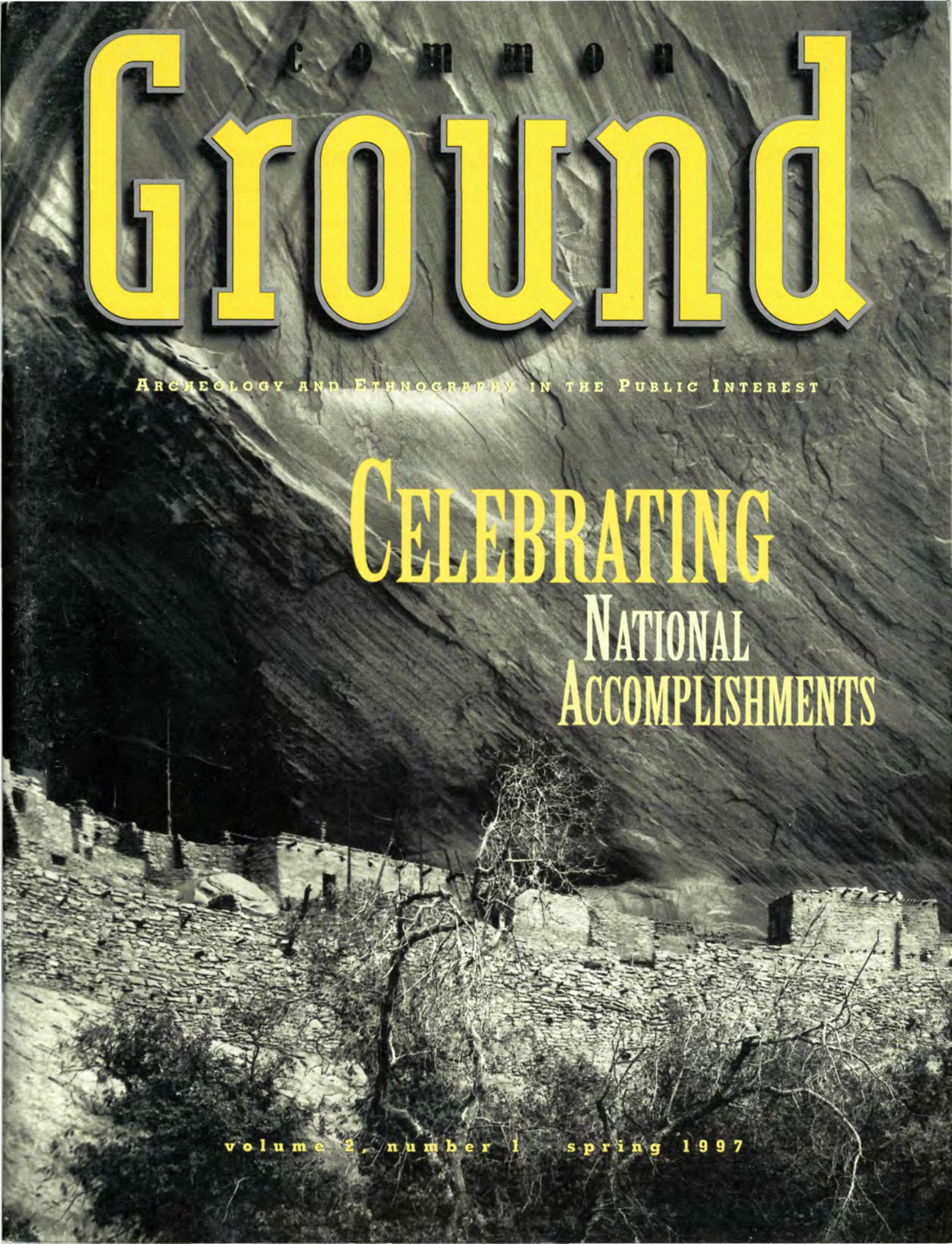




Common Ground

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

CELEBRATING NATIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

volume 2, number 1 spring 1997

Public Archeology in the 21st Century

Building on Success

FRANCIS P. McMANAMON

Since the 19th century, American interest in archeological resources has been reflected in a public concern with how these sites are interpreted and treated. The Smithsonian Institution's first scientific publication was a careful recording of monumental ancient architecture in the Midwest. Later in the 19th century, alarm over the deterioration and unsystematic collecting at prehistoric sites in the Southwest caused the government to set aside the ancient ruins at Casa Grande in Arizona (1892) and Mesa Verde National Park in Colorado (1906) for special protection. This same public sentiment resulted in a more general approach to the preservation of American archeology that emerged, in 1906, as the Antiquities Act. This bedrock assertion of the people's interest in archeology served as the basis for further policy and statutes.

A national concern for archeology has been expressed in a number of events throughout the 20th century. In 1916, archeological national monuments, along with important natural wonders and scenic areas, were put under the care of the National Park Service. In 1935, the Historic Sites Act expanded the scope of federal concern to nationally important archeological sites, historic structures, and places on private, local, and state land.

The 1930s also saw the incorporation of archeological investigations as part of an effort to reduce unemployment through the Works Progress Administration and other public assistance programs. In the late 1940s, concern about the effect massive water control projects would have on archeological sites led to the River Basin archeological salvage program, in which federal and state entities funded, administered, or conducted research. The same regard for archeology led to a similar program for the highway construction projects of the 1950s.

The 1960s and 1970s brought the National Historic Preservation Act, the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act, and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act. The former included archeological resources among other kinds of historic properties. It also required that they be taken into consideration in the early planning stages of federal projects.

These laws resulted in an explosion of jobs for archeologists in public agencies. Today, the national program includes hundreds of archeologists in federal agencies throughout the country, as well as in one or more public agency in each state. A number of Indian tribes have also developed archeology programs. Many local governments have hired professional archeologists as well.

These laws and public programs manifest our national commitment to archeology. They are achievements to be acknowl-

edged with gratitude. Recent political and cultural challenges remind us, however, that we must be eternally diligent. Fortunately, this need has been recognized by many in the archeological community. The Society for American Archaeology, the Society of Professional Archeologists, historical archeologists, and those in consulting firms and public agencies have worked over the past two years to identify improvements needed in our national program. This effort, "Renewing the National Archaeology Program," recommends a series of actions.

We must do better in the application of regulations. In themselves, they are adequate, but the true test of their effectiveness lies in how they are applied. There are examples of excellent use of the regulations, but there also are some that are dismal. Improvement will take more and better guidance for those involved in daily practice, something that the National Park Service and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation are committed to providing. In addition to this guidance, training in its application will be needed.

We need to find ways to take advantage of the wealth of archeological material, records, data, and information that have been collected as the result of public projects and programs during the past 30 years. Unfortunately, much is unevaluated, unsynthesized, and inaccessible. Enormous (and growing) collections of material must be managed better, made accessible, and require less expensive care and maintenance.

Public education and outreach continue to deserve attention. Striking advances in this area have been made in the last decade. Much remains to be done, and these kinds of efforts need to remain a part of archeologists' typical activities. This is especially so because not everyone views the archeological record from an archeologist's or preservationist's perspective. Those who would exploit sites for commercial or personal gain are one example. Another example is the perspective of some Native Americans who believe that archeology is of no use for understanding the past. Archeologists must counter these kinds of perspectives if preservation and study of the archeological record is to have public support.

We have a strong foundation to build upon. We need to consolidate our gains by improving how we do archeology. We also need to move forward, working for more widespread understanding of archeology and effective preservation.

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Contents

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1 SPRING 1997



NPS GEORGE GRANT COLLECTION

- in context** 2 **A National Commitment** David G. Anderson 14
diggings 4 **A common thread runs through time, from the Smithsonian's turn-of-the-century**
sitewatch 8 **excursions into the mound villages of the Southeast, to the post-war**
nagpra news 61 **development boom, to today. The nation cares about its past.**
- The Southeastern Jump Start of National Archeology** Judith A. Bense 20
The Southeast of the Great Depression was cash-poor and archeology-rich. People were hungry for work and archeologists thirsted for knowledge. The national archeology program was on its way.
- Constructing [on] the Past** John Walthall, Kenneth Farnsworth, and Thomas E. Emerson 26
From the early days, Illinois fostered a good working relationship between archeologist and engineer. How the state and its partners turned two massive highway projects into a triumph of public archeology.
- Archeology of the Dammed** Phillip E. Minthorn 34
The 1950s: new highways, new dams, new housing developments, and an old twist on American expansion. Once again, the nation was face to face with a people as old as the ages.
- Unwritten History** J.W. Joseph 40
The history of Springfield, a village of free African Americans in the Old South, would have remained buried if not for the federal archeology program.
- A View from the Trenches** Theresa Kintz 48
"Have trowel, will travel" could be the motto of what are sometimes called "dirt archeologists," field archeologists who work on public projects. Though often underpaid and overlooked, they make invaluable contributions to American archeology.
- A Sense of Where We Are** Joe Baker 54
There is every reason to celebrate the accomplishments of public archeology, and just as much cause to view the record with a critical eye.

Cover: Keet Seel, Navajo for "broken pottery." The 160 room structure, located in Navajo National Monument, is the largest Anasazi ruin in Arizona. From *Anasazi Places: The Photographic Vision of William Current*, available from the University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819.

This page: Pueblo Bonito, in Chaco Culture National Historical Park, New Mexico.

DIGGINGS

News, Views, and Recently Noted

Unexpected History

REMAINS AT CONSTRUCTION SITE MAY BE REVOLUTIONARY WAR VESSEL

In public archeology they are called "unanticipated discoveries." A backhoe operator notices something unusual. In this case, it was wood fragments. Crews working on a new ferry slip in Portsmouth, Virginia, stopped what they were doing and notified authorities. About 20 feet below the ground lay the remains of a wooden ship—planks, ribs, and keel. What it looks like, according to archeologists, is an 18th century ship, a large one, possibly built for



TONY BELCASTRO

traveling the high seas.

Virginia's Department of Historic Resources surveyed the site, and called in marine archeologists from North Carolina's Tidewater Atlantic Research to conduct the legally required investigation. Approximately

Rapid Rescue: Working under the pressure of a construction schedule, archeologists sort out what's left of the 18th century ship. It was remarkable that the construction crew noticed the wreck amidst a site chock full of debris from years of activity at the bustling seaport. "Someone evidently knew something about ship construction," says archeologist Watts.

\$3.5 million in federal funds are being used in the construction project, making

research mandatory under section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

The vessel sustained some damage due to the work being done, but two large sections are visible, and the timbers were in relatively good condition. The ship is estimated to have been about 100 feet long. Archeologists speculate that it may have been among 100 vessels scuttled in Virginia's Elizabeth River during the American Revolution. "It's definitely a working hypothesis," says the DHR's Randolph Turner. The absence of worm damage on the ship's bottom indicates it did not have a long seagoing career. Certain structural characteristics archeologists have observed seem consistent with methods of military construction of the Revolutionary War era. The use of soft pine suggests the ship may have been built in Virginia, which was rare in a time when most large warships were either British or French in origin. Artifacts found at the site include a late 18th century bottle and mid 18th century lead-glazed earthenware.

Tidewater Atlantic archeologist Gordon Watts says that once on-site documentation was finished, the remains were brought back to the firm's North Carolina lab where measured drawings will be done. This, hopefully, will yield at least some idea of what the vessel might have looked like. "It's like grabbing a piece of the elephant's tail and trying to imagine the shape of the beast," says Watts. Archeologists will use Autocad software and possibly 3D modeling to reconstruct the ship.

The accidental discovery is a rare one. There are only



TONY BELCASTRO

CRACKING OUT A STORY: The ship was large—about 100 feet long—and appears to have been locally built, rare for the time. Most vessels its size were of French or British origin. Portions of the ship were taken to Tidewater Atlantic's lab for measured drawings and reconstruction with architectural software. **RIGHT:** Wine bottle recovered from beneath the hull was among artifacts that included ballast rocks and 18th century earthenware.

about a dozen known wrecks in Virginia from that period. With the exception of a Revolutionary War ship investigated off Yorktown in the 1970s, most have been in poor condition. Like the



TONY BELCASTRO

state archeologists, the city of Portsmouth was excited about the find, and agreed to delay construction while the wreck was investigated. Archeologists and historians are looking at ways in which

the discovery can be used to enrich the area's heritage tourism.

According to Turner, an unanticipated find during a construction project in an urban environment means that "the rules are a little different" from standard archeological fieldwork. Working at an urgent pace, archeologists exposed all remains, making detailed drawings and taking photographs. A pre-existing sea wall made of large timbers served as a coffer dam. Excavating the stern of the ship, however, would probably have compromised the wall, and could have brought sea water rushing into the excavation site. After construction is completed, archeologists will go underwater to examine the stern.

Black Mesa Saga Continues

FEDERAL APPEALS COURT RULES IN FAVOR OF MINING OPERATION

A legal dispute involving coal mining and Navajo cultural sites has reached the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The latest in a long-running feud involving the Department of Interior's Office of Surface Mining, Peabody Western Coal, and a group of Navajo Indians, the appellate court dismissed an action challenging the validity of a mining permit that OSM issued to Peabody in July 1995.

In a March 1996 hearing, Administrative Law Judge

Ramon Child of DOI's Office of Hearings and Appeals, ruled that OSM improperly granted a renewal of Peabody's permit to work the Kayenta mine (see summer 1996 issue of *Common Ground*). Peabody leases land from the Navajo Nation for mining, with the Navajo earning about \$45 million annually in royalties. In Child's opinion, the coal company violated the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act by, among other things, disturbing four burial sites, four archeological middens, mining within 100 feet of a cemetery, and planning to mine within 300 feet of an occupied dwelling without the owner's written consent. Child also concurred with allegations that mining had poisoned water used by Navajo livestock. He denied renewal of Peabody's permit and suspended work at the Kayenta mine.

Peabody and OSM appealed, with the Navajo Nation and Hopi Tribe joining as intervenors. In October, the Office of Hearings and Appeals' Judge John H. Kelly found that Child had "erred" on several points. According to section 510(b)(6) of the act, mining cannot take place on private land without the written consent of the owner. However, in the case of Black Mesa, Kelly ruled, the land in question is technically Indian land, and petitioners have no legal interest in it.

The judge also ruled that there were no apparent plans to mine within 300 feet of the home of Maxine Kescoli, a Black Mesa resident. He stated that unless

the Navajo Nation exercises its power of eminent domain and removes Kescoli, no mining will take place within 300 feet of her home.

