin recommended Karl Schmitt, Carlyle Smith, and Richard Woodbury (after Schmitt looked like he would be taking a job at Oklahoma) (J.B. Griffin to A.C. Spaulding, May 20 and June 6, 1947). Spaulding reported back in June that "Carl Smith has the inside track on the job here ... I imagine he will be invited out for an interview shortly. He seems to want the job, and I think it will suit him very well" (A.C. Spaulding to J.B. Griffin, June 9, 1947).

### CONCLUSIONS

As with Eiseley, Spaulding's achievements, destined to be considerable, were, by and large, accomplished elsewhere (Cowgill 1977; Voorhies 1992). In his short stay at the university, he covered a lot of ground, tested an important if little known site, and perhaps most importantly instigated the long cooperation between the University of Kansas and the River Basin Surveys. With departure imminent, Griffin and Spaulding recommended his successor, Columbia University student and Ph.D. candidate Carlyle S. Smith. Smith continued the association with RBS as a contracted consultant and continued to further the development of anthropology at the University of Kansas (see Smith, this issue). By the late 1950s, the sociology department established a master's program for anthropology.

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UKA = University of Kansas Archives  
NSHSA = Nebraska State Historical Society Archives  
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**CARLYLE S. SMITH**  
**KU YEARS: 1947-1980**

Carlyle S. Smith  
Research Professor Emeritus  
University of Kansas

The Kansas Anthropologist, 13(1&2), pp. 58-72

*Carlyle S. Smith (Figure 1) began his career on Long Island, New York. Through his association with William Duncan Strong at Columbia University he became interested in Plains archeology and, in 1947, joined the faculty at the University of Kansas. Before his retirement in 1980, he conducted extensive work in Kansas and South Dakota as well as on Easter Island and the Marquesas. Dr. Smith presented a brief overview of his career as a lecture in the plenary session of the 10th Flint Hills Conference in Topeka, Kansas, in 1988. This lecture was recorded on videotape and later transcribed and, in 1992, was edited and augmented by the author.*

I think I should give you some background as to how I got into archeology. Sometime back Waldo Wedel published a paper on the making of a Plains archeologist (Wedel 1977). Well, my interest was not initially in the Plains. I am a native Long Islander, a suburban parasite, neither urban or rural, and I became interested in archeology as an antiquarian in the 19th-century sense of the term.

I began collecting old guns and coins at the age of eight (still do), read extensively in history, loved languages, and geography. I used to devour the *National Geographic*. I always headed for the travel and history sections of the local library, which was good. My interest in mathematics was below zero if that is possible, and my aptitude the same. In fact when I was in school I never could understand how anybody could get interested in it. I took everything that was required through intermediate algebra, even though I had to take that twice. But in the meantime I breezed through four years of Latin, three of French, and two years of German before I even got to college. I have always loved languages. At Columbia I continued with French and German and picked up Spanish and some Norwegian on the way, on Heyerdahl's expedition much later.

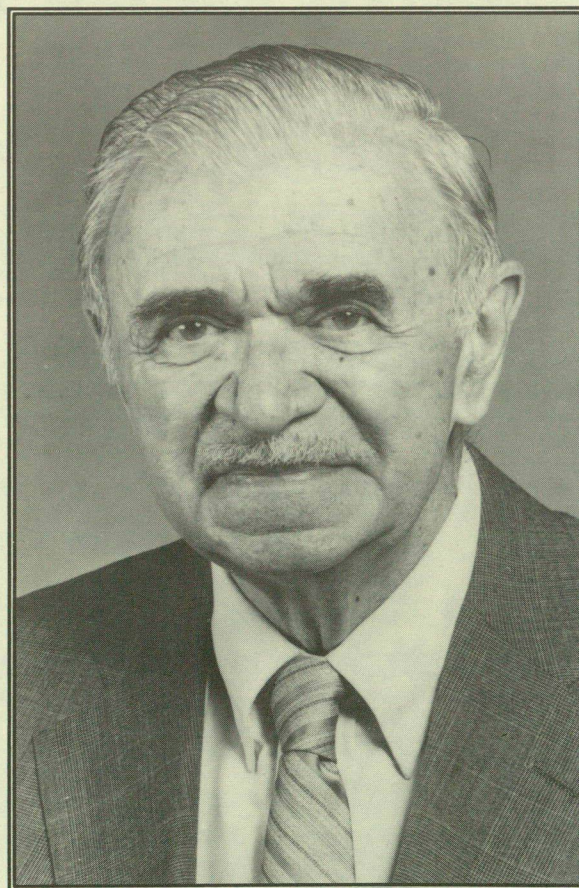


Figure 1. Carlyle S. Smith  
Courtesy C.S. Smith.

I got interested in local archeology on Long Island. This is a land mass 119 miles long with small shell heaps which produce a wide variety of artifacts of pottery, stone, and bone. Most of the stone artifacts are of quartz. I took some of these into the American Museum of Natural History and Bella Weitzner, author of *The Hidatsa Earthlodge* (Wilson 1934), incidently, directed me to Nels C. Nelson, who hemmed and hawed a great deal and mumbled a great deal in Danish while looking at my things and concluded that I had found a Woodland site on Long Island. I already knew this. But, the thing that disturbed me the most was that in all the big institutions on the east coast there was not a single solitary archeologist devoting his professional career to the local scene. It was in the hands of amateurs only.

In the process I met such people as Clark Wissler and I enjoyed the museum atmosphere and I sought the advice of various people. One Columbia student in my home town made an arrangement for me to meet an archeologist. The appointment was with Professor A.V.W. Jackson, an expert on the Iranian plateau, who dressed in 19th-century style: a black suit with a white edge on his vest. He informed me that if I were going to be an archeologist I should have an independent income. I didn't agree with him then but I do now!

I had all the qualifications to enter an Ivy League college, because that is the only kind of training that high schools gave you in the east then. If you took the college entrance track you were qualified for Yale, Harvard, Columbia, or Princeton. So in 1934 I went to Columbia College, Columbia University. I chose Columbia College, an Ivy League college for men, because my grades, courses, and "profile" were acceptable there. Furthermore I could live at home and commute via the Long Island Railroad and IRT subway in one hour travel time.

The first two years were taken up in required courses and I took more languages, history, classical archeology, and a great deal of geology. The geology students in Columbia who were in my classes boiled down to about ten who had a strong interest in the subject. By the time I graduated we were informed that we now

knew just enough geology to be dangerous. I caution people who do archeology to call on the professional services of the specialists and not rely on what they may have learned in a few undergraduate courses.