The charge that Peabody had shown a "pattern of willful violations" of the act

bances within 100 feet of grave sites and four midden sites that were destroyed. Navajo archeologists later rescinded their findings, claiming that the locations of two of the sites were improperly listed and never



THE SHAKESPEARE CONNECTION: Archeologists working at the recently discovered fort at Virginia's Jamestown Island have unearthed a signet ring belonging to a contemporary of William Shakespeare whose account of a shipwreck off Bermuda is believed to have inspired *The Tempest*. Numerous scholars concur that the ring belongs to William Strachey, who came to Virginia in 1609 and was secretary of the Jamestown colony. It bears the Strachey family crest and was used to make impressions into the wax seals of letters and official documents.

Traveling to Jamestown in the summer of 1609, Strachey's ship wrecked in a hurricane off Bermuda. He wrote an account of his experiences, which was published in England the following year. Passages from *The Tempest* can be traced to Strachey's tale, and an Oxford University Press edition of the play states that it "is almost certainly indebted" to Strachey's account.

The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, which owns 22 acres of the island, is conducting the work.

by mining through archeological sites and burials was rejected as unsupported by the administrative record and based on evidence submitted after the hearing. Kelly found that no hearing was held on the matter. The evidence was a report by the Navajo Nation Archeological Department, submitted by Kescoli, describing distur-

actually disturbed. Another was destroyed by road construction in 1992, and another by topsoil removal, but only after mitigation. OSM claims the other four sites were all mapped and collected prior to 1984.

A special condition imposed on the renewal of Peabody's permit required the company to inform

OSM of the likelihood of any burials within 100 feet of mining operations. Peabody claims that of the some 1,600 untested sites, the most likely to contain human remains are those with middens, and only about a third of those can be expected to yield burials. Since not all the sites contain middens, the company claims the likelihood of finding more graves is slim.

Kelly found that Peabody has undertaken a reasonable effort to locate such sites. He also cited intensive archeological surveys of the mining area going back to the 1960s. A 1990 report, *10,000 Years on Black Mesa, Arizona*, states that the area leased by Peabody is "unique in both the intensity of archaeological fieldwork and the completeness of published reports."

The charges that Peabody had polluted the water on Black Mesa were found to be based on "vague speculations by lay witnesses." Judge Kelly found that their personal observations, unsupported by objective data, failed to prove that mining was the source of the contamination.

Kescoli then filed suit in United States District Court, charging that another special condition, designed to protect sacred sites, was not adequate. OSM filed a motion to dismiss, claiming that the tribes could not be joined in a suit because of their sovereign immunity. The motion was granted, and in November, Kescoli appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, which upheld the lower court's decision.

Honoring Progress

ONE SOCIETY
RECOGNIZES
ACHIEVEMENTS IN
TEXAS AND MEXICO . . .

The Society for Historical Archaeology's Awards of Merit were given to three recipients at the society's annual meeting in January in Corpus Christi, Texas. Mexico's Pilar Luna Erreguerena was honored for her pioneering work in underwater archeology in that country. SHA President Glenn Farris stated that Erreguerena has done more than anyone to bring underwater archeology to Mexico. "She has labored unrelentingly in this task for more than 20 years," he said, "often vigorously opposed by treasure hunters, bureaucrats, prejudiced scholars, and naval officers."

Since her days as an undergraduate in the early 1970s, Erreguerena has had a strong interest in Mexico's rich maritime heritage. In 1980, her advocacy was rewarded with the creation of a department of underwater archeology within the National Institute of Anthropology and History. As head of the department, she has fought tirelessly to win over the Mexican bureaucracy. Erreguerena began an intensive course in underwater archeology, given through the National Institute, and designed for professional archeologists and conservators. It was the first of its kind in Mexico, and a



Top: Pilar Luna Erreguerena of Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History. **Bottom:** Crest on a cannon recovered from the Belle.

tremendous success. As a result, her department was expanded to a sub-directorate.

Erreguerena has carried out many projects on historic shipwrecks off Mexico's coasts, and has received numerous accolades from the institute and her colleagues. She has been a member of the Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology since 1982, and serves on the Board of Directors for Ships of Discovery as well as the ICO-MOS International Committee on the Underwater Cultural Heritage.

The Texas Historical Commission was recognized for its 30-year history of involvement in archeology

and historic preservation. Texas was active early on, passing the Antiquities Code in 1969, a statute that has since been used as a model in other states. Over the years, the THC has documented and excavated scores of mission sites, historic forts, prehistoric settlements, and shipwrecks. The commission's latest project is the excavation of the French ship *Belle*, part of an expedition led by the famous explorer La Salle, which sank off the Texas coast in 1686. The Texas Historical Commission has also worked toward preservation with other state agencies, and helped to establish the Institute of Texan Cultures in San Antonio.

Also honored by the SHA was the Texas Archeological Society, one of the nation's oldest and largest state organizations. It has been responsible for major contributions to the knowledge of Texas history over decades of fieldwork and publications. The society has been sponsoring field schools since 1962, and has been publishing its well-known *Bulletin*, accompanied by *Texas Archeology*, for over 40 years.

. . . ANOTHER SEEDS POSSIBILITIES ELSEWHERE

The Society for American Archaeology has awarded \$12,500 grants to the Montana Historical Society and the Anthropology Department of Hamline University in Minnesota to coordinate archeology education programs at the state level.

The 1997 grants are part of a multi year project devel-

oped by SAA's public education committee in partnership with the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the National Park Service archeology and ethnography program. These grants are part of an effort to extend SAA's network of volunteer archeology education coordinators. These volunteers work in 43 states and Canada, putting teachers and other interested members of the public in touch with sources of information about archeology. A list of the volunteer archeology education coordinators can be found on SAA's Web site at <http://www.saa.org>.

Mark F. Baumler, Montana's state archeologist, and Marcella Walter, Montana Historical Society education officer, will coordinate the Montana Ancient Teachings Education Project. In Minnesota, Phyllis M. Messenger, archeology education network coordinator, and James E. Myster, archeology week coordinator, will work to expand the efforts of volunteers and public institutions helping educators incorporate archeology in their teaching.

The programs in Montana and Minnesota will prepare educational materials, train archeologists and educators, and develop on-line databases of education resources for teachers.

For more information, contact Dorothy Schlotthauer Krass, Society for American Archaeology, 900 Second Street NW, #12, Washington, DC 20002-3557, (202) 789-8200, fax 789-0284, e-mail public_edu@saa.org.

Site Watch

Protecting the Nation's Archeological Heritage

Virginia Sends Message to Civil War Buffs

TWO PLEAD GUILTY TO DREDGING ARTIFACTS FROM CREEK

Once again, the relic hunters were at it, searching for Civil War artifacts at a place that apparently had paid off before. As they moved down Herring Creek, a tributary of Virginia's James River, they sucked up dirt and debris with a vacuum and deposited it in a sifting screen. Unfortunately for them, a game warden was watching, which led first to a search of their homes and ultimately to a guilty plea in court.



VA DEPARTMENT OF GAME AND INLAND FISHERIES

The home of Houston Crayton yielded little, but when authorities searched the residence of his partner, Ernest Walker, thousands of Civil War artifacts were found. Herring Creek saw activity during the Peninsular Campaign of 1862, and the looters may have stumbled upon supplies that were intended for the Union army.

Game warden Alan Wolf, the case investigator, learned that Crayton and Walker had previously sought artifacts in Herring Creek. A conservator and an archeologist from the Department of Historic Resources went along on the searches to

ILL-GOTTEN CURIOS: These Civil War artifacts were among the items illegally dredged up from the bottom of a Virginia creek. Thousands of troops passed through the area in 1862.

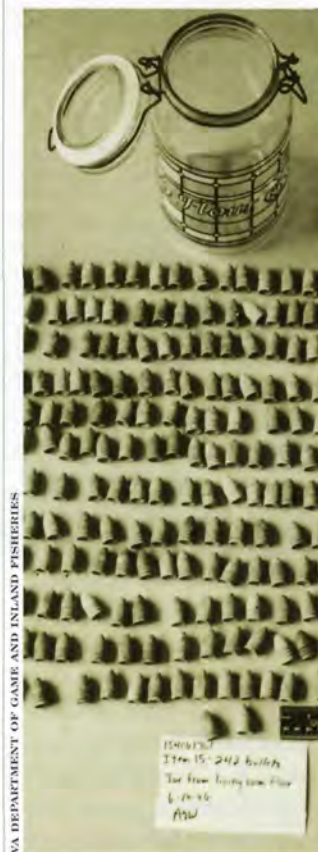
help identify evidence. As officers confiscated an accoutrement plate, Walker told them it was only a reproduction. Later analysis proved that it was authentic, and could fetch about \$2,000 on the illicit artifact market. In all, the stash of artifacts was figured to be worth thousands of dollars, which qualifies as grand larceny, a felony under Code of Virginia §18.2-95.

On December 4, the defendants pled guilty to a misdemeanor charge of "unlawful removal, destruction, or disturbance of underwater historic property from the state-owned creek bottom," Code of Virginia §10.1-2214. By pleading, they avoided the grand larceny charge and additional charges of removing signs marked "No Trespassing" and "No Relic Hunting" from private property. The case was prosecuted by Commonwealth's Attorney B. Randolph Boyd.

Charles City County Court Judge J. R. Zepkin sentenced Walker to a suspended 90-day jail term, assessed a \$2,000 fine, and ordered forfeiture of the looted artifacts. Clayton received a fine of \$750 and forfeiture. Both defendants paid court costs as well.

Lieutenant Ken Conger of the game and inland fisheries department, who participated in the investigation, praised the archeological resource protection courses given jointly by the Virginia department of criminal justice services and DHR. The investigative methods taught by Robert Hicks of the DCJS in what

are called the "time crime" classes were modeled after the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center's Archeological Resource Protection Act courses. Thanks to Hicks' courses, the warden recognized that what Walker and Crayton were doing was illegal. Says Hicks, "It's good to dust these



MINING HISTORY: Jar full of Civil War mini balls found in looter's living room.

statutes off once in a while, because many law officers don't know they exist." The state plans to get more aggressive in enforcing its archeological laws. In the meantime, preservationists can take satisfaction in the fact that the Herring Creek case is known in the relic-hunting community. It was the talk of a recent Civil

War artifact show in nearby Mechanicsville.

Hunting Guide Indicted for Grave Looting

INVESTIGATION

UNCOVERS EXTENSIVE VIOLATIONS ON REMOTE ISLAND

National Park Service investigators and rangers, accompanied by Santa Barbara County sheriff's deputies, executed

Arrested were Brian Krantz, 33, Rick Berg, 35, and Dave Mills, 34, all of Island Adventures. Over 1,000 artifacts and Native American human remains were seized, along with other evidence. The investigation began in January 1995, when a prominent member of the Chumash tribe, which was indigenous to the islands, notified NPS officials that they suspected graves were being disturbed. Former employees of Island Adventures corroborated the claims.

Posing as wealthy hunters, a pair of Park Service agents made three trips to Santa Cruz, hunting and spending



SANTA BARBARA MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

COVETED OBJECTS: A search of the Channel Islands hunting ranch produced human remains and a large collection of Chumash artifacts like the prehistoric howls shown above.

search warrants on Santa Cruz Island on January 14, the culmination of a two-year undercover investigation into grave-robbing and other archeological violations at California's Channel Islands National Park. Twenty officers arrived via helicopter and secured a pair of hunting camps operated by a company called Island Adventures under a concessionaire agreement with NPS.

time with Krantz, Berg, and Mills. During one of their visits, Krantz took the agents to a grave where he unearthed human remains and offered them as souvenirs. In an affidavit, one of the agents stated that the remains appeared to include

a jaw with teeth, portions of a skull, and a long bone, possibly from an arm or lower leg. The incident was secretly taped. Giving them the souvenirs, Krantz warned the agents that what they were doing was against the law, and advised them to be quiet about it. The implication, according to one, was, "now you're just as guilty as I am."

In their other trips to the island, the agents were shown a semi trailer containing artifacts and some human remains. Artifacts were also stored in display cases, and there were plastic five-gallon buckets and milk crates loaded with stone tools, projectile points, and lithic materials. The inventory is known to have changed from visit to visit, indicating trafficking was taking place. A witness claimed to have been shown "multiple bodies" in the trailer in the early '90s. When an archeologist visited in 1994, however, the trailer was empty. When the search warrant was executed, it again contained human remains.

The agents also had the chance to visit the Ojai, California, home of Jaret Owens, who owns Island Adventures. In his living room, they saw a stuffed grizzly bear, moose antlers, various stuffed birds, and a mountain lion skin. There was also what one agent described as "two beautiful stone bowls, just beautiful little works of art." Owens allegedly claimed they had come from the island.

After a week of deliberation a grand jury indicted

Brian Krantz on one felony count of violating California Public Resources Code § 5077.99, which makes it illegal to possess or obtain Native American human remains or art from a grave after November 1988. The investigation was coordinated with the U.S. Attorney's Office, but due to jurisdiction issues, prosecution has been deferred to Santa Barbara County. Until February 10, Santa Cruz Island was jointly owned by the Park Service and Francis Gherini of Oxnard, California. This is one reason authorities chose to pursue the case through state courts. Under California law, no monetary or land-ownership issues are considered in cases where Native American human remains are concerned.

Krantz has also been indicted for five misdemeanors: two counts of violating the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, two counts of guiding hunts without a license, and one count of damage to an archeological site. He has pled not guilty to all charges against him, though more are likely. His trial is pending. Mills and Berg are charged with guiding hunting tours and serving food without a license. All three are free on bail. In the meantime, Krantz has returned to the island.

The search warrant executions on Santa Cruz Island proved to be a controversial event, drawing considerable attention from the local press. Editorials alleged "overkill" and there were allusions to Waco and Ruby Ridge. Park Service officials point out that some of the

hunting guides had threatened to kill rangers. Between guides and hunters, there were some 50 armed people on the island. According to one of the agents who posed as a hunter, Dave Mills stated "this rifle is for killing rangers." The agent also told *Common Ground* that guides had actively stoked hostility toward the Park Service, and that among the otherwise law-abiding hunters who visited the island, there were a handful of "anti-government types," whose reaction to a raid couldn't be predicted. The two ranches were three miles apart, sources said, which called for two ten-man teams, and Santa Cruz Island is 20 miles off the California coast, making travel by helicopter the obvious choice.

A search warrant for Jaret Owens' home was executed, and though the items seen there earlier had disappeared, agents did find a very large safe. Opened by a locksmith, it contained scores of Anasazi pot sherds, projectile points, and a human tooth believed to have come from a Native American. Owens is under investigation.

The Chumash are adamant about seeing the cases prosecuted. They have allowed the exhumation of remains at Santa Cruz so that ancient DNA can be examined. It will be matched against the bones Krantz handed out as souvenirs to prove that they came from a Chumash grave. It could be the first time ancient DNA is used in a U.S. criminal

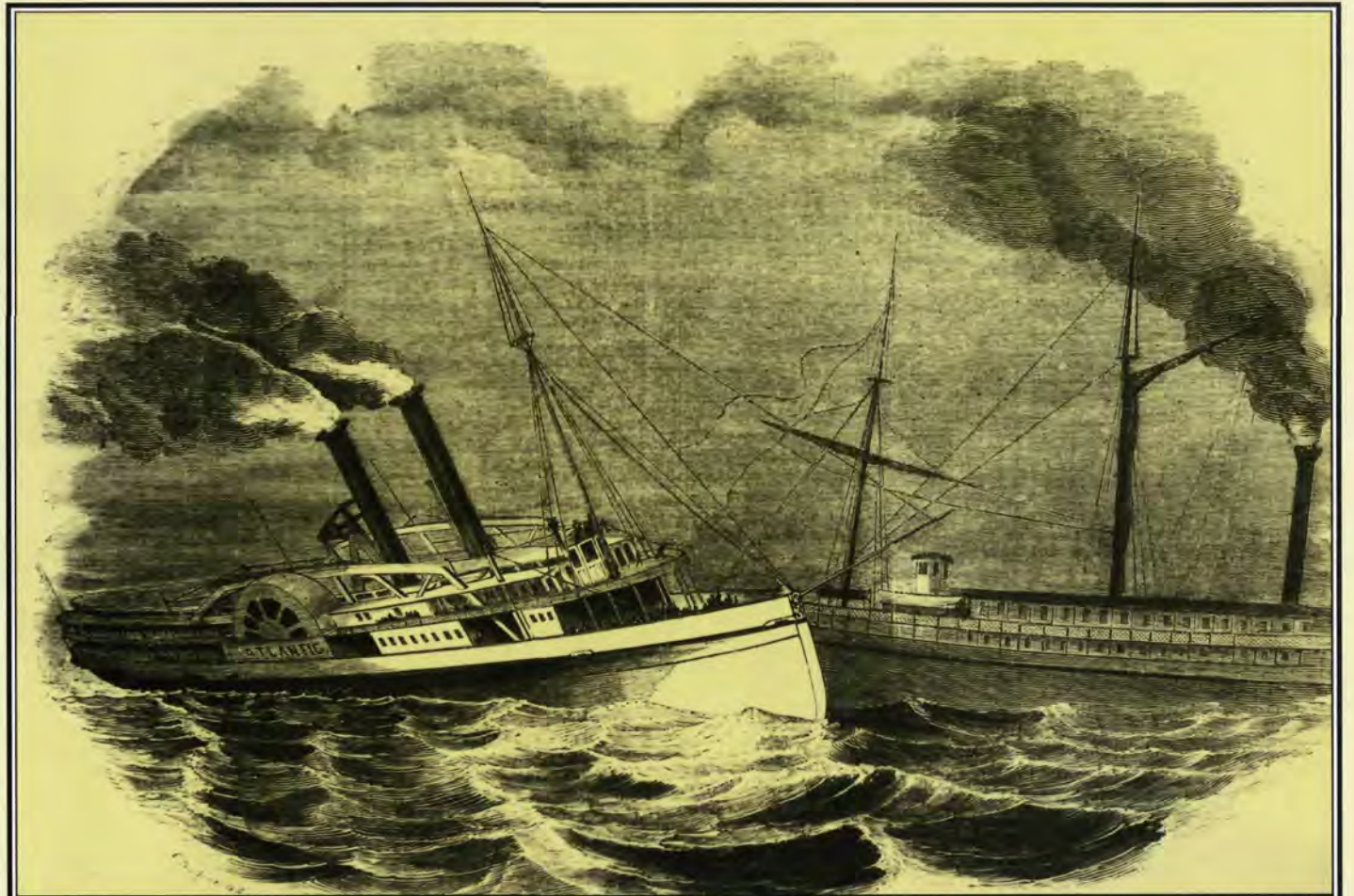
case. Phillip Walker of the University of California at Santa Barbara and a member of the NAGPRA review committee is doing forensic anthropology on the case. Kevin Miller of the University of California at Santa Barbara is conducting the DNA analysis.

Ontario Wins First Round in Case of Lake Erie Wreck

NINETEENTH CENTURY LUXURY STEAMER OUT OF SALVOR'S GRASP

A legal contest between the Canadian province of Ontario and the American salvage company Mar Dive has, at least for the time being, been decided by a provincial court. On December 20, 1996, a judge decided in Ontario's favor, finding that the SS *Atlantic*, a luxurious paddle-wheel steamer that sunk in Lake Erie in 1852, is legally crown property.

The court ruled that since the ship is embedded in the soil at the bottom of the lake, it is considered part of Ontario's bottom lands, which were made provincial property at the time of Canadian confederation in 1867. The court also ruled that the *Atlantic* is abandoned. Records show that though some salvors made claims on the ship in the years after its sinking, they later aban-



DOSSIN GREAT LAKES MUSEUM

END OF THE ATLANTIC: The luxury steamer Atlantic collides with the Ogdensburg, August 20, 1852.

doned them. Mar Dive has appealed the ruling.

Described as a "floating palace," the 267-foot *Atlantic* was favored by wealthy travelers. It was also the fastest ship on the Great Lakes in the mid-19th century, which made it popular among freight-shipping merchants. The *Atlantic* had three decks and 85 first-class state rooms decorated with gold gilding, tapestries, and carved rosewood furnishings. The prospect of retrieving such artifacts no doubt was a strong attraction for Mar Dive, which had intended to raise a portion of the hull

and upper sections.

On August 20, 1852, the *Atlantic* collided with the wooden steamer *Ogdensburg* and sank in 15 minutes. One hundred-fifty of its 380 passengers perished. The wreck was discovered in 1984 under 170 feet of water. In 1993, a video was produced telling the story of the *Atlantic* and the legal battle for control of its remains. The film features underwater footage of the wreck and the thousands of artifacts that remain aboard. All proceeds from the video go to the SS *Atlantic* preservation project. For more information, contact the SS *Atlantic* Preservation Project, P.O. Box 1198, Port Dover, Ontario, Canada, NOA 1N0.

NAGPRA Charges Net Guilty Plea

MAN SOLD RELIGIOUS ITEMS TO ANTIQUE SHOP

On January 13, a New Mexico man pled guilty in federal district court to one count of trafficking in Native American cultural items (18 U.S.C. 1170[b]). David George Kramer, 49, of Santa Fe, was charged with selling sacred objects (which are also objects of cultural patrimony) to an Albuquerque antiques dealer in Septem-

ber 1993. They were taken from Jemez Pueblo.

As part of a plea agreement, the U.S. Attorney's Office dropped two additional trafficking counts, as well as two counts of violating the Migratory Bird Treaty Act that Kramer faced for having the feathers of protected species in his possession. The case was investigated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Land Management. Assistant U.S. Attorney Mary L. Higgins was the prosecutor.

The prayer stick bundles, head dress, and sun disk, which are communal property, will be returned to Jemez Pueblo. The feathers will be turned over to the Fish and Wildlife Service.



PRESERVATION AND ARCHEOLOGY

CELEBRATING NATIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS



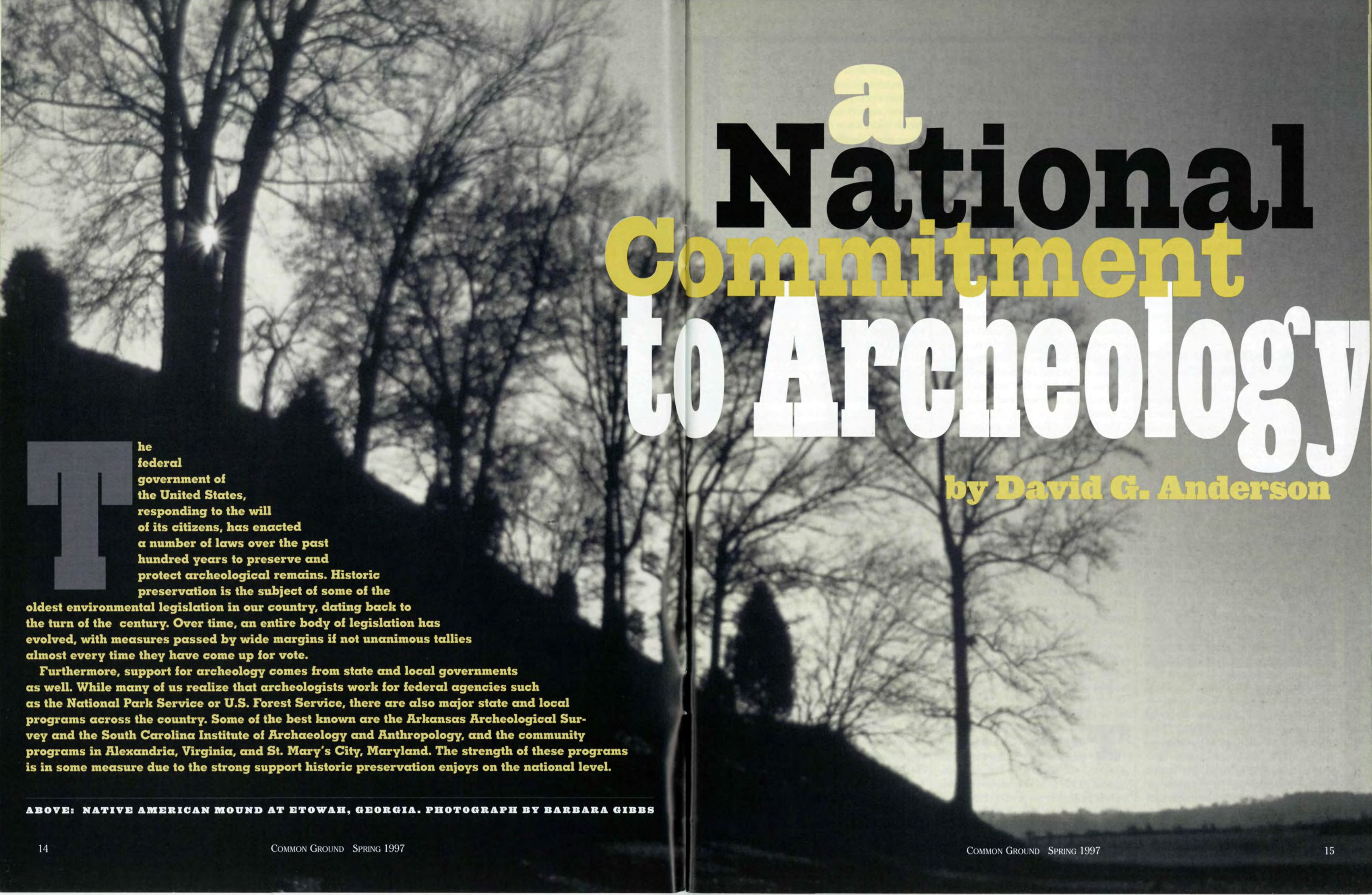
In this issue of Common Ground we celebrate the triumphs and accomplishments of national archeological programs—that is, work conducted because of national laws and policies. In recent decades, these programs have revitalized the discipline, changing our understanding of human achievement over a wide span of time. These programs reflect strong support by governments as well as citizens, who are increasingly interested in explorations of the past. “Celebrating National Accomplishments in Archeology” is also the theme of this spring’s 62nd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in Nashville, Tennessee. Although the articles that follow highlight results of programs in the United States, similar efforts are underway in many countries. This issue, like the meeting, celebrates our successes in preserving the archeological record around the world.

DAVID G. ANDERSON

RIGHT: BETATAKIN, NAVAJO FOR “LEDGE HOUSE,” NAVAJO NATIONAL MONUMENT, ARIZONA.

NPS GEORGE GRANT COLLECTION





a **National** **Commitment** **to Archeology**

by David G. Anderson

The federal government of the United States, responding to the will of its citizens, has enacted a number of laws over the past hundred years to preserve and protect archeological remains. Historic preservation is the subject of some of the oldest environmental legislation in our country, dating back to the turn of the century. Over time, an entire body of legislation has evolved, with measures passed by wide margins if not unanimous tallies almost every time they have come up for vote.

Furthermore, support for archeology comes from state and local governments as well. While many of us realize that archeologists work for federal agencies such as the National Park Service or U.S. Forest Service, there are also major state and local programs across the country. Some of the best known are the Arkansas Archeological Survey and the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the community programs in Alexandria, Virginia, and St. Mary's City, Maryland. The strength of these programs is in some measure due to the strong support historic preservation enjoys on the national level.

ABOVE: NATIVE AMERICAN MOUND AT ETOWAH, GEORGIA. PHOTOGRAPH BY BARBARA GIBBS

This commitment can be divided into four major periods, each unique but also tied to and built upon what came before. These periods, identified by the major institutions or programs under which archeology was conducted, include the National Museum Era, the New Deal Era, the River Basin Era, and the CRM Era, associated with, roughly, the 1880s to early 1930s, the early 1930s to early 1940s, the late 1940s to 1960s, and the 1970s to the present. Funding has varied and with it the numbers of staff and projects, and while earlier periods were characterized by often immense amounts of work, they have been far overshadowed by the activity within the past 30 years.

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM ERA

Strong federal support dates at least as far back as 1881, when Congress charged the Smithsonian's Bureau of Ethnology with conducting "continuing investigations relating to moundbuilders, and prehistoric mounds" and the sum of \$5,000 was set aside for the purpose. Over the next decade the Mound Division, under the direction of Cyrus Thomas, examined over 2,000 earthworks across the eastern part of the country. Much of this was done over a four-year period (1882-1886) by a small group of field directors, who made a whirlwind tour of the East finding, mapping, and testing mound sites with crews of local laborers (for more on how this came about, see the suggested readings at the end of this article).