The big revelation came when I took some courses in anthropology and decided that was what I wanted. The first course I took was under Gene Weltfish who is known to many of you as the author of *The Lost Universe*, a study of Pawnee culture (Weltfish 1965). I also took a course under Alexander Lesser who was a specialist in the Kiowa, Pawnee, and Comanche. But the big change came when William Duncan Strong and Ralph Linton came to Columbia in my junior year. Strong (Figure 2) was a student of Kroeber at Berkeley and came to Columbia in 1937 after having taught at the University of Nebraska and served as a senior anthropologist

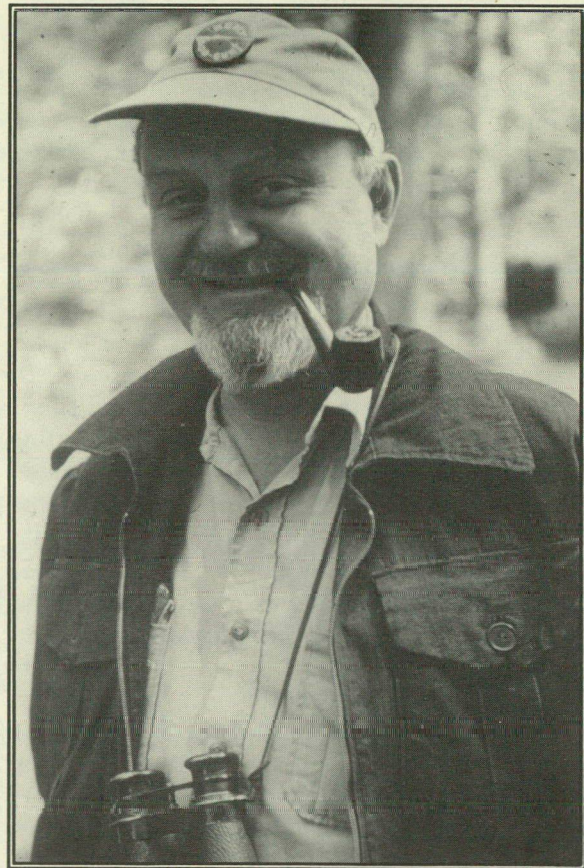


Figure 2. William Duncan Strong  
Courtesy Carlyle S. Smith

at the Smithsonian. Both men had a humanistic approach, which was and still is my approach. This was the direct historical approach to the study of man (e.g., Strong 1940).

After graduating from Columbia College, I was fortunate to get into the field with Strong on his expedition to North Dakota in 1938. We carried out excavations at Slant Village south of Mandan and adjacent to the site of Fort Abraham Lincoln where Custer was stationed. We also went to a Cheyenne site, which has been published by Raymond Wood and named the Biesterfeldt site (Wood 1971). There we excavated earthlodges. To cap it off we spent some time with the living Arikara and observed their hunting, war, and agriculture ceremony. The old religion was still so strong that the women would go to the ceremonial lodge to put their hands on the wall and then go and rub it on their children.

After that I made a tour of the Plains with Strong. I had bought a V8 Ford "Woody" for \$250 in Great Neck and this was the car we used. Another student, Joseph Jablow, and I acted as drivers for Strong, as he didn't drive. We went west and saw the Hagen site, a putatively Crow site (Mulloy 1942), and went down through Yellowstone to Colorado where we observed Frank Roberts excavating the Lindenmeier site (Roberts 1935; Roberts and Wilmsen 1978). It was his second season there. I visited the site the next year, as well. Then we went across Nebraska stopping to see C.B. Schultz in the White River badlands and spent some time with A.T. Hill who was excavating Nebraska culture sites in the area near Omaha. Here I met George Lamb and John Champe. We had still not had enough for Strong. We went on south and saw the last excavations at Spiro mound in Oklahoma. Our tour of the Plains lasted from May through August.

This certainly whetted my appetite for anthropological archeology in the Plains. After another year of graduate work I was asked by Strong to serve as a WPA unit supervisor under A.T. Hill in Nebraska where I spent a couple of months on the biggest Dismal River site ever found, the Lovitt site in Chase County (Hill and Metcalf 1941). The excavations were run

through the Nebraska State Historical Society. George Metcalf was my field assistant and we had nine shovel hands. During that period George Metcalf and I took a weekend and dropped down to see Wedel's excavations at El Cuartelejo, also known as Scott County Pueblo (Wedel 1959). That was my first entry into Kansas.

Another diversion consisted of a weekend trip to South Dakota to see Albert Spaulding who was excavating the Arzberger and Buffalo Pasture sites (Spaulding 1956). Driving northward in my Model A Ford, accompanied by George Metcalf and Ralph Solecki, I saw the Talking Crow site for the first time and was impressed by its prominent surface features. Solecki later went on to excavate Shanidar Cave in Iraq but his early experience in digging in a cave setting was at Ash Hollow Cave in Nebraska!

I assisted with the work at Ash Hollow Cave; this was a non-WPA sponsored project and involved a lot of people such as Champe, Wedel, Hill, and others (Figure 3). Champe, of course, wrote his dissertation on the site (Champe 1946). I also directed excavations at earthlodge villages, such as the Koufal site which had 23 lodges, and the Sondergaard burial site on Davis Creek (Smith n.d.) before returning to graduate work at Columbia for another year. When I left Nebraska, Gus Kivett took over as unit supervisor.

In the summer of 1940 I was employed as a field assistant to Mary Butler in the Hudson Valley operating out of Vassar College. Following that, Jim Ford came to Columbia and said in an off-hand way "How would you like to work in Louisiana?" So, I went to Louisiana for nine months as a WPA supervisor excavating temple mounds and serving as laboratory supervisor under George Quimby from October 1940 to July 1941 (Haag 1985). That is where I learned the concept of the pottery type and the use of popularity percentages. This is as far as I have ever gone in using mathematics.

I pursued graduate work in the department of anthropology at Columbia from 1938 to 1940 and from 1946 to 1947. Experience

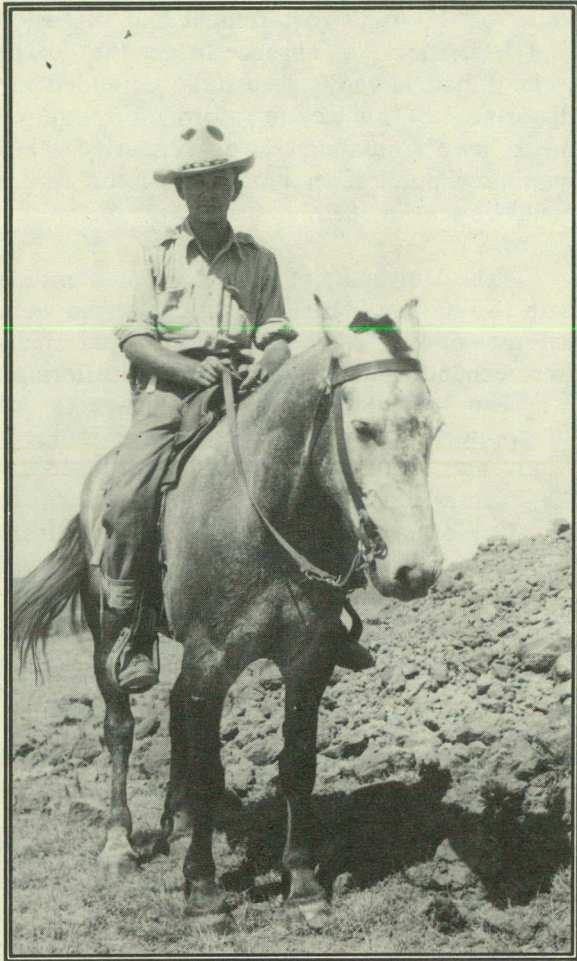


Figure 3. On horseback in Greeley County, Nebraska, 1939.

Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society

in the field with Strong led me to do my graduate work under him at Columbia. There was no M.A. requirement. One was accepted for the Ph.D. program or rejected. After all there were no professional positions in anthropology then for holders of the M.A. Candidates were examined in ethnology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and archeology with emphasis in one field.

Aside from diversified course work, I added to my professional training in 1938-39 by serving as a laboratory worker in the analysis of artifacts and other data from one of the sites, the Mandan site, I had helped excavate with Strong. I carried out further field research all the while on Long Island and added to my

knowledge through association with members of the staff of the American Museum of History (Figure 4).