The work of the Mound Division has come to be recognized as the beginnings of modern archeology in the United States. While the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, which housed the bureau, had been interested in archeological remains since its inception—its first publication was Squier and Davis's landmark *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* in 1848—it was not until the 1880s that archeological fieldwork and analysis became a regular part of the museum's research program (a tradition that continues to this day). For many years thereafter archeologists at the museum were a major

force shaping the way archeology was done in the United States.

The results of the Mound Division's work appeared in 1894, in one of the finest publications ever produced by American archeology, *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology*, authored by Cyrus Thomas. The work laid down a strong intellectual foundation; explorations followed a well conceived research design directed to ascertaining whether the mounds were "built by the Indians" (a major debate in the 19th century), and to questions concerning geographic variations in mound construction and in the artifacts found within them. A careful program for collecting field data was proposed, with great care taken to curate what was found for future generations of scholars. While all of these practices were common in subsequent periods, and were even followed at the time by a few scholars associated with private institutions, the Mound Division's exploration program marked the first time such work occurred on a large scale and under federal sponsorship.

The Bureau of Ethnology (renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology, or BAE, in 1894) continued to play a major role in American archeology well into the present century. While the mound exploration program was its largest and perhaps greatest archeological triumph, the BAE continued to sponsor archeological research across the country, albeit at a much reduced scale compared to its 1880s heyday. Its staff and others at the Smithsonian played a major role in, among other things, debates and research about the antiquity of humans in the New World, and in conducting innovative research with prehistoric ceramics and stone tools. When the Great Depression led to a massive new federal commitment to archeology, BAE staff helped shape the program, and they were there as well in the post-war recovery era.

THE NEW DEAL

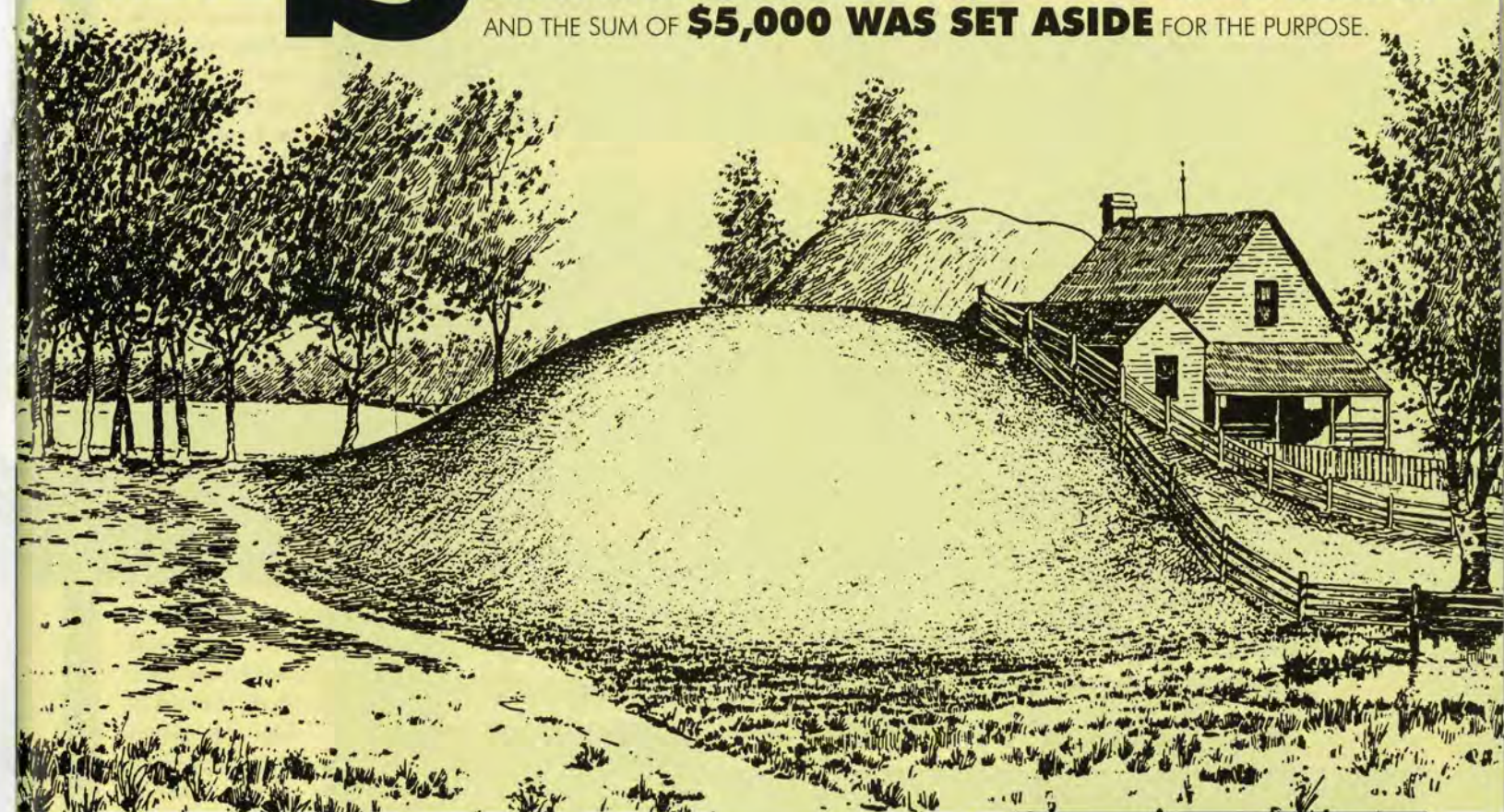
The Great Depression, an unparalleled disaster for the country, proved to be a boon for archeology, as the federal government put thousands of people to work on excavation and analysis projects in many parts of the country. Since the object of the New Deal was to provide relief through employment, field

and laboratory crews were often massive, reaching a scale never before seen in American archeology, and only rarely equaled in the years since. Large-scale, sustained government support continued for almost a decade under a host of programs and agencies, such as the Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Civil Works Administration, Tennessee Valley Authority, and Federal Emergency Relief Administration (for details see the excellent book by Edwin Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, in the suggested reading list). The New Deal archeological program ended, in fact, only when the country's energies were refocused by the onset of World War II.

Because the crews employed large numbers of laborers, wide areas and vast quantities of artifacts were examined. At some sites, entire mounds and acres of villages were excavated, with descriptions of excavation trenches hundreds of feet long and artifact assemblages measured by the ton. For the first time, feature assemblages rather than artifacts received appreciable attention, as house and community plans and successive mound stages were examined in detail. Of critical importance to the success of this program was the skill and dedication of the individual archeologists at the sites and in the labs. Not surprisingly, many of the most prominent American archeologists of the next half century got their start on WPA projects.

One legacy of the New Deal was thus a whole generation of archeologists who had learned to manage large field and analysis projects, and who were able to carry this knowledge with them to new areas and endeavors, and train students capable of doing the same. The era also witnessed the birth of several major regional conferences, as well as archeological programs in many colleges, universities, and museums (where many of the massive collections from the program were placed). The analysis, reporting, and interpretation of New Deal assemblages occupied the talents of archeologists for a full generation and more after the program ended. Classic syntheses of prehistory that appeared in the 1940s and 1950s, by authors such as James A. Ford, James B. Griffin, and Gordon R. Willey, owed much of their inspiration and factual base to New Deal projects. In a very real sense, it took archeol-

STRONG FEDERAL SUPPORT DATES AT LEAST AS FAR BACK AS 1881, WHEN CONGRESS CHARGED THE SMITHSONIAN'S BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY WITH CONDUCTING "CONTINUING INVESTIGATIONS RELATING TO MOUNDBUILDERS, AND PREHISTORIC MOUNDS" AND THE SUM OF \$5,000 WAS SET ASIDE FOR THE PURPOSE.



BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

ogists a generation to absorb the implications of what they had gathered in the New Deal, and even today, 60 years and more after the program ceased, major reports of investigations using materials gathered at that time continue to appear.

THE RIVER BASIN PERIOD

The years after World War II saw a development boom in the United States, including the construction of large dams and lakes on many of the nation's waterways. Thanks to concerns raised by the archeological community, and with support provided by

Congress, the River Basin Survey program of the Bureau of American Archaeology was created in 1945. For the next 20 years River Basin archeologists conducted surveys and excavations in a number of parts of the country. Although funding was far greater both before and after this time, much excellent work was done, as the best archeologists and practices of the previous era were put to the task. As a coordinated national program, the River Basin Survey was able to achieve a degree of efficiency and uniformly high standards not possible during the New Deal, when work was conducted under a number of different programs and often competing bureaucracies

Above: An 1880s drawing of Mound No. 6, Troyville Mounds, Catahoula Parish, Louisiana; **Background:** Artist's reconstruction of "The Falcon Warrior," a copper figure found in fragments at Etowah Mounds, Georgia.

(Philip Minthorn's article illustrates some of the work conducted during the River Basin era, and specifically its impact on native peoples).

The period from the 1940s through the 1960s also witnessed the beginnings of a ground swell—both within the profession and the public at large—for legislation to preserve archeological and historical remains, and justify federal funding of excavations. This activity culminated in a

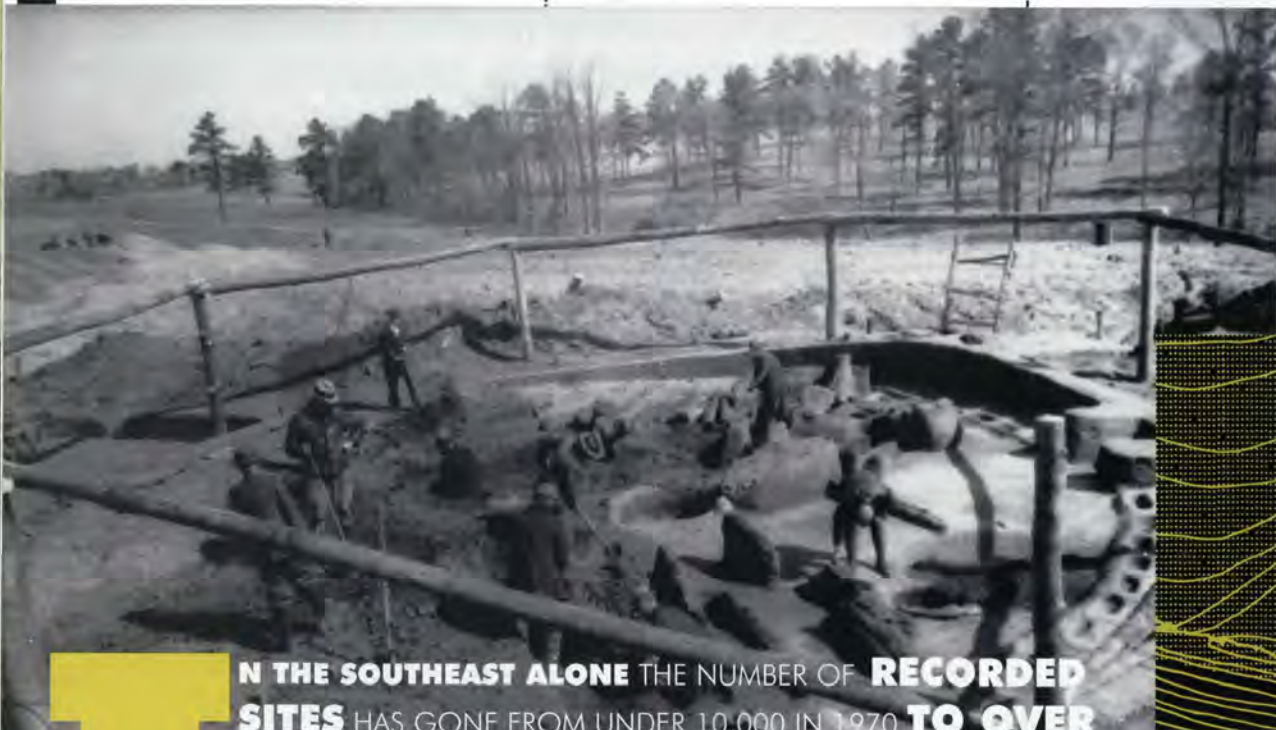
series of laws, such as the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, that led directly to the national archeology program in existence today. It was also during this time that the National Science Foundation began to fund archeological projects at a modest level.

tutions, and within government agencies employing archeologists.

THE MODERN ERA

While much was learned as a result of the federal commitment during earlier periods, it pales in comparison to what has happened

number of recorded sites has increased between 20 and 100 fold in many states. In the Southeast alone the number of recorded sites has gone from under 10,000 in 1970 to over 200,000 today, with almost all of the increase the result of CRM activity. Thousands of these sites have been subject to intensive testing while hundreds have been subject to large scale data recovery excavations. This vast database is now telling us where and how people lived in the past with increasingly detailed resolution.



IN THE SOUTHEAST ALONE THE NUMBER OF RECORDED SITES HAS GONE FROM UNDER 10,000 IN 1970 TO OVER 200,000 TODAY [AND] WHILE MODERN FIELD CREWS ONLY RARELY APPROACH THOSE OF THE NEW DEAL ERA IN SIZE, THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF THE DATA FAR EXCEEDS THAT COLLECTED IN EARLIER TIMES.

Above: 1930s excavation at Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia; **Right:** Artifact distribution at site threatened by dam construction.

Most of this funding went to individual researchers or institutions, for work both in the United States as well as around the world. To this day NSF serves as a major if not the primary source of funding for archeological fieldwork, outside of that available because of historic preservation and other environmental legislation. For the first time, major field projects were possible by more than those few scholars lucky enough to be affiliated with well-endowed museums or philanthropic insti-

over the past 30 years. The CRM era—so named because of the impact cultural resource management legislation has had on the field—marks the longest period of sustained high level federal support in our nation's history. The National Historic Preservation Act has now been in place for three decades, and it and subsequent complementary legislation have resulted in an unprecedented expansion of knowledge.

Since the mid-1960s, because federal agencies have been required to locate, evaluate, and preserve significant archeological sites on their lands, and these requirements hold for any project where federal monies or licensing is involved, the

While modern field crews only rarely approach those of the New Deal era in size, the quantity and quality of the data far exceeds that collected in

earlier times, as the articles here by Baker, Bense, and Joseph demonstrate. Sites of all kinds—historic and prehistoric—are being examined, with cultural resources now understood to encompass a range of property types, including buildings, landscapes, and sacred and traditional use areas. A wide range of technical specialists assist modern excavations, contributing data about past environments, diet, and health. Unlike in earlier eras, finished reports and properly curated collections are now mandatory, ensuring that subsequent generations will be able to use the materials gathered (although the volume, even by earlier standards, is staggering).

While modern excavations are less likely to examine large areas by hand as was typical in the New Deal, the use of heavy equipment on threatened sites by imaginative and highly competent field supervisors has resulted in the discovery, mapping, and excavation of feature assemblages equal to any produced during earlier periods. The I-270 highway project described by Walthall, Farnsworth, and Emerson is a showpiece example of this kind of large scale, machine-assisted data recovery.

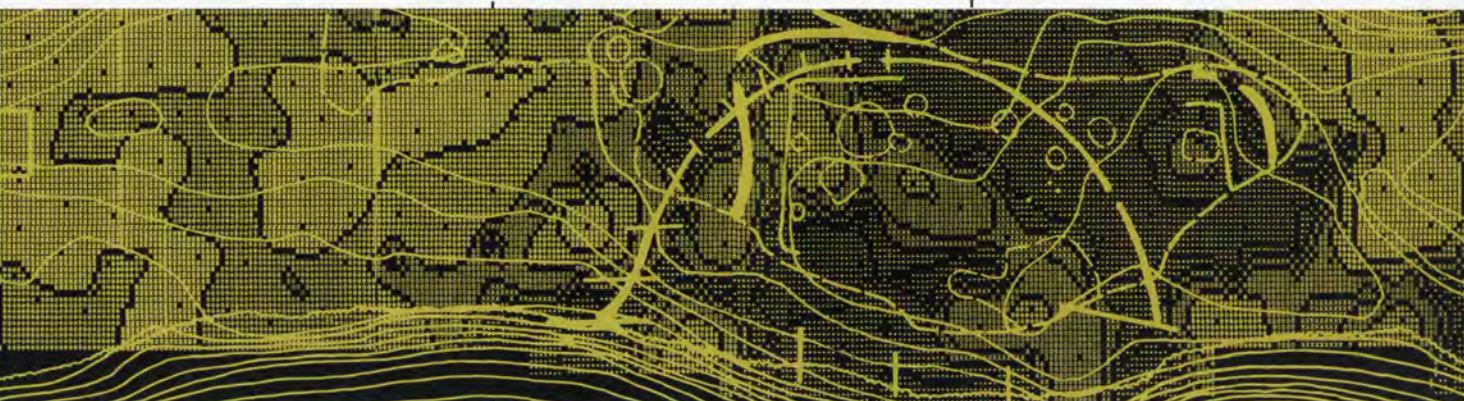
This renewed national commitment has unquestionably led to a surge in employment, something reflected in the dramatic increase of archeologists in university and government settings. For every supervisor or teacher, furthermore, there are 10 or more students and technicians. Theresa

New Deal, when many reports were written and a number of syntheses were produced. A major difference this time, however, is that the national program (so far at least) shows little sign of slowing down, with the result that new data are pouring in all the time. Keeping up with this mass of information will push the profession to its limits in the years to come. We wouldn't want it any other way, though.

What will be increasingly needed are overviews of major field projects past and present; local, subregional, and regional syntheses of work already accomplished (and of what it is telling us); and ideas for improving the system. Archeology can also contribute to understanding the effects of environmental and climate change, and we will likely be exploring these topics with

as well as the numbers of visitors drawn to state and national parks where archeological remains are found. Why is there such interest? Simple human curiosity is part of it, of course, but much of it comes about because archeology helps us not only to better understand the past, but to take pride in it, and in what we as a species have accomplished. For the sake of the resource we must continue to do all we can to maintain this high degree of public and national support.

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Kintz's article illustrates the life of the field techs who do much of the hands-on CRM work nowadays. This job category didn't exist 25 years ago, but now employs thousands of people around the country, mostly on a project by project basis. Experienced techs are the backbone of many projects, and smart directors compete for the best ones and listen to their advice.

SO WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

So much fieldwork and reporting has occurred in recent years that just keeping track of it all is a major challenge. Fortunately, a great deal of synthesis and interpretation is starting to occur, in part because many of the archeologists who started their careers in CRM during the '70s and '80s are reaching middle age, and spending more time contemplating data they have collected than gathering new material. In this regard, the current era is beginning to resemble the two decades following the

increasing vigor in the years to come.

The need for a sustained federal commitment will not go away; far from it. Sites continue to be destroyed at an alarming rate, and we are going to need to continue to do salvage archaeology on a massive scale in the years ahead. Global population growth and land development are going to place enormous demands on our profession, and in this regard it is fortunate that more and more nations are developing strong historic preservation programs. These demands mean, however, that the profession is going to need people who can conduct rescue archaeology on a large scale, and who can make the right choices in the field to maximize information recovery. Our current CRM program, fortunately, is developing the kind of people capable of handling these challenges.

Archeology is strongly supported in our country, something that can also be measured by the interest and actions of tens of thousands of members of local archeological, historical, and genealogical societies,

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southeast

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START

(AND EQUALIZING EFFECT)

of the National Archeology Program

By Judith Bense

Right: Excavating Robbins Mound in Kentucky. Built by the Adena culture, the mound was partially destroyed by local residents searching for gold.



MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY



es, national archeology started in the southeastern United States. Back in the Depression Era, government officials were experimenting with many new ideas to get people working and earning a living. The federal government hired unemployed people to do an astounding array of projects such as constructing roads, parks, and public buildings, recording oral histories of former slaves, and excavating archeological sites. One thing the South had a lot of was unemployed farm workers and big Indian mounds. A pilot excavation at Louisiana's Marksville mound center was so successful that there was an explosion of archeology in the Southeast. This literally forged a new generation of archeologists, who were able to excavate and study the contents of hundreds of prehistoric mounds and vil-

lages. They learned enormously from this work and the supervising archeologists became the discipline's leaders in the post-World War II era, founding departments in universities and museums and teaching baby boomers like me and the other authors in this issue.



Cataloging in laboratory at Georgia's Ocmulgee site, 1934.

We, in turn, became part of the next wave of national archeology.

Fresh out of graduate school in the early 1970s, eager archeologists in the Southeast such as myself found that while we were in school, Congress had passed a series of laws requiring that archeology be done before any federal construction project or private project requiring a federal permit. Each state had to hire archeologists; federal money was given for surveys. These changes caused a second explosion of archeology: cultural resource management. One of the most important things about this next wave was that any site over 50 years old had to be included. Almost all of us had been doing prehistoric Indian archeology, the older the better. It was a shock to have to deal with sites from the 17th to 20th century. What's more, there were requirements to generate not only scientific reports, but products for the general public, who was paying the bills.

In the South, this new national archeology had a "triple whammy" effect: more work than we had ever seen, a landscape covered with post-Columbus sites, and a public that had almost no conception of archeology. Over the last three decades, archeologists and the public in the Southeast have had to deal with the new laws and regulations that bring us together in totally unexpected ways. In the rest of this article, I will point out some highlights of what we have done and learned in the Southeast during this era.

First, there was the general effect of the explosion in archeology. The South is poorer than the rest of the country. We have an



FRANK H. MCCLUNG MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE

agricultural economy with some small industry; wages and the tax base are notoriously low (Florida is the exception, with a concentration of relatively wealthy retirees from the industrialized and richer Northeast). In the 40 years between the Depression and the rise of cultural resource management, archeology was generally limited to low budget projects done by university professors and their students. Well, that seemed to change in a flash.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, all of a sudden there were several huge federal construction projects along with extensive urban renewal in the South, all with archeology required as part of the program. Those of us who ran these projects were shoved into the new era. The construction projects included channelizing large rivers such as the Savannah and building the Richard B. Russell dam, the Little Tennessee River Tellico dam, and the Ten-

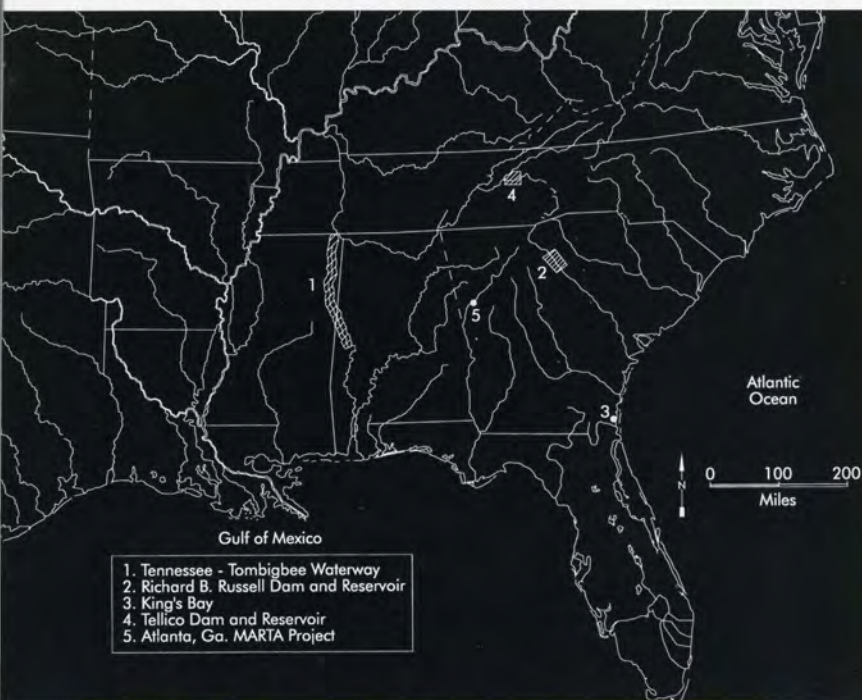
New Deal-era archeologist pores over artifacts collected prior to dam construction in Tennessee.

nessee-Tombigbee Waterway; Atlanta, with the help of federal dollars, built a rapid transit system and cities such as Savannah and Charleston revived their urban core.

The river projects were huge, especially the Tennessee-Tombig-

bee Waterway, with thousands of acres of swamps to be surveyed and millions of dollars for archeology. I was in charge of a multi-million dollar 29project, and believe me, it was incredible! We learned to use heavy earth-moving equipment on fragile sites, manage multiple large excavations at the same time, and handle it all from tiny Southern towns hooked up to our mainframe computers by telephone lines. The accomplishments of these massive projects are many, some because of the scale, and others because certain people were in the right place at the right time. Among the highlights were the serious computerization of information, the deployment of methods developed in the Depression era, the first-time involvement of the earth sciences, and the discovery and excavation of deeply buried early sites (especially from the Early and Middle Archaic period, 8,000-4,000 B.C.). One of our

haps to collect artifacts or occasionally take the family to a park that had a mound or museum, where they saw elaborate artifacts taken primarily from Indian graves. The insistence of the national archeology program on including all types and sizes of sites from all periods and ethnicities—combined with the production of public products—has revolutionized the public's perception. The inclusion of African-American slave sites and poor independent farmsteads has probably been the single most important factor in communicating the reality of cultural diversity in the South. The combination of historical and archeological research of African Americans in cities such as Augusta and Mobile has revealed for the first time the changes that this group had gone through both before and after the Civil War. As a result, the people of the South are much more aware of the diverse roots of their culture. In a



The river projects were huge . . . we learned to use heavy earth-moving

equipment on fragile sites, manage multiple large excavations at the same time, and handle it all from tiny Southern towns hooked up to our mainframe computers by telephone lines.

ABOVE: Some national archeology projects in the Southeast in the last 30 years; RIGHT: "River Section" of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Project, near the Alabama-Mississippi line on the Tombigbee River.

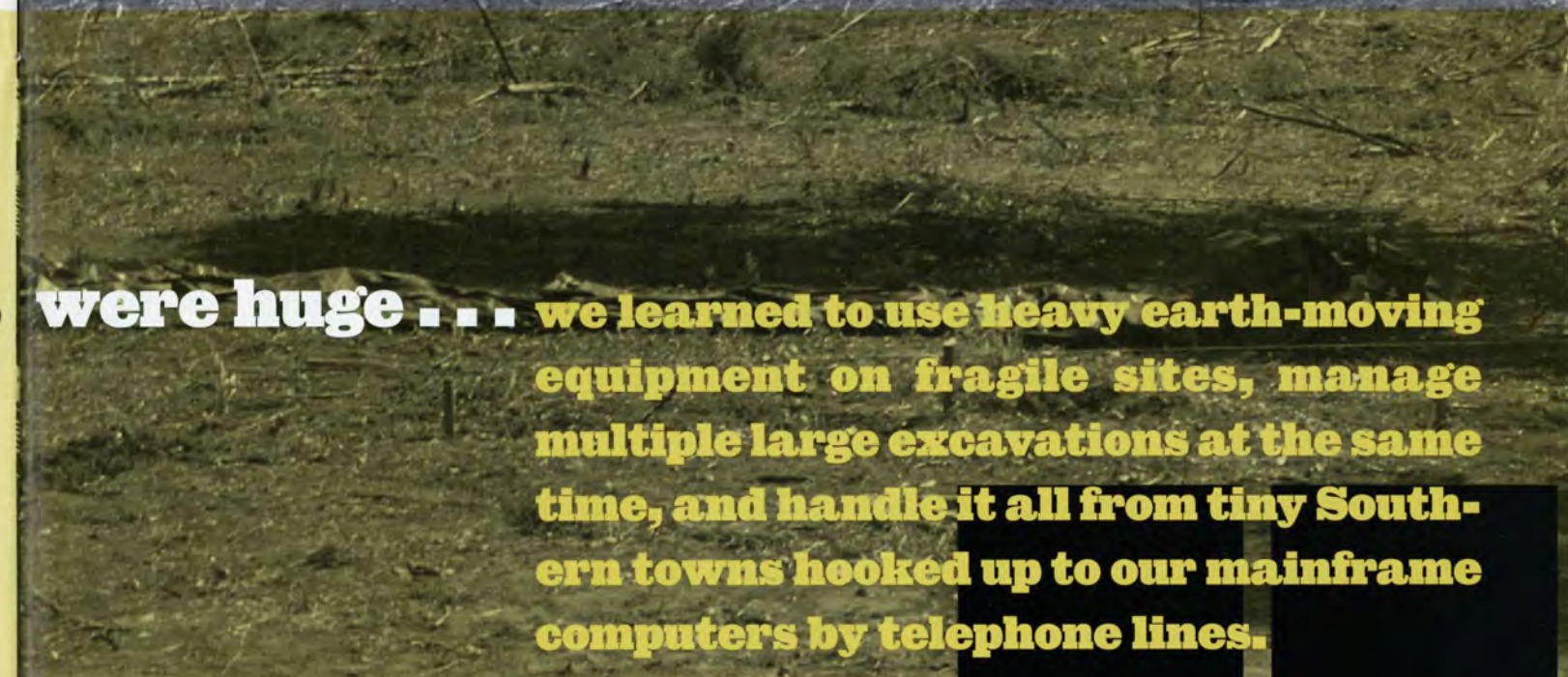
major discoveries was that the post-glacial climate (at about 6,000 B.C.) had a profound effect on Indians and their way of life, even in the relative humid and rich Southeast.