By the end of the Louisiana project I was eligible for the "pre-Pearl Harbor" draft, and I elected to work in a defense plant on Long Island in order to devote my spare time to my dissertation. I worked there for about 18 months full time (45 hours per week) as an inspector of aircraft engine parts. I married Judith Pogamy in 1942. Then, beginning in 1943, I spent three years in the Army Air Forces in Greensboro, North Carolina. Interestingly enough, I spent most of the time lecturing on map and aerial photograph reading, which I had learned in geology and archeology. I managed to publish three papers on Long Island archeology (Smith 1944).

After I was discharged in 1946 I returned to New York and worked on my dissertation, "The Archeology of Coastal New York," at home, the American Museum, and the Museum



Figure 4. Testing fortification at Fort Corchang (17th Century Indian Site) on Long Island, NY, in 1946.

Courtesy C.S. Smith

of the American Indian. My interest in the topic had begun when I was 17. It was accepted in rough draft in 1947 and I defended it in 1949. I had the good fortune to have Alfred Kroeber at my dissertation defense when he was a visiting professor at Columbia. Later, in July of 1967, the Carlyle S. Smith Archaeological Laboratories were named at the Nassau County Museum of Natural History, Glen Cove, Long Island, New York, for my contributions to the archaeology of the area (Figure 5).

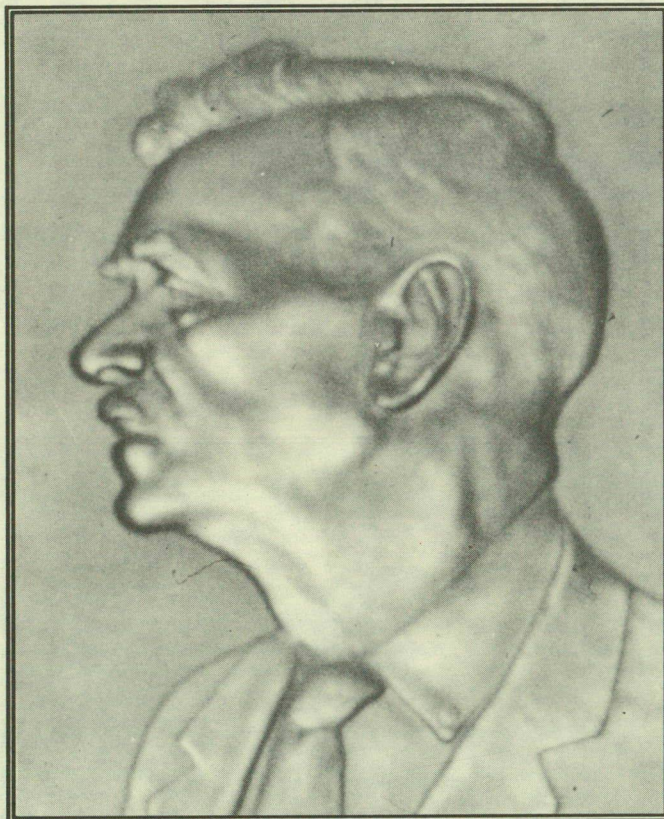


Figure 5. Bas relief plaque at C.S. Smith Archaeological Laboratory, Glen Cove, NY.

Courtesy C.S. Smith

In the late 1940s, Columbia required actual publication before the degree would be granted. I had defended my dissertation in final typescript and was solicited immediately by the American Museum for publication which was carried out in 1950 (Smith 1950a). Prior to this time one had to defend the dissertation as an already published book. At the University of Kansas I was disturbed that no one seemed to

know of this rigid requirement and suggested that I take leave of absence to get the degree when I had already successfully defended my dissertation. This lack of information required me to "lend" Columbia University nearly \$800 to guarantee publication until 75 printed copies could be sent in 1950.

The University of Kansas was contending with the sudden increase in students who were veterans of World War II, and all departments were expanding and diversifying their offerings. The Middle West was the area of opportunity for anthropologists in these years. Anthropology had leap-frogged the Central Plains area and taken root in California with Kroeber going from Columbia to California in 1901. So, with the expansion of universities and other facilities in the Middle West after World War II sociology departments were adding anthropologists to enrich their programs.

Albert Spaulding had come to the University of Kansas from Columbia University and stayed for a year and a half, but he couldn't resist the call from Jimmy Griffin to go to Michigan, so he asked me if I was interested. I came out for an interview in June 1947 and I liked the opportunity because it was half-time museum and half-time teaching. Half-time teaching consisted of a three hours a week service course in anthropology each semester for the department of sociology and the rest of my time was museum and research time at the Museum of Natural History, also known as Dyche Museum, where I was curator of the division of anthropology. In the sociology department I taught New World ethnology and archeology courses.

I drove out to Lawrence with my wife Judy from Great Neck, Long Island, in late August of 1947 and took up residence in Sunnyside, a temporary housing project composed of modified Women's Army Corps barracks on the south side of campus. Hundred-degree temperatures lasted into October that year. The position was my first academic appointment.

We found Lawrence to be more than a generation behind the times in contrast with the sophisticated communities we knew on the North Shore of Long Island where the "roaring twenties" had begun. The outmoded liquor laws, the importance of church going, the lack of good restaurants, and absence of delicatessens were culture shocks to us. We found some kindred spirits at KU and braved the long round trips to Kansas City in good weather over secondary, pre-turnpike roads for a change of scene.

I came to the University of Kansas because of the opportunity to carry out museum-based field and laboratory research in archeology and to make order in the archeological and ethnographic collections with a view to revising exhibits. Teaching has always been a secondary activity with me because I was an active archeologist. The archeological collections were largely undocumented and of limited scientific use. The ethnographic collections were partially documented and of scientific value. They were especially good in specimens from the tribes of the Great Plains and the Northwest Coast of North America and from the Congo of West Africa. They presented a difficult problem in storage and conservation. Because my primary mission in the museum was archeological, the ethnographic collections went into dead storage wherever space could be found, or on exhibit.

Between 1947 and 1968 I carried out field work in Kansas, South Dakota, Polynesia, France, and Italy. This work inundated the storage facilities for archeological specimens. Further, I was instrumental in the acquisition of the Floyd Schultz archeological collection of artifacts with a catalogue, notes, and maps pertaining to sites in the lower Republican River valley of northcentral Kansas. This formed the basis for student research papers for several years and is still an important resource in the Museum of Anthropology. Other collections were acquired, but none as well documented as this one.

I met Floyd Schultz almost immediately. He was the leading amateur archeologist south of A.T. Hill. Spaulding had told him that I was to be his replacement and Judy and I went to meet him in Clay Center. He was the first

person I came across in Kansas who had any interest or knowledge about Kansas archeology. As I said, he gave the university his collection from Hopewellian mounds and Central Plains houses. Spaulding had given him the idea and all I had to do was point out that there were no other institutions in the state where he could be sure his collection would be studied.

Schultz was probably the first man to make a map of an earthlodge in the Plains. Some of them are pretty crude and he didn't consider a post mold to represent a post unless he found wood in it, so the house plans are not always complete. After he donated his collection I traveled back and forth between Lawrence and Clay Center every month to get another car load of his artifacts. Schultz was a visitor to my excavations at the Kansas Monument site and later on at Talking Crow. Unfortunately, he died in 1951 (Smith 1951a).

I met my classes in the basement of Dyche Hall, just outside of the entrance to my compact laboratory-office facility. In later years I often met classes elsewhere on campus and held small seminars for the professionally oriented students in my work area.

At first it annoyed me that no one in the Museum of Natural History, including the director, seemed to know the first thing about the nature of anthropology and what an archeologist trained in anthropology did. This was pretty much true of the faculty as a whole. On the positive side, I found that this finally led to an independence of activity on my part rarely found in the traditional fields.