Second, we did not expect such rich remains from the historic period, especially the 16th through 19th century. We knew in the back of our minds that the Southeast was the scene of the first encounters between Europeans and Native Americans, with the oldest historic settlements in the country including Spanish Catholic missions and a plethora of slave labor plantations and free tenant farms. But once archeologists were forced to deal with any site older than 50 years, we literally got our second degree in historical archeology. We began to "see" this record for the first time, and realize that historical documents could help us a great deal.

The third highlight is public archeology. Prior to the late 1970s, most archeologists had little contact with the general public. Southerners paid little attention to archeological sites except per-

way, it has been a kind of civil rights movement in archeology. Videos, brochures, exhibits, craft days, and lectures highlight the contributions of all ethnic groups to the development of the southern way of life: Indians, Africans, Europeans. The public is being inundated with a "new" archeology that includes the material culture of all people, not just fancy Indian artifacts, big mounds, and plantation big houses. In the last 25 years, public products from the national archeology program have changed the focus of our museums from one that supported the myth of white supremacy and imperialism to one that reveals the true blend of cultures that is the South. What a difference it has made!

None of us anticipated the enormous change that has happened almost overnight. Never did we envision huge federal projects, larger than the Depression ones. Never did we think that computers would be so important. Never did we think that historical archeology would be so informative and rich. But most of all, never did we fathom that the public would be such an important element. Our careers are almost nothing like those of our professors, and national archeology is the reason. It is changing the South in many ways as the fruits of our labors become part of the mainstream.

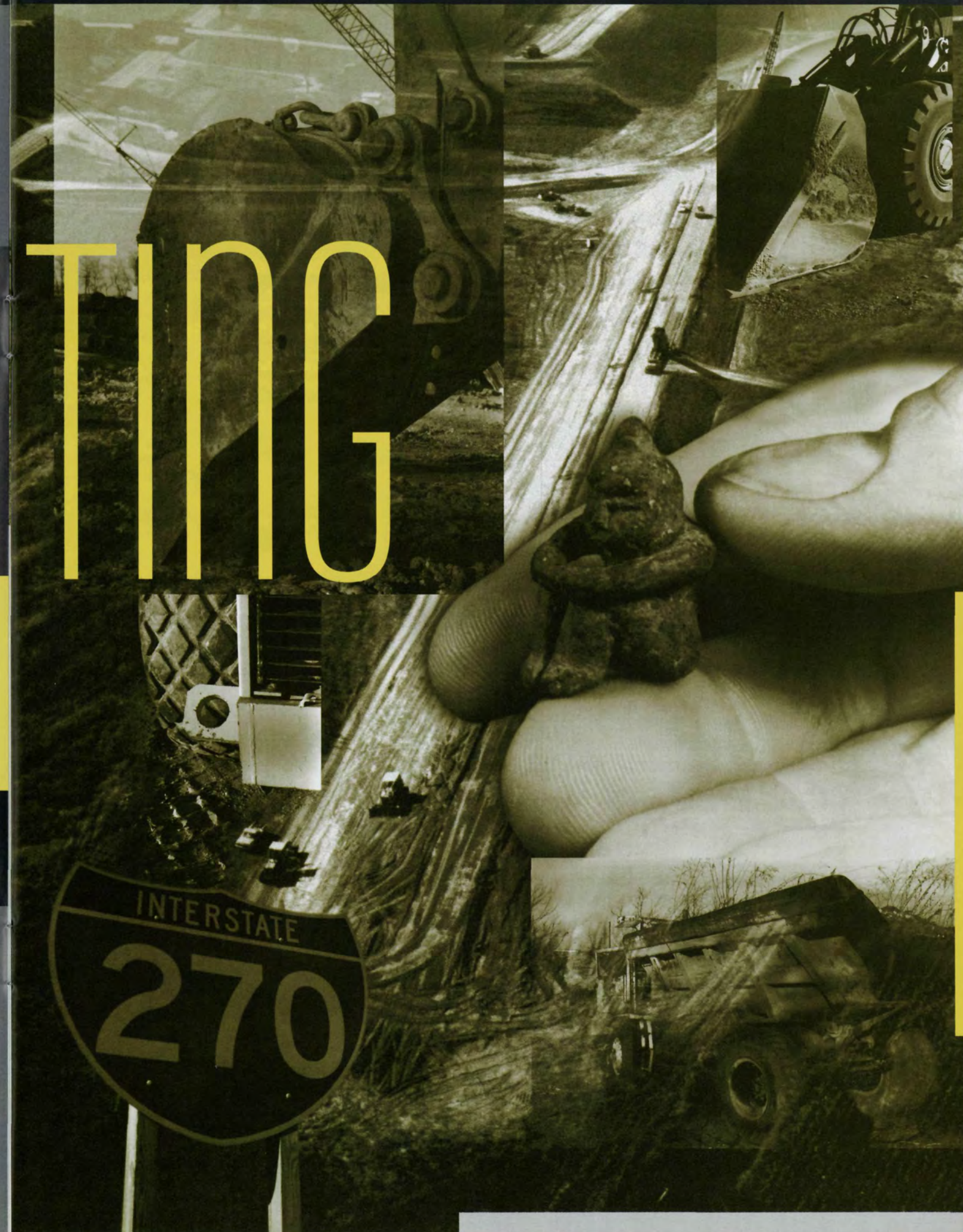


CONSTRUCTING

IN THE PAST

JOHN WALTHALL
KENNETH FARNSWORTH
THOMAS E. EMERSON

ILLINOIS PAVES THE WAY FOR
PRESERVATION PARTNERSHIPS



THOUGH THEY WERE YET TO APPEAR ON ROAD MAPS, THE HIGHWAYS COULD BE TRACED THROUGH PLACES WHOSE ARCHEOLOGY WAS RICH. EACH PROJECT HELD UNPRECEDENTED POTENTIAL TO YIELD NEW INFORMATION ABOUT REGIONS WHERE PREHISTORIC OCCUPATION WAS ESPECIALLY INTENSIVE AND COMPLEX.



CENTER FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

The discovery of this late Woodland site was a unique opportunity to study the health and mortuary practices of prehistoric people. The complex of homes, stone charnel houses, and burials was found in I-72's right-of-way.

In 1978, when an armada of construction equipment was assembled for two massive highway projects in Illinois, archeologists working with the state department of transportation were on the verge of what the University of Wisconsin's James Stoltman called "without a doubt the most ambitious . . . undertaking to ever have been conducted in eastern North America since the WPA era." What was about to take place was a landmark in highway archeology, the latest accomplishment for a state that, from early on, had been crafting an environment in which archeology and construction projects could exist together to the benefit of both.

The building of Interstates 72 and 270 would be a chance to show how far a state could advance its commitment to archeology. It was also an opportunity, if all went well, to produce a showpiece example of large-scale excavation using modern machinery.

Though they were yet to appear on road maps, the highways could be traced through places whose archeology was rich. Each project held unprecedented potential to yield new information about regions where prehistoric occupation was especially intensive and complex. It was perhaps one of the last opportunities to research region-wide patterns of prehistoric lifeways and cultural change.

The Illinois Central Expressway (an extension of Interstate 72, known locally as FAP408) would run about 78 miles from Jacksonville westward to Quincy near the Missouri border. Its right-of-way formed an ideal study area not only across the densely occupied features of the Illinois and Mississippi River flood plains, but also into the archeologically neglected uplands beyond. The reconnaissance away from major river valleys would carry the project into essentially unknown archeological territories.

I-270 would form a huge north-south transect across the American

Bottom. The highway would move through the broad, fertile floodplain at the confluence of the Illinois, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers, just across from the present day city of St. Louis, best known for the famous Cahokia Mounds, and ascend the Wood River Terrace and the uplands to the north. Much research had been done on the large Mississippian mound centers like Cahokia, but other time periods and areas outside these centers had been neglected.

The years between 1977 and 1987 would be tumultuous, exciting, and exhausting. They would also result in the latest and most distinguished achievement in a long tradition of cooperation between the state's department of transportation and the professional archeological community.

THE EARLY DAYS

In Illinois, the cooperative relationship between engineer and archeologist had its beginnings in 1956, when Congress passed the Federal Aid Highway Act. This legislation allowed (but did not mandate) the use of highway construction dollars to salvage archeological sites threatened by highway construction. Each state was given the prerogative to implement this section of the act. Some did; many did not.

Two important events occurred after the passage of the act. The state established policy for the preservation of cultural sites in highway rights-of-way. Shortly afterwards, archeologists from the University of Illinois, Southern Illinois University, and the Illinois State Museum formed a professional organization: the Illinois Archaeological Survey. The survey would lobby for archeological concerns, consult with highway officials, and establish a site file and recording system. It also would assign member organizations surveys and excavation work on a non-competitive, regional basis.

During the first 20 years of highway archeology, funds were allocated only for field investigations. No money was available for laboratory processing or reports. The funds allowed only partial survey of proposed rights-of-way and led to the selection of small numbers of the most

promising sites for excavation. Archeologists were then to obtain other funding, theoretically in the form of grants, for analysis and write-up.

Illinois' nascent highway archeology program got its first test in 1960. Two new highways, Interstates 55 and 70, were planned. In their path was a major portion of the vast Cahokia site, now recognized as the preeminent Mississippian (900-1300 A.D.) civic-ceremonial center in North America, and one of its major satellites, the Mitchell site to the north.

The Cahokia salvage program, which lasted from 1960 to 1964, resulted in extensive excavations of this temple town and led to the discovery of a series of large "Woodhenges," huge circular patterns of tall posts thought to have had some astronomical or ceremonial purpose. After years of field work came the massive task of analyzing and interpreting the data. Outside grants were obtained to aid in this effort, most notably several from the National Science Foundation. The ensuing series of reports tremendously advanced knowledge of this major prehistoric culture.

COMING OF AGE

From the early days of highway archeology in Illinois were hampered by a lack of funds for lab work and report writing, 1976 brought about a major change. New regulations were issued to strengthen the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Now, for the first time, it was mandatory to identify archeological and other cultural sites when planning projects such as highways. Another important change was that funds were now allocated for laboratory analysis and report preparation.

Archeology in Illinois during this period was dominated by professionals associated with major universities and museums. Research was the byword. Simply going out and surveying a proposed highway corridor was no longer acceptable. A research design was now required. The importance of a site was determined by its research potential and projects were judged accordingly. Each major institution had traditional research territories and was assigned work in that particular area

of the state. This system was organized so that each university would have a corps of trained archeologists familiar with their regions to provide expertise on survey and evaluation.

Now that IDOT funds were available for lab work and reports, the regional approach could really take shape. Though it was embraced as a good strategy in earlier years, lack of money hampered the universities' ability to do effective research. Now, projects could be accomplished in a more efficient manner, since the resident experts had intimate knowledge of the sites in their regions. This system, while it had its problems, was extremely successful. Money was not wasted on repetitious evaluation exercises, and was quickly allocated to the investigation of significant sites. Reports were generally submitted in a timely fashion since authors were already experts in their regions.

By 1976, the number of transportation related construction projects was increas-

With the cooperative stance between the state's archeological community and Illinois DOT well-established, the stage was set for the two landmark projects that would follow.

LINKING TWO RIVERS

As the I-72 construction got underway, archeological crews took to the field, sometimes numbering more than 150. The project would enjoy some vital assistance: funds for laboratory analysis and reports.

For more than two decades, the Center for American Archeology in Kampsville, Illinois, had conducted field work in the region. This produced important data for some prehistoric time periods, but others remained essentially unknown. As investigators preceded the highway construction into new areas—dissected uplands, tribu-

were extremely nomadic “cream skimmers,” taking the best of what was available. Later groups established larger, more stable camps in a more restricted set of environments. These upland sites appear especially concentrated within a mile or so of the Illinois and Mississippi valleys or at the margins of tributary streams. Surprisingly, a Paleoindian site was discovered in the Illinois River floodplain, the first such site known. Floodplains were thought to be uninhabitable during Paleo times. Since even isolated Paleoindian and early Archaic tools are rare in this area, discovery of an actual campsite is of the first importance.

Another significant, very early site discovered along the right-of-way had never been disturbed by the plow. The Campbell Hollow site was found under about two meters of sediments at the mouth of an Illinois River tributary. It consisted of two cultural horizons dated to the early Archaic (6,400 B.C.) and the early-middle Archaic (5,720 to 5,610 B.C.). This was

SURPRISINGLY, A PALEOINDIAN SITE WAS DISCOVERED IN THE ILLINOIS RIVER FLOODPLAIN, THE FIRST SUCH SITE KNOWN. FLOODPLAINS WERE THOUGHT TO BE UNINHABITABLE DURING PALEO TIMES.

ing rapidly and archeological work reached new heights and levels of complexity. During this time, highways weren't the only places where archeologists were needed. The demand for archeological expertise expanded to include several major water resources programs and new airports. The recent survey of a 24,700-acre area in Will County for a new airport is an example of the potential magnitude of some of these non-highway transportation projects in Illinois.