There was very little money available then for doing field work. Imagine a budget today of \$900 for field work, \$900 for student assistants, and a fund for purchasing various things. There were no graduate students as there was no graduate program in anthropology at KU. Usually there were from eight to twelve student field crew members, recruited from KU and other universities, to work for pay rather than credit. I had an opportunity to go to Kanopolis Reservoir to work, but with no money from the National Park Service. It was just, "Here it is, if you want to do Kansas archeology we need it

done here but we don't have any money." So I spent my \$900 of university funds from June through most of August with a small field crew.

In Kanopolis I carried out survey and testing in the fall of 1947 and went back for excavations in the summer of 1948. It was a University of Kansas project because there was no money from the federal government (Figure 6).

I was flooded out by rising water at Kanopolis and so went over into Rice County and excavated at the Major site (Smith 1949). A local amateur named Bill Leuty took us to some of the sites in the area. I later had the opportunity to go back to the site I had had to leave when the the water came up. Our test pits

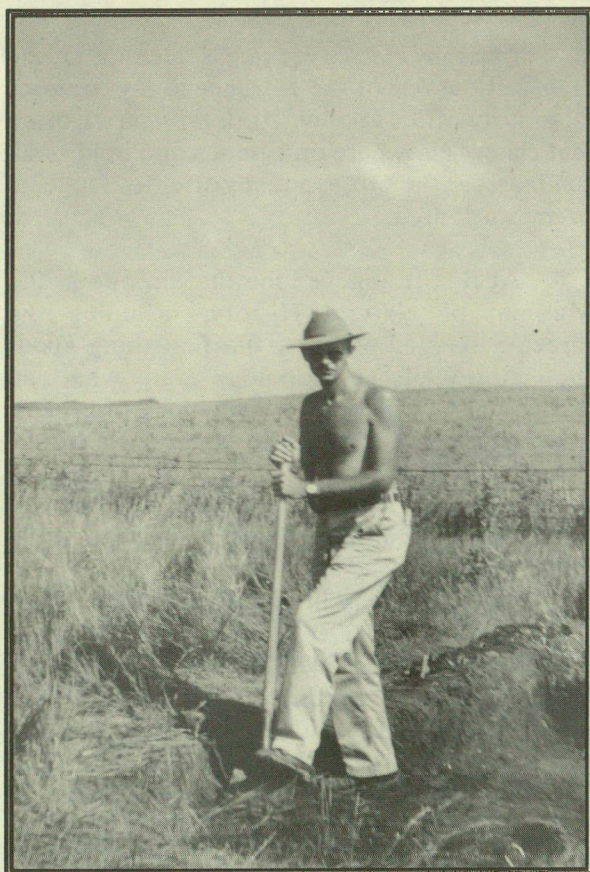


Figure 6. At work testing the Major Site, a Great Bend culture site in Rice County, Kansas, 1948.

Courtesy C.S. Smith

missed all of the hearths and features. You could see this because the artifacts were clustered elsewhere after the soil had been washed away.

One thing that bothered me with the kinds of funds ultimately available in Kansas were that they were for small reservoirs, those that Paul Cooper, who was the field director of the Missouri Basin Surveys from 1950 to 1952, used to call "duck ponds." The result was that you could only excavate within the area to be flooded and there might be a very important site that would fill in the gap in the record just outside. It was something like WPA days. Then you couldn't dig in a certain area because there were no men on relief that you could hire. This is one of the problems of federally controlled archeology.

In traveling around Kansas and doing archeology in Kanopolis Reservoir and in Rice County I discovered quite early that as far as my deep interests in Kansas archeology were concerned that Wedel had skimmed off the cream. I was interested in El Cuartelejo, the Central Plains culture, Plains Woodland, and Hopewell, but I found that he had investigated most of those complexes and had published the results (e.g., Wedel 1943, 1959).

The thing that Wedel hadn't done was Pawnee archeology in Kansas so with permission from Kansas State Historical Society director Kirke Mechem I carried out the initial excavations at the Kansas Monument site (14RP1), the Pawnee site in Republic County, in 1949. The Society owned the site, having obtained it when they thought it was the village Pike visited in 1806. Mechem was enthusiastic about our excavations there. I channelled my interest in firearms and other trade goods into the research at 14RP1 (Smith 1950b,c).

I found out immediately, too, that the distances in Kansas were too great for a person who was half-time teaching and half-time museum. I found that the time element was such that you would get out to the site in western Kansas in time to turn around and come back because you had a class the next day. There were no graduate students to send out to

do this work; the only graduate program was in sociology and in the museum I was the only anthropologist. All the other people were zoologists. In fact, at that time, I was the only anthropologist with a Ph.D. degree between St. Louis and Denver and Norman and Lincoln. Carl Chapman had not yet gone to Michigan to get his Ph.D.

I was the first member of the staff at the museum to take my wife into the field to stay for as long as three months under canvas or in an abandoned building. Later I took field crews composed of men and women along with Judy and our children (Figure 7), much to the bewilderment of the male chauvinists at the museum. Throughout my career at the University of Kansas I was accompanied and assisted in the field by my wife, Judy.



Figure 7. Examining a potsherd at the Talking Crow site, South Dakota, with wife Judith Smith, 1950.

Courtesy C.S. Smith

Anthropology prides itself in promoting racial, ethnic, and sexual equality. Outspoken racism and anti-female attitudes were openly expressed by the senior member of the staff of the Museum of Natural History. In Lawrence, blacks were segregated in motion picture theaters and at a privately owned "public" pool and at a restaurant they were barred. I was

instructed not to buy field equipment from Jewish merchants. Women were not to be seen in state-owned vehicles. All this was done seemingly with no knowledge of attitudes prevalent in my profession. Needless to say, I ignored all such admonitions.

Combined with no graduate program and a low budget we did the best we could. I was quite relieved when Rosco Wilmeth joined the staff at the Kansas State Historical Society in 1957 and was followed by Thomas A. Witty in 1960. This took a tremendous load off my back because, first of all, I wasn't hired as "state archeologist" anyway, but I felt I had a moral obligation to do something. This had placed quite a burden on me.

At this time when Kansas was crying out for work to be done there was an opportunity to carry out research-oriented excavations in South Dakota with funds from the National Park Service. One of the reasons that this was a tremendous opportunity was because the reservoirs were so large that you could be selective in terms of problem. Through my association with Strong I was always interested in the up-river movement of the Arikara in splitting off from the Pawnee. I spent six field seasons in South Dakota working on this (Figure 8). Three seasons were at the Talking Crow site, beginning in 1950, and one each at the Spain, Two Teeth, and Stricker sites (Smith 1951b, 1963, 1975, 1977; Smith and Grange 1958; Smith and Johnson 1968). In recognition of my work in South Dakota I was awarded an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters by the University of South Dakota in 1979.

The Talking Crow site was chosen because of the possibility of stratigraphy. This was important in terms of the problems we were trying to solve. The smaller sites were dug in order to provide single components for seriation (Smith 1963). The field work also exposed us to friendly cooperation from the Dakota (Sioux) in the area.



Figure 8. On fieldtrip to Rosebud, South Dakota, 1951.

Courtesy C.S. Smith

Through the analysis of the data collected on these digs, often embodied in thousands of broken fragments of pottery, I have demonstrated to my satisfaction that the culture of the Arikara tribe of South Dakota had a common origin with the Pawnee of Nebraska and in the older Central Plains tradition and that both went through similar transitions. The technique I used is known as seriation in which one works with specimens found at sites of known date and tribal affiliation back through the contents of earlier sites dating from as far back as A.D. 900.

In historical archeology my major contribution was the translation of 18th-century French accounts of the manufacture of gunflints (Smith 1960a,b). I received a grant for \$400 from the American Philosophical Society to use while in France to do further research in 1960 (Smith 1962). In going to various villages I found that many local people retained memories of this old technology. Often they could show me the very tools that had been used much earlier to produce flints. Incidentally, while I was in France in the Dordogne Valley I met the great French prehistorian François Bordes. A couple of years later I went to Italy but discovered that the gunflints there bore no resemblance to fur trade era flints.

I have been frequently able to assist archeologists ignorant of firearms in the identification of gun parts and cartridges from their excavations (e.g., Smith 1955, 1960c, 1960d, 1972). At the university I also taught a course in the evolution of firearms. In this I had simply put an interest I had in guns since I was child to good use (Smith and Behrens 1983). In 1989 I was honored to receive the J.P. Harrington Medal given by the Society for Historical Archaeology in recognition of these contributions (Grange 1990).

In 1955, while I was digging an earthlodge village site near Fort Thompson, South Dakota, I received an invitation from Thor Heyerdahl, the Norwegian adventurer of Kon-Tiki raft fame, to accompany him as one of four archeologists, with Ed Ferdon, Bill Mulloy, who wrote up the Hagen site, and Arne Skjölsvold, on his expedition to Easter Island and elsewhere in the Pacific for ten months (Heyerdahl and Ferdon 1961). This required an urgent request for a leave of absence for the academic year 1955-56. This was granted, and I entered into an experience which was a turning point in my career.

As one of the four archeologists my contribution consisted of establishing the fact that *mataa*, a large obsidian weapon, appeared in the Late Period, correlating with inter-group warfare late in the 17th century. I also demonstrated that the Poike Ditch was man-made and not a natural feature. Further, my study of ceremonial platforms, called *ahu*, showed that types of masonry might be important time markers. I found that the statues had probably been made smaller in earlier times (Figure 9) (Smith 1961a, 1961b, 1961c). I was successful in making a mold of a statue over seven meters tall. This now stands as a perfect copy in plaster at the Kon-Tiki Museum in Norway.

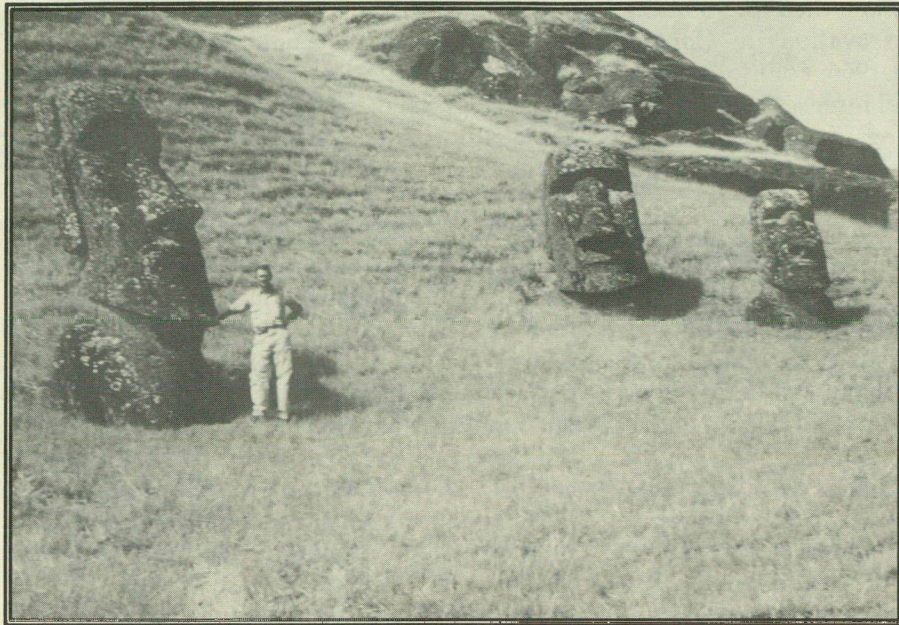


Figure 9. Statues of Easter Island.

Courtesy C.S. Smith

All in all it was a rewarding experience which made me a better qualified professional. The expedition continued on to such places as Pitcairn, Tahiti, Rapa, and the Marquesas (Figure 10) (Smith 1965; Smith and Heyerdahl 1961). I have been back to Easter Island thirteen times since for Lindblad Travel and on cruise ships.

In Kansas I did further field work in Tuttle Creek Reservoir under Park Service funds in 1957 where we dug the Budenbender site (Johnson 1973) and I sent out two well-qualified undergraduate students to survey the Milford Reservoir in 1963 (Muller and Schock 1964). I also carried out excavations in Melvern Reservoir in 1962 (Smith and Birkby 1962) and in

Perry Reservoir in 1965 (Jones 1968).

In 1965 Alfred Johnson joined us as the junior member of the teaching staff at the University of Kansas. I had been introduced to Johnson by Bill Leuty when I was out at Kanopolis in 1950. He was fifteen then and joined me as a paid crew member at Talking Crow in 1951 and 1952. He worked with me again at Two Teeth in 1955 and at Tuttle Creek in 1957. Ultimately he took his B.A. in anthropology

at KU before going off to do graduate work in Arizona.

I negotiated for a survey of Clinton, which was my responsibility with my museum affiliation in terms of principal investigator, and then got

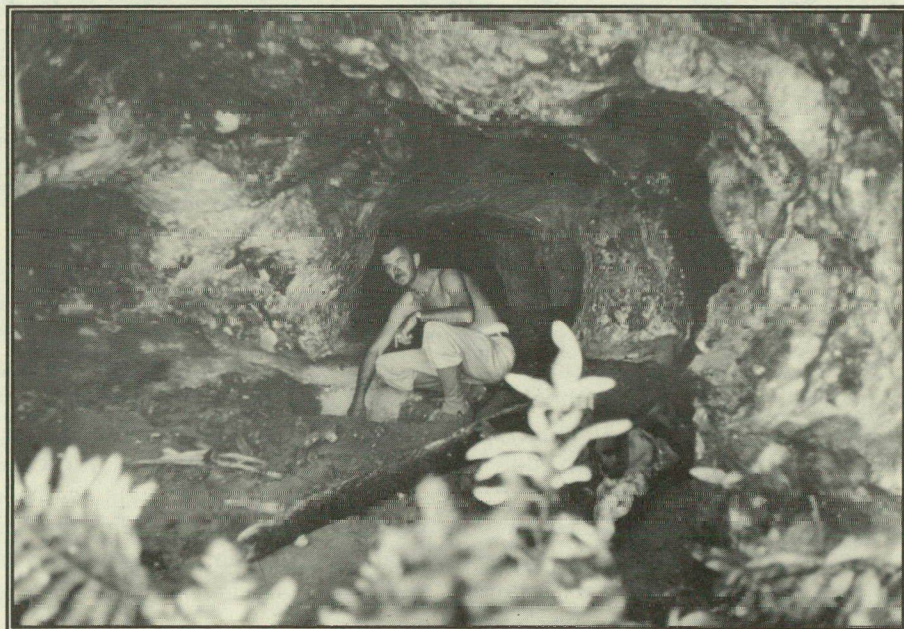


Figure 10. Testing in a cave on Henderson Island, 1956.

Courtesy C.S. Smith

the funds first for a survey and then for Johnson to carry out intensive excavations in Clinton Reservoir in 1966 (Chism 1966; Johnson 1968). By this time I began to find intense field work in the hot sun too debilitating. Symptoms led me to have double bypass heart surgery in 1972. This forced me to give up fieldwork.