Thousands of smaller surveys have been conducted for bridge replacement and highway widening. As a result, over 2,000 sites have been found in the last decade alone. Many small sites, which would have been ignored in the past, have now been studied intensively, giving an entirely new perspective on the prehistoric occupation of Illinois' varied physiographic regions.

tary drainages, upland prairies—they saw an opportunity to answer some questions about changes in prehistoric settlement, social systems, and health. Because urban sprawl, modern farming, and flood control were rapidly destroying sites in this area, there was a sense of urgency to their efforts.

Archeologists discovered nearly 600 prehistoric village sites, special purpose camps, and mortuary sites, 150 of which were in I-72's right-of-way. Combined with previous floodplain studies, this new information held the potential to give a new outlook on the 11,000 years of regional prehistory.

In Illinois' uplands, surveys seem to indicate that early Archaic and perhaps even Paleoindian peoples left sites characterized by little debris, meaning they lived virtually everywhere. Apparently, they

the first time early Archaic features had been discovered in a sealed, stratified context in the valley.

The Napoleon Hollow site, a series of archeological deposits at the base of bluffs immediately west of the Illinois River near the mouth of a small tributary stream, provided excellent data on changing adaptations to this particular environmental niche. Napoleon Hollow featured three horizons that dated from 5,100 to 1,670 B.C., and the recovered tools and subsistence remains were extremely useful as elements of a specific regional Archaic settlement system.

The unexpected discovery of a cemetery on the bluffs overlooking Napoleon Hollow provided valuable insight into Archaic mortuary practices. The presence of formal burials suggests that middle Archaic people maintained territorial boundaries.

Although artifacts do occur with specific burials, there is much less evidence of social differentiation than in later Woodland societies. Rather, emphasis was placed on group membership, with even sexual

ly, characterized by thick pottery, often decorated by incised line patterns over a cordmarked vessel surface. The contracting stem and notched points characteristics of the stone tools were more common-

regional perspectives on the location and structure of middle Woodland settlements. Previously we recognized only large floodplain villages. The new research revealed that small camps, such as the



ILLINOIS TRANSPORTATION ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

distinction inconsistently symbolized.

Perhaps the most exciting new information came from three early Woodland sites, Ambrose Flick, Bushmeyer, and Sand Trees, discovered on the Mississippi floodplain. Ambrose Flick yielded evidence of the Marion culture (600-400 B.C.), the first pottery-using group in the Midwest. The site contained culturally stratified deposits ranging up to 1.5 meters in depth, which indicates heavy occupation. Marion people were previously thought to only have small peripheral campsites. This was the first discovery of its kind. Pottery and stone tools found at the other two sites required archeologists to create a new cultural phase (Snycartee) for the Illinois Val-

ly associated with a later time period. It appears that in the transition from the early to the middle Woodland period, local culture history differs significantly from that of adjacent regions.

The middle Woodland period was perhaps one of the most thoroughly researched in the valley prior to the start of the I-72 project. Several large habitation sites and major Hopewellian mound groups had been excavated in and adjacent to the Illinois and Mississippi valley floodplain and bluffs in the previous decades. In addition, regional reconnaissance studies had gathered surface collections from over 200 habitation sites.

The I-72 project greatly expanded

Stone figurine discovered during the I-270 project, indication that a fertility (or Green Corn) cult existed at Cahokia between 1100 and 1200 A.D.

Archie and Massey sites, were located in dissected upland prairies, well away from any large river valleys, while larger settlements such as the Smiling Dan site occurred in the small tributaries of the Illinois Valley. The middle Woodland component at the Napoleon Hollow site consisted of a habitation along the river and another on the steep slopes more than 100 feet above. Further up, atop the bluffs, sat the Elizabeth Mound Group, a complex of mortuary-related earthworks.



ILLINOIS TRANSPORTATION ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

I-270 AND THE CAHOKIAN CONTEXT

The archeology performed on the massive I-270 corridor far to the east of Cahokia Mounds drastically transformed the perspective on cultural development in the American Bottom. With crews as large as the I-72 project's and beginning at about the same time, the work has been conducted under the auspices of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

The university argued for large-scale, 100 percent recovery of the archeological record in I-270's right-of-way. Much of the regional history had already been obliterated by development and the total corridor represented a minute fraction of a percent of the archeological record. To merely sample this already minute sample (as some had suggested) would have been virtually criminal. Previous projects in Illinois showed that techniques aimed at total recovery using earth-moving equipment could produce data hitherto unavailable. Thus UIUC proposed a research design that focused on community-scale investigations. Eventually, this allowed the examination of excavation blocks ranging from 13,000 square feet to 148 acres. This was combined with an emphasis on building a cultural and historical sequence for the region.

UIUC archeologists had a long tradition of research in the American Bottom, which served to focus many of the research approaches that were employed by the I-270 Project. After over half a century of observing the increasingly rapid and massive destruction of regional history, and the loss of prehistoric mound centers and villages, there was a feeling that this may well be the last chance to record the story of the cultures in the American Bottom.

Despite broader scientific advances in the discipline from the 1960s onward, knowledge of the Archaic and early, middle, and late Woodland cultures and sequences in the American Bottom was virtually nonexistent. The area was the location of the largest mound centers and most complex

A fully intact vessel is uncovered from the floor of a Mississippian house dating to about 1100 A.D.

THE UNIVERSITY ARGUED FOR LARGE-SCALE, 100 PERCENT RECOVERY OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL RECORD IN I-270'S RIGHT-OF-WAY. MUCH OF THE REGIONAL HISTORY HAD ALREADY BEEN OBLITERATED BY DEVELOPMENT . . . TO MERELY SAMPLE THIS ALREADY MINUTE SAMPLE (AS SOME HAD SUGGESTED) WOULD HAVE BEEN CRIMINAL.

cultural formations in North America, but little was known about the development or fall of Cahokian Middle Mississippian culture. This focus on building a culture history of prehistoric communities was combined with an intensive research program of archeobotany, zoology, physical anthropology, and regional geomorphology.

To date, archeologists have investigated a section over 27 miles long across the archeologically rich American Bottom of Monroe, Madison, and St. Clair counties in southwestern Illinois. The project has impacted several hundred sites, 137 of which were subject to large scale investigations. Over 13,000 features have been excavated. This research has led to the definition of 27 new cultural phases in the midcontinent and a reorientation of the culture history and chronology of eastern North American archeology.

The research of the project's first decade was summarized in *American Bottom Archaeology: A Summary of the FAI-270 Project Contribution to the Culture History of the Mississippi River Valley*. Since 1983, 27 volumes have been published on the I-270 excavations by the University of Illinois Press (with a final three volumes currently in press). As the corridor progresses to the north, and major new sites are excavated, they will form the corpus for a new series of reports.

Perhaps its importance has been captured best by Harvard's Stephen Williams, who summarized the project by saying that "nowhere else in the East has major contract archeology done so much to provide such a detailed . . . sequence from early Archaic times to the protohistoric period."

Another proof of the success of this fully funded, regionally based system has been a wealth of reports and articles. In 1984 Charles J. Bareis, program director, was presented the Award for Outstanding Public Service to Transportation and His-

toric Preservation. Bareis also received the highest award given by the Department of Interior, its Public Service Award, for the creation of "a program that splendidly serves the professional community and the American people."

So has this state-based cooperative effort worked? After 40 years of successful investigation and research—recognized as being of national significance by the archeological community at large—the answer must be a resounding yes. Illinois has continued to be on the cutting edge of the discipline. What about from the standpoint of those who build highways? Illinois DOT's cultural resource programs have been models of efficiency in historic preservation within a construction-oriented agency. The use of regionally based archeological organizations has proved to be a cost-effective and resource friendly system. The partnership of the university-based and not-for-profit research groups has benefitted both the state and archeology, but even more importantly, it has benefitted the citizens of Illinois by producing one of the top cultural resource preservation programs in the nation.

John Walthall has been Illinois DOT's Chief Archaeologist since 1978. Kenneth Farnsworth is Director of the Contract Archaeology Program, CAA, and has participated in archeological research in the lower Illinois Valley for over 25 years. Thomas Emerson is Director, Illinois Transportation Archaeological Research Program, UIUC, and is responsible for the current direction of the continuing I-270 project. All volumes of the I-270 and I-72 projects as well as other volumes on Illinois archeology are available from the CAA Press, Box 366, Kampsville, IL 62053. For more information, contact Thomas E. Emerson, University of Illinois, 103 Horticulture Field Laboratory, MC-001, 61801, (217) 244-7476, fax (217) 244-7458, e-mail teee@uiuc.edu.

Below: Native Americans, South Dakota, 1952; bottom: Judge Frank Zahn (Chief Flying Cloud), right, who served as an interpreter for anthropologists in the region; right: dam construction, South Dakota, early 1950s.

DAVID GRADWOHL



NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES/W. R. FARRELL

In 1952, as part of a federally sponsored salvage operation, Smithsonian archeologists excavated what they believed was a prehistoric earth lodge near present-day Ft. Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota. But instead of encountering the material remains of a prehistoric

NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES/RIVER BASIN SURVEY

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE

Phillip E.
Minthorn

Dammed

NATIVE PEOPLES AND THE RIVER BASIN SURVEY



NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES/GEORGE METCALF

TWO MANDAN INFORMANTS, Douglas Standish and Peter Hale, during the archeological surveys of North Dakota's Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in 1950. Native Americans had conflicting feelings about "informing" for anthropology. Some saw it as a way to maintain cultural identity in the face of change.

society, the archeologists discovered various historic items such as a "Lucky Strike" cigarette butt, a set of coins ranging between the dates of 1930 and 1950, several bracelets, a broken ceramic plate, and some tin cups. As the excavations progressed, they eventually uncovered a small number of prehistoric items such as bison and mammal bones, pottery sherds, projectile points, and the structural remains of a rectangular earth lodge dating to a time ranging from 1200 to 1300 A.D.

Although it was quite common to find historic refuse overlaying older deposits containing prehistoric remains, this appeared different. It was only during the break in the excavations that the true significance of the site was eventually revealed. James Holding Eagle, whose Ft. Berthold allotment and homestead sit adjacent the site, related to the Smithsonian archeologists (and to later researchers of Middle Missouri archeology) that his people regard this remote earth lodge as the mythic residence of Old-Woman-Who-Never-Dies, a supernatural being of the Mandan-Hidatsa-Crow who ensures the fertility of wild fruits and crops. The "Lucky Strike" cigarette butt and coins, they discovered, represented visitation offerings left by local tribal people to commemorate the mythic event associated with the heavenly descent of Grandson, a child of the supernatural being Moon and an earthly village woman. Landing in the garden of Old-Woman-Who-Never-Dies who later raises him, Grandson's mythic

existence later gives rise to the sacred rites associated with the cultivation of crops, especially those concerning corn.

Like many creation myths, Holding Eagle's narrative demonstrates, in compelling detail, the unique relationship native peoples have with the cultural landscape. However, the year was 1952 and dramatic changes were taking place. Massive concrete dams were being constructed all across the nation's waterways, including the Missouri River. Unfortunately, the power of Holding Eagle's mythic recounting and the continued commemorative act of giving offerings to Old-Woman-Who-Never-Dies could not halt the incursions of Western industrialization. What remains, however, is an eloquent testimony to cultural survival and the desire to preserve an endangered past by both native peoples and the burgeoning discipline of archeology. Housed at the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives is a series of photographs and notes from the original River Basin Survey

field records that documents these early, and rare, interactions between native peoples and archeologists.

DAMS AND NATIVE PEOPLES

The passage of the Flood Control Act of 1936 and its subsequent authorizing legislation marks the beginning of forced social change for most native populations residing within the corridors of the nation's waterways. The impact of building dams and the inundation of tribal lands by flood water was immediate and irreversible. At a minimum, these massive federal water projects affected 23 Indian reservations. By far the most dramatic consequence of the act was the display of preemptive power by various federal agencies in the governmental taking of tribal lands. Under existing treaties, tribal lands cannot be taken without prior congressional consent. In the Missouri River basin and elsewhere, however, federal land managers such as the Army Corps of Engineers had exercised such unlimited power that it can only be compared with the cession of lands accomplished by treaty. So much so that one judge ruled, "It is clear to this

court that Congress has never provided the requisite authority to the Secretary of the Army to condemn tribal lands" [quoted from Lawson 1982, p. 119].

Just as dramatic but much more devastating was the actual flooding. For example, an estimated 550 square miles of tribal lands in North and South Dakota were inundated and 900 Indian families dislocated from their homes. Much of the tribal land-based economy that was beginning to show signs of achieving self-sufficiency was virtually destroyed as backwaters submerged the rich bottom lands. The shift from an agricultural-based economy to a cash economy, the relocation of Indian homesteads, and an increasing reliance upon federal welfare programs sharply reduced the living conditions of many Indian families to a bare minimum.

THE EFFECTS OF SALVAGE ARCHEOLOGY

With the rapid expansion of government-sponsored projects in the post-World War II era, native involvement in federal land management, including issues relating to archeology,

were of critical importance. The inclusion of native peoples in federally sponsored archeology resulted not so much from a greater recognition of tribal rights as from conflicts arising over the physical disruption of tribal lands and the cultural properties contained therein. Yet despite this hard won recognition, by the mid-20th century the interaction between Native Americans and professional archeologists had reached its lowest point, more than at any other time in the past.

As federal water projects escalated, a growing concern developed at the congressional level over the impending destruction of prehistoric and historic sites on federal lands. Eventually, the Inter-

NATIVE AMERICAN CREW MEMBERS examine features at the base of an excavated mound on the Crow Creek Indian Reservation in South Dakota. The River Basin Survey saw some of the earliest Native participation in archeological field work.

NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES/ROBERT NEUMAN



Agency Archaeological Salvage Program was established, whose primary goal was to facilitate the preservation of the nation's archeological record.

Coordinated largely through the efforts of the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service in cooperation with various universities, federal agencies, and museums, the program accomplished this task through systematic field investigations. Regional field offices and laboratories were organized under the direction of the River Basin Survey, with field operatives charged with overseeing the survey and excavation work in each area of the basin.

The directives of the River Basin Survey became especially problematic when it came to documenting cultural sites on reservation and aboriginal lands in the nation's flood corridors. At the programmatic level, each regional field director received the assistance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in requesting authorization to access tribal lands with the stated purpose of conducting archeological surveys

excavations would require additional authorization. In at least one instance in 1948, government-to-government consultations resulted; in this case between the Army Corps of Engineers and tribal leaders of the Umatilla Indian Reservation in Oregon concerning the removal of burials.