By 1964 we had separated from sociology and had a well-rounded department of anthropology. With Johnson on the staff and a tremendous backlog of work to do I asked him to take over as half-time curator, which he did in 1968. Anthropology by then occupied an entire floor of the addition to Dyche Hall before moving to Fraser Hall. I had been half-time curator for twenty-one years. Now it seems incredible he has been in museum work for more than twenty-four years and is director of the Museum of Anthropology. Time passes.

In the department I tried to catch-up on the backlog. I had added backlog after backlog by participating in Heyerdahl's Norwegian expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific. I had to write that up and I still have to write up the archeology of a valley in the Marquesas Islands where I carried out excavations in 1963 under grants from the Kon-Tiki Museum and the University of Kansas (Smith 1970). In 1969 I became a charter appointment on the Kansas Historic Sites Board of Review which I served for the next 14 years.

In the meantime I found that there were many changes occurring in archeology, especially among people who had earned their degrees since 1960. In general my approach was not always appreciated by the so-called new archeologists. Actually, by the time I retired there was, in my mind, too much preoccupation with statistical overkill. I'll go on beyond that. I feel that what I am still interested in is real archeology and the new archeology at that time was not "real." In fact, they were doing things they were not qualified to do. They were venturing into other sciences. Because they did not have the money to hire, or consult with, specialists, they would do it themselves, and as my professor of geology at Columbia told me, "Now you know enough to be dangerous." That was after finishing a major in the subject.

Further, the new archeologists lacked a well-rounded background in all aspects of anthropology. At present, archeologists must teach courses in contact period ethnography. Social anthropologists have little, or no, interest in this.

Now I feel there is a beginning of a rebirth of the real archeology in that people are not so much preoccupied with juggling numbers and feeding them into a computer. In fact I want to say now that I find that I am in total disagreement with the conclusion drawn by one of my students in regard to the Kansas Monument site (Roberts 1978). I dug that site and so did Tom Witty. My student, through pushing buttons on a computer, determined that there were two occupations. Neither Tom nor I could see two occupations, and this was based on the ceramics, other artifacts, house floors, and strata.

I think a better interpretation is that there may have been a bunch of conservative old women who went down there along with progressive young women and the former were making the old type pottery. We still have no physical evidence for two occupations. I do conclude the occupation was post 1806, that the site wasn't even there earlier so it couldn't possibly have been visited by Pike. No one other than a misinformed Kansas "patriot" looking at the maps and reading the journals could conceivably think that Pike ever saw the place because his route was such that he did not know that the Solomon River flowed into the Republican. He passed to the west and did not know where he was.

In conclusion, let us get on with a well balanced approach in archeology carried out by broadly educated scholars, not mere technicians who eschew the painstaking work of those who really knew what they were doing before they came upon the scene. Now it will not be necessary for traditional archeologists to raise their Marshalltown trowels on high and shout in unison, as did the gladiators in the Roman arenas, but to an archeological dictator, *Ave atque vale. Moritiri te salutamus!*

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Life of a Fossil Hunter.* CHARLES H. STERNBERG. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis. Reprint. First Midland Book Edition 1990. Originally published in February 1909 by Henry Holt and Company. xxvii + 286 pp., 50 photographs, foreword, introduction, preface, index.

Reviewed by John D. Reynolds, Kansas State Historical Society

Charles H. Sternberg was the son of a Lutheran minister from New York who moved to a brother's ranch in modern Ellsworth County, Kansas, in 1867 when he was seventeen years old. Sternberg lived to be ninety-three years old and enjoyed a distinguished career as a collector of fossilized animal and plant life. The book reviewed herein, *The Life of a Fossil Hunter*, is Sternberg's autobiography of his first 59 years. It was first published in 1909. The present copy is a reprint of this original with an excellent foreword added by Rudolf A. Raff, who is presumably the individual responsible for reprinting the book. This reprint is a faithful copy of the original, as was verified by the reviewer by comparing it with an original autographed copy in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. In particular, the photographs are of the same fine quality in the reprint as they were in the original. Sternberg's original contained a very short introduction by one of the then leading paleontologists, Henry Fairfield Osborn, in which Sternberg's place in paleontological circles was suggested. Raff's forward adds immeasurably to the reader's understanding of the place of this avid, and largely self-trained, paleontologist or paleontological collector.

I highly recommend this book to anyone interested in the history of paleontology or the history of the frontier west. It is refreshing to learn, for instance, that while the entire country, including the U.S. Cavalry, was living in terror of the Sioux in the aftermath of the Custer massacre of June of 1876, Sternberg and Edwin Druiker Cope, who was one of the two leading paleontologists of that time, were fossil hunting

in the Judith River beds of Montana. They assumed, and correctly so, that late summer and fall of that year would be a propitious time to go on a fossil hunt since the army couldn't effectively mount another campaign that quickly. Refusing to be spooked by others, they pursued their scientific investigations. Two years later Sternberg had a similar experience in the John Day fossil beds of Oregon. In that case, he was accompanied by the other leading American paleontologist, Othniel Marsh. This time it was the Bannock who were at war. Once more Sternberg pursued his science in spite of the threat of attack and once more he was successful. He was one of a handful of largely self-trained paleontologists who worked as an independent or sometimes poorly funded collector for eastern and European museums and, as such, he made enormous contributions to the field of paleontology. His collections of fossils from the Cretaceous chalk beds of western Kansas are some of his most notable findings. In addition to collecting these specimens, such as various plesiosaurs and ichthyosaurs, his innovative preparation techniques for displaying these finds made them much sought after by the museums of the world.

Sternberg's boisterous sense of humor and unwillingness to bow to adversity pervade this book. His description of his first buffalo hunt, when he mistakenly killed a Texas longhorn steer, makes for delightful reading as does his encounter with a nest of rattlesnakes in Texas. At one point, Sternberg asks himself why a man would risk his life, as he did repeatedly, to collect ancient fossils. He concludes that there were two motives, the desire to add to human knowledge and the hunting instinct. Monetary reward was of little significance to this intrepid pioneer collector. He concludes that "All work done for science has a value above that of money." Sternberg certainly lived by this philosophy and his legacy endures. It is probably obvious that the reviewer was very taken with this book. Of equal interest will be a soon-to-be-published biography of Sternberg by Katherine Rogers of Hays.

*Earth Water and Fire: The Prehistoric Pottery of Mesa Verde.* NORMAN T OPPELT. Johnson Publishing Company, Boulder, 1991. 92 pp., photographs, maps, tables, glossary, bibliography, and index. \$12.95 (paper). ISBN 1-55566-085-1.

Reviewed by Jim D. Feagins, Saint Joseph Museum.

*Earth Water and Fire* is an appropriate main title for a volume on pottery. While pottery manufacturing is the focus, other aspects of the prehistoric pottery found on Mesa Verde are clearly and quite adequately described in this short volume.

Mesa Verde, located in southwest Colorado, was the home of the prehistoric Anasazi. Their descendants reside in many of the present Pueblo villages in New Mexico and Arizona. With some modifications, many of the Anasazi cultural practices, including pottery manufacture, continue today. The making of pottery first began on Mesa Verde around A.D. 600 and continued there until the mesa was abandoned by the Anasazi at about A.D. 1300.

*Earth Water and Fire* clearly describes the 700 years of Mesa Verde pottery, the types present, their development, function and significance, and how the pottery was manufactured. Also this volume contains a brief introduction to the Anasazi themselves and to the prehistoric pottery found elsewhere in the greater Southwest.

This reviewer was quite surprised to find that the information contained in this volume (although written for the general public) is more than a cut above the good but general treatment of pottery one usually finds in the many introductory publications on the Anasazi. Oppelt is a park ranger at Mesa Verde National Park and a professor emeritus at the University of Northern Colorado. He approaches the subject with the confidence and understanding of one who is not only a good student of Mesa Verde pottery but has clearly been greatly involved with much experimentation concerning many aspects of pottery manufacture. This background coupled with his excellent writing ability and the presence of appropriate, good

quality photographs have been the ingredients for a well done publication. Personally, this reviewer would have liked for this publication to have been available when he first became interested in Southwestern pottery over 20 years ago. Oppelt has cut through much of the confusion that the general public and avocational archeologists often have concerning the identification and differences between various types of pottery, such as Mancos Gray, Moccasin Gray, Mancos Corrugated, Mesa Verde Corrugated, Chapin Black-on-white, Piedra Black-on-white, Abajo Red-on-orange, Bluff Black-on-red, to name but a few of those described. The pottery types are grouped under five headings for ease of understanding: gray ware tradition, white ware tradition, red ware tradition, intrusive pottery, and Mesa Verde white ware beyond its traditional range.

The chief forte of *Earth Water and Fire* is the excellent explanation of pottery making techniques. The materials (clay, temper, slip, and paint), tools (brushes, scrapers, polishing stones, and pot forms), clay preparation, forming the vessels (pinch pots, coiling, and scraping), surface modifications (rim finishing, handles, surface finishing, slipping, and painting), and firing are all explained. The many photographs aid the clear, detailed (but concise), easy to understand writing in this section.

Considering the purpose of this publication, the wished-for addition of a few terms in the glossary and the couple of minor typographical errors which were observed are rather insignificant shortcomings. The volume's glossary would be very useful to those it is designed to serve.

*Earth Water and Fire* is the publication to start with for anyone interested in the pottery of Mesa Verde. While it is considered to be an introductory volume, it does contain much detail for its size. It is easy to read and would be of interest to archeologists, museum personnel, collectors, art historians, potters, and the general public who are interested in prehistoric ceramics. This volume may be obtained from Johnson Books, 1880 South 57th Court, Boulder, Colorado 80301.

*Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology*. WILLIAM A. LONGACRE, editor. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1991. viii + 308 pp., 54 figs., 32 tables, references/bibliography, index. \$50 (cloth). ISBN 0-8165-1198.5.

Reviewed by Jim D. Feagins, Saint Joseph Museum.

*Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology* ultimately resulted from a week long advanced seminar sponsored by the School of American Research in 1985. The seminar, "Social and Behavioral Sources of Ceramic Variability," was attended by ten invited scholars who became the authors of this volume. All the participants had been involved with field studies relating to pottery in living societies. The purpose of this volume is to describe the wide diversity of ceramic variation among different cultures, explain the causes for the diversities, and show how the resulting ethnoarcheological inferences can be used to strengthen archeological interpretations.

William Longacre introduces ceramic ethnoarcheology in chapter one. He defines ethnoarcheology as "...the study by archaeologists of variability in material culture and its relation to human behavior and organization among extant societies, for use in archaeological interpretation" (pp.1). He emphasizes that it is done by archeologists as they are better trained for the analysis of material culture than ethnologists who traditionally have studied living cultures. "Action archaeology" and "living archeology" are, in Longacre's mind, synonymous with ethnoarcheology. This chapter contains a brief discussion of the history and reemergence of ethnoarcheology in the United State, explains some problems encountered in this type of research, and gives examples of the usefulness of ceramic ethnoarcheological studies. Longacre gives advice on choosing a society and choosing the problems within the selected society to study. He laments the poor sampling methods and the lack of quantified data that is present in some research. Longacre also touches on the old argument among archeologists concerning the appropriateness of using analogy (such as inferences and conclusions drawn from living societies) in archeological interpretation. Of course, some would say the use of historic or

modern analogy is simplistic and often incorrect when applied to interpreting prehistory, while others feel that various types of analogy is fundamental to almost all archeological interpretation.

Chapter two, "Variation, Variability, and Explanation," was written by Sander van der Leeuw. As both a scientist and potter he brings an interesting perspective to the volume. This chapter attempts to present a potter's viewpoint, from an historical and theoretical perspective, to pottery studies as opposed to the approach of scientists. He maintains (correctly or incorrectly) that in order for an archeologist or other scientist to accept such a viewpoint, paradigm shift is necessary. Potters are essentially concerned with creation and action, while scientists are concerned with description and significance. One approach looks to the future in an artistic sense, while the other attempts to explain or analyze the past. More specifically, if I understand van der Leeuw correctly, he feels that archeologists could not really begin to understand pottery without striving for the viewpoint of the potter and that this is quite difficult to accomplish since an artist's "paradigm" is so different from the analytical perspective of the archeologist. He argues that instead of working with closed categories (types), we should maintain a more open ended perspective. Ethnoarcheology can teach us to look for more and more dimensions of variability rather than fewer, as is usually done for ease of archeological typology. In stressing similarities, archeologists suppress much of the information in the archeological record. While this is not a new charge, it is worth repeated examination.

Sander van der Leeuw goes on to outline two approaches, which he calls (Re-) creative Perception and Analytical Perception. He argues that if we want to explain the past as well as describe it, we should study both approaches together. Ethnoarcheology would be a tool, allowing archeologists to consciously (if we will) take on an additional perspective to better understand pottery, or other objects of material culture, as well as to simply describe them. The acceptance of van der Leeuw's approach by the archeological community remains to be seen.

While interesting, in a formal sense, it would seem difficult to diligently apply in many cases. The concept, that the main focus of archeological ceramic research should be on the ancient potters' perspective as well as the pottery, is well taken. His approach supplies much food for thought.

"Sources of Ceramic Variability at Zuni Pueblo" is the title of chapter three written by Margaret Hardin. She presents a concise, but well written, history of previous Zuni ethnographic and ceramic studies. She describes the changes in Zuni ceramics since the 1880s. In her study, individual Zuni were asked to evaluate historic and modern pottery vessels. It is quite interesting to examine the insights from the Zuni concerning "their pottery style." Also this case study reaffirms the obvious impact of the pottery teacher on the Zuni student.

Chapter four by Ivan Hodder is titled, "The Decoration of Containers: An Ethnographic and Historic Study." The containers he studied are not pottery, but calabashes (gourds) which are decorated by the Ilchamus in Kenya, Africa. However, his study is relevant to pottery and to almost any item of material culture.

The calabashes are decorated and used by the women. They are culturally symbolic and contain all kinds of hidden social meanings--conflict vs. harmony, blood vs. milk, male vs. female, and outside vs. inside. This type of information could not be gained solely from the archeological record. Hodder feels that archeologists should look for more dimensions of variability and use a more flexible approach.

Longacre has written chapter five, "Sources of Ceramic Variability Among the Kalinga of Northern Luzon." Observations were made concerning the organization, behavior, and material culture of the Kalinga, located in mountain valleys on the island of Luzon, Philippines. Longacre intensively studied the pottery, describing methods of construction, types of vessels, how they were used, and the kinds of use-abrasion found on different types of pots. He was able to note the variations between different potters who made different

deliberate choices, had different habits, and different levels of skill. All the women in the village could identify one another's pottery 100 percent of the time. The men could hardly ever identify who made which vessel. Also a study was made of the number of pots found in each household compared with the household size and wealth. The processes of gifting and exchange made distribution a complex variable. The data from the ethnoarcheological ceramic study was compared with sherds from an excavated midden.

Again Longacre stressed that ceramic variability is a useful means for strengthening archeological inference. He indicated that it would have been useful to conduct a chemical analysis of the residues in vessel interiors, especially to identify lipids and the varying amount of different amino acids. This information would have produced useful data to compare with archeological research.

Chapter six, "Pottery Production and Distribution Among the Kalinga: A Study of Household and Regional Organization and Differentiation," was written by Michael Graves. This chapter explores the interaction between pottery production, distribution, and the associated contexts of human organization. Graves has proved, perhaps the obvious, that similar social processes can produce different patterns of ceramic variability. The Kalinga have sharp pottery production boundaries for their areas but the exchange region is much larger. Much of the pottery was produced for internal use. When exchange does take place, it is balanced and is conducted without the interference of institutions or elite supervision. The individuals conducting the exchange were females from households lacking adequate agricultural resources for their families. Inferences from this data could at times apply to prehistoric societies. While these ideas have been suggested before, Grave's study has quantitatively documented them in connection with a living society. However, practices from ethnology must be used with great care when applied as inferences to prehistoric societies.

Warren DeBoer is the author of chapter seven, "The Decorative Burden: Design,

Medium and Change." DeBoer estimates that 20 to 30 percent of a potter's production time can be spent on decoration. If true, this is a sizeable investment of time. One could ask, why any pots are decorated at all? Of course, there is the obvious aesthetic enjoyment is a relatively durable and cheap way to present information across varying social contexts.

In many cultures, the majority of pottery is plain. Of course, plain sherds are also of value to an archeologist. Their variation can be used to determine time, space and cultural differences, and DeBoer suggests they can be used to test cooling and heating effectiveness, portability, resistance to impact stress, thermal shock, abrasion, etc.

The potter has to make a choice for each vessel as to its decoration or lack thereof. Perhaps archeologists usually organize their analysis categories all wrong. Potters first decide what types of vessel to manufacture and their decision about decoration is secondary. Archeologists often organize their potsherds on the basis of decoration (or lack of decoration) and perhaps temper first, then later they may try to determine the type of vessels (bowls, jars, etc.) individual sherds come from.

DeBoer compares the pottery and other decoration items manufactured by the Shipibo of the Peruvian Amazon region with the Chachi that live west of the Peruvian Andies. The Shipibo pervasively decorate their ware while the Chachi are more conservative (partitive) with decoration. This comparative study indicated that there may be a considerable difference for potential change between cultures with pervasive and partitive decorative organizations.

In most societies, pottery is a small part of the overall material culture. As is rightly pointed out by DeBoer, archeologists often need to be reminded that there are other things in a material culture beside decay-defying residues. Ethnoarcheology can be helpful in this regard.

Chapter eight, by Ben Nelson, is titled, "Ceramic Frequency and Use-Life: A Highland Mayan Case in Cross-Cultural Perspective." Nelson is interested in how the use-lives of

different classes of vessels will vary. His study was conducted in the highlands of Guatemala. The most common ways vessels were rendered unusable was by thermal shock, being dropped, or broken by dogs. The different processing methods of corn in different areas (dry or wet grinding, methods of cooking, etc.) influenced the frequency and use-life of different types of vessels. He divided the use-life of vessels into three categories: short (3 to 6 months), intermediate (7 to 17 months), and longest (18 months to 5 years). The average use-life of different classes of vessels varied tremendously. Some variation in the amount of pottery found in various households was due to aesthetic taste and economic specialization (i.e., salt processing, pottery manufacture). Some dead storage of pottery (damaged) and some stockpiling was practiced. The houses tended to be quite cluttered with cultural materials of various types. Rarely is useable pottery discarded.

"Standardization and Variation in the Work of Craft Specialization" is the title of chapter nine by Gloria London. The goal of London's study was to measure variation in the work of individual Philipino potters and to determine how their wares can be differentiated. Different types of vessels were manufactured with different methods and made with different local clays. Different clay was used for coiling than was used with the paddle-and-anvil method. Only the cooking vessels were burnished, using either a shell, metal spoon, or empty bottle. "Among the factors influencing standardization are market demands, involvement of nonprofessionals, individual style and preferences, manufacturing techniques, and age of the potter" (pp. 200). Older potters tended to decorate the pottery stoves (for burning charcoal) slightly different from younger potters. Also individuals who had worked less than a year as a potter showed the greatest variation in their work. Much of the decorations were done by (nonprofessional) family members. Elaborate decorations did not always increase the cost of the pots since the pottery did not necessarily do that work, but it often was done by children.

Written by Carol Kramer, "Ceramics in Two Indian Cities" is the title of chapter ten. This study compares potters, vendors, and their

utilitarian earthenwares in the cities of Jodhpur and Udaipur in northwest India. Both cities and their environs contain many potters, who are mostly members of the Hindu potter caste. The potters are all male; however, females can perform many tasks in finishing the vessels. There are differences between the tools used and the vessels made by potters in the different cities. Kramer recorded the numbers and types of vessels, spatial distributions of potters and shops, and she studied the relationship among potters and vendors within and outside the two cities. Kramer recorded the numbers and types of vessels, spatial distributions of potters and shops, and she studied the relationship among potters and vendors within and outside the two cities. There were quite complex social and economic interactions among the makers and sellers of pottery in both centers. The profit margin is slim for most potters.

Raymond Thompson has written the last chapter, "The Archaeological Purpose of Ethnoarchaeology." Thompson presents a theoretical/methodical approach tying ethnoarchaeology to archeology. "The ultimate archaeological purpose of ethnoarchaeology is to obtain ethnographic information about the behavior associated with material objects for comparison with archaeological data" (pp. 234). Thompson does a good job of summarizing what ethnoarchaeology is all about. However, the perspectives that he presents contain very little that is new.

Over all *Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology* presents a useful potpourri of ceramic studies of living societies where ethnography and archeology meet for an archeological purpose. Since pottery is such an important component of the material study within many (perhaps most) archeological reports, it is imperative that archeologists search every avenue of ceramic research to obtain the maximum information possible. This volume provides thought provoking insights that lead to asking new questions and to looking at the archeological record in new ways. As an aid to archeologists, the volume contains a ceramic ethnoarcheological bibliography with almost 850 references. Also archeologists are encouraged to conduct their own ethnoarcheological research.

While *Ceramic Ethnoarcheology* probably would have little appeal for the general public, it should be of interest to anthropologists in general and especially to ethnologists and professional and serious avocational archeologists. *Ceramic Ethnoarcheology* is not for everyone, and its price may be discouraging to others. The publication contains a wealth of information on the interface between modern-day peoples and their pottery. It may be obtained by ordering through a local bookstore or from the University of Arizona Press, 1230 North Park Avenue, #102, Tucson, Arizona 85719.

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The following is a list of the names of the authors of the works mentioned in the preceding pages. The names are given in the order in which they appear in the original text. The names are given in the original language, and are not translated into English. The names are given in the original language, and are not translated into English.

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Manuscripts are actively solicited for *The Kansas Anthropologist*. Manuscripts should have a relationship to Kansas anthropology (archeology, ethnography, ethnohistory, cultural/social anthropology, physical anthropology, etc.). The varied readership of the journal should be kept in mind when preparing manuscripts, and jargon should be judiciously avoided. All manuscripts submitted must be original, unpublished work of the author(s). Style should follow that of *American Antiquity*; professionals are expected to submit their manuscripts with this in mind, others who may not be familiar with the *American Antiquity* style guide will receive editorial assistance. Illustrations are encouraged, at least two to three should be used where possible. All illustrations must be of reproduction quality, and must not be protected by copyright. Manuscripts will be reviewed by the editorial staff who will judge whether or not an article will be used and what revisions may be necessary before publication. Outside reviewers may be used.

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