In most cases, however, individual Indi-

CONDUCTING SURVEY WORK in 1964 at the Yellowtail Reservoir in Montana. Left to right: Chester Brooks of the National Park Service, Joe Medicine Crow, Billings Mayor Willard Fraser, archeologist Stuart Conner, and George Dalthrop. Joe Medicine Crow, a tribal historian and trained anthropologist, was one of the few native people who participated as a professional colleague in River Basin Survey fieldwork.



NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES/WILFRED HUSTED

and, in specific cases, trial excavations. A form letter was addressed to each tribe residing within a reservoir area.

Most, but not all, tribes consented to the field work with the stipulation that large

a land owners were directly contacted by the regional field director when excavations were proposed at important sites. Despite the acknowledgment of tribal authority, the direct involvement of native

peoples in the field work was never a program consideration. However, native participation dramatically increased once archeological crews reached locations at or near Indian reservations. It was here that native peoples were actively engaged as field laborers, informants, and sometimes as professional colleagues. Thus this work offers a rare insight into the early preservation efforts of native peoples.

Native participation as field labor was important in several ways. As field crews reached the reservation setting, the need for labor on short notice enabled the enlistment of local native residents. Native field workers sometimes provided much-needed assistance in gaining access to important sites located within the bounds of the reservation. Naturally, many lasting friendships developed over time as a result of the interactions between RBS archeologists and native field workers and informants.

River Basin archeologists routinely utilized both native and non-native informants. The contribution of informants to the fieldwork was greatest in the identification of archeological sites and other cultural properties. The formal incorporation of informant data into site analysis was limited, however, due to the discipline's emphasis on chronology and classification. Native informants saw archeology in a different light; their contributions were culturally motivated, springing from a deep concern for the cultural landscape and its impending loss. Although the very notion of becoming an "informant" of anthropology may have controversial meaning in some parts of the native community, the participation of native informants in the River Basin fieldwork can be understood as an act of self-identification, one that served as a means of preserving individual and group identity in the face of change.

Very few native peoples participated as anthropologists in the fieldwork simply because of the fact that few native anthropologists existed at the time. The work of



NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

Joe Medicine Crow, who was both a Crow tribal historian and trained anthropologist, stands alone as one the few native contributions that broaden our understanding of Northern Plains prehistory, history, and culture. Contained in the original River Basin Survey field records are ethnographic and historical notes documenting Crow traditional cultural properties in the upper Missouri River region. Today, Medicine Crow's efforts are just beginning to be fully recognized and appreciated.

CONCLUSION

The post-World War II era dramatically confronted native peoples with an entirely new situation, one that was immensely disruptive and, at times, incompatible with traditional lifeways. Yet despite these massive disruptions, many tribal groups actively strived to preserve their culture in the face of change and vigorously defended their lands and sovereignty from the intrusions of Western industrialization. The contributions of Holding Eagle and others in preserving an endangered past are a necessary reminder of the pervasiveness of the human experience and its power to generate meaning across time. More important,



NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

native peoples are seen as playing a vital role in the development of modern North American archeology as a result of their continuing long term interest in the ancient landscape.

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JAMES HOLDING EAGLE, Mandan-Hidatsa, at the mythic site of Old-Woman-Who-Never-Dies, 1950 (left). Delaney Yellowface, Arikara, at an eagle trapping pit (right): in the background is the Missouri River. The pit was formerly used by residents at Like-a-Fishhook Village, one of the last earth lodge villages of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara in the late 19th century.

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un

history
of the free african
american village of
springfield, georgia

by j.w. joseph

Those who are curious to know where Springfield stood, at the time of which I am speaking [1798], have only to take their position at the intersection of Broad and Marbury Streets, in the city of Augusta, and they will be in the very heart of old Springfield. Sixty steps West, and as many East of this position, will measure the whole length of this Jeffersonian Republican village, which never boasted more than four dwelling-houses; and Broad-street, measures its width, if we exclude kitchens and stables.

GEORGIA SCENES, CHARACTERS, & INCIDENTS &c. IN THE FIRST HALF CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC, BY AUGUSTUS B. LONGSTREET

GEORGIA CHRONICLER AUGUSTUS LONGSTREET, like many of his contemporaries, suffered from a social and historical form of deuteropia—quite literally, color-blindness. For at the time Longstreet wrote of, Springfield was more than four dwelling houses, kitchens, and stables. It was also the home to some 98 free African Americans, one of the larger communities of its kind in the Old South.

The history of southern free African Americans before the Civil War is unwritten largely because it was not written. Contemporary Southern historians, like Longstreet, were reluctant to acknowledge free African Americans, who by their very existence challenged the legal and social basis of Southern slavery. Legally prohibited from property ownership in Georgia and many other southern states and relegated to a life that was neither slave nor free, free African Americans left scant traces in the documentary record—few of the deeds, wills, inventories, tax accounts, census enumerations, diaries, and letters that historians use to reconstruct the past. In the historical record, they are, in many respects, invisible.

Historical archeologists, using traditional archeological techniques combined with oral and written history, can provide a rare glimpse of free African American life. And thanks to the preservation dictates of the federal archeology program, that is exactly what they have done for Springfield, which left its mark along the banks of the Savannah River.

IN THE EARLY 1990S, the city of Augusta planned to build a conference center, hotel, and office complex along the Savannah river front, funded in part by a federal urban development grant. The grant brought the project under the jurisdiction of section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which requires that federally funded projects take into consideration their effect on significant historic resources. When an initial survey of the property revealed that it was once the location of the free African American community, then-state historic preservation officer Elizabeth Lyon required that the city fund an excavation prior to construction.¹ The city contracted the study to the private firm of New South Associates.

Springfield appears to have come into existence following the Revolutionary War. The history of the Springfield Baptist Church, drawn largely from oral accounts, states that the con-

gregation moved to the outskirts of Augusta in 1783.² The end of the war was a critical juncture in the history of African Americans, with thousands gaining their freedom. Historian Phillip Morgan notes that in South Carolina alone nearly 25,000 African American slaves heeded the British call to abandon their plantations for the protection of the English Army. While many were re-settled in Nova Scotia, Sierra Leone, and other foreign locales after the war, others remained in the southern United States.³ Many found refuge in the cities, which provided economic opportunities not available in the countryside.

Southerners of the era were members of a class society in which manual labor was deemed inappropriate for whites. Free and enslaved African Americans thus provided much of the work force, particularly in the port cities of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, and Augusta, where shipping and trade required a considerable expenditure of human energy.

The work of free African Americans was also highly valued because of their skills as craftsmen and craftswomen. In Charleston, where free African Americans accounted for 15 percent of the work force, they comprised 25 percent of the city's carpenters, 40 percent of its tailors, and 75 percent of its millwrights.⁴ An 1819 *Registry of Free Persons of Color* from Augusta indicates that 81 percent of the free African-

American males were employed as either tradesmen or watermen. These categories included such jobs as carpenters, barbers, saddlers, blacksmiths, hostlers, boaters, boat pilots, and boat hands.

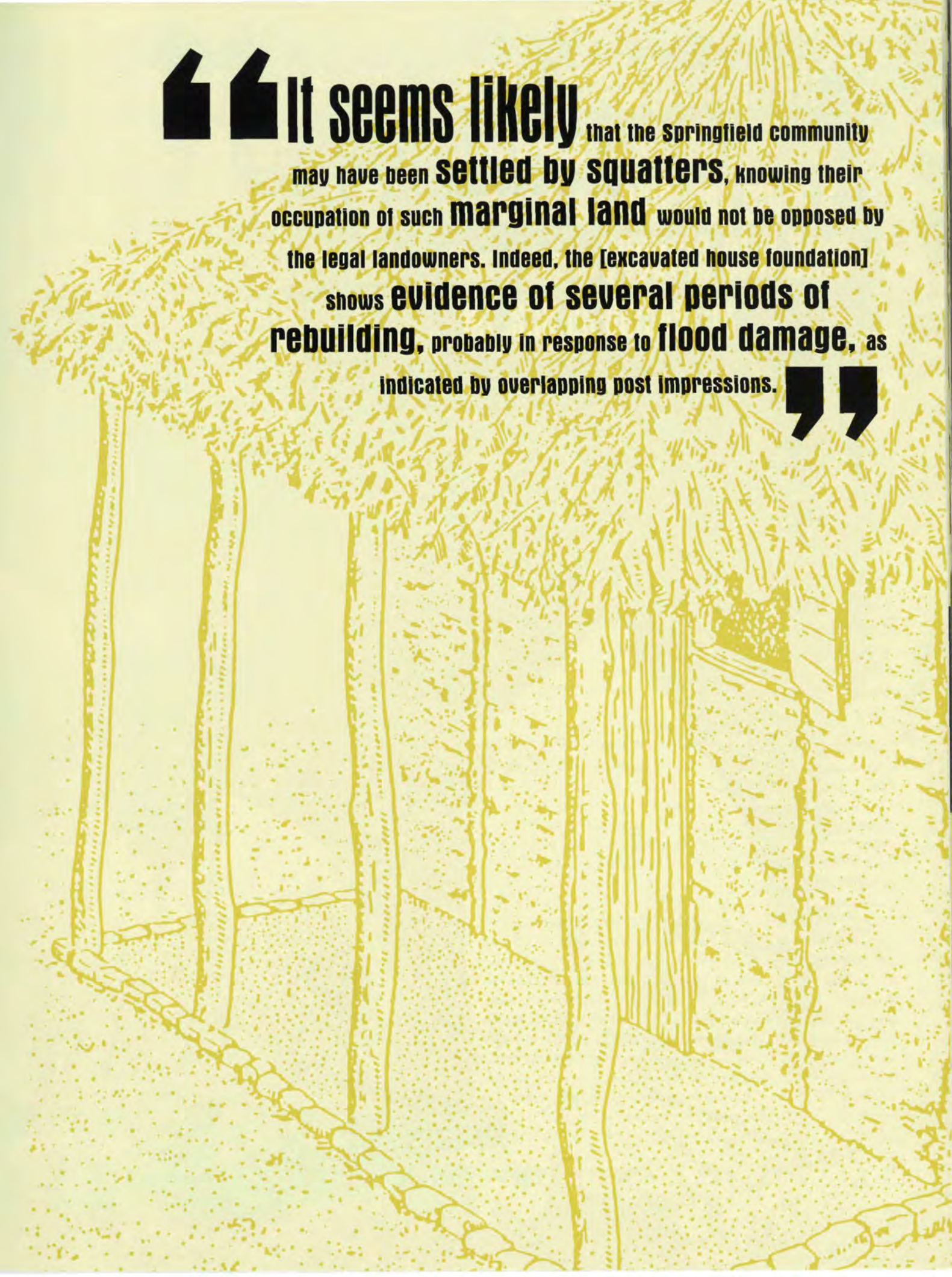
Cities also provided work for free African American women as seamstresses, cooks, washers, weavers, and house servants.⁵ Indeed, statistics indicate that economic opportunities for free African Americans were greater in the South than in the North in the period before the Civil War.⁶

Despite the opportunities, life in the cities was not easy. Various state and local laws and regulations prohibited free African Americans from owning property, and in some instances from renting. As tensions between the North and South mounted and the "slave question" became more vocal, the limited freedoms of



Overleaf: View of Augusta river front from an 1871 *Harper's Weekly*; clay pipe depicting a citizen of the Old Testament city of Nineveh. **Right:** Excavating at Springfield; Haitian antecedent of the shotgun house.

It seems likely that the Springfield community may have been settled by squatters, knowing their occupation of such marginal land would not be opposed by the legal landowners. Indeed, the [excavated house foundation] shows evidence of several periods of rebuilding, probably in response to flood damage, as indicated by overlapping post impressions.



[Lawmakers] placed a \$100 tax on free African Americans entering the state, required free African Americans to be represented by a white guardian, and ultimately legislated that a free African American could be sold into slavery for such crimes as 'wandering or strolling about, or leading an idle, immoral, or profligate life.'

African Americans, enslaved and free, were further restricted. In Georgia, laws sought to curtail slave manumission, prohibited African Americans from preaching unless their moral character could be vouched for by three ordained white ministers, placed fines and penalties on interracial sexual encounters and relationships, prohibited African Americans from being employed by druggists (for fear they might use such employment to obtain poisonous drugs), placed a \$100 tax on free African Americans entering the state, required free African Americans to be represented by a white guardian, and ultimately legislated that a free African American could be sold into slavery for such crimes as "wandering or strolling about, or leading an idle, immoral, or profligate life." Other laws sought to control social behavior, including prohibitions and penalties for the use of insolent language, for attending military parades, for keeping a light on in a dwelling after 10 p.m. (to avoid late night gatherings that might plot insurrections), and for the use of canes and pipes in public (such items were symbols of upper class white status; however, the law exempted blind or infirm African Americans who used canes).⁷

IN LIGHT OF THIS CONTEXT, discovering the remains of a free African American house was an important find. The house, dating from the period 1820 to 1850, was recognized because of its rectangular pattern of post impressions surrounded by small pit features containing historic artifacts. The remains were found during the excavations along the Savannah, on land owned by white real estate speculators during the first half of the 1800s. The river banks, which were especially flood prone, would not be substantially developed until late in the century. Given the restrictions faced by the free African American community on owning or renting property in Augusta, it seems likely that the Springfield community may have been settled by squatters, knowing their occupation of such marginal land would not be opposed by the legal landowners.⁸ Indeed, the house shows evidence of several periods of rebuilding, probably in response to flood damage, as indicated by overlapping post impressions. Both square-cut posts and round, unhewn posts were used in the house, which suggests an expedient architecture whose temporary nature was recognized by its builders.

In size and construction, the structure reflects an African building technology. Measuring approximately 10 by 20 feet, it appears to have been centrally divided into two 10 by 10 foot rooms. These dimensions and arrangement are similar to the common house type of the Yoruba in West Africa. As folklorist John Vlach has documented, this form is the historic antecedent of the shotgun house, a type commonly found in African American communities in the urban South during the second half of the 19th century. Characteristics of the shotgun house include its rectangular shape, usually consisting of two to three rooms; the lack of a hallway and placement of doorways between rooms "in rhythm" (the folk history of this structure indicates that its name originated because a shotgun blast was supposed to be able to pass directly through the house via aligned internal doorways); and the ease with which shotgun houses could be expanded by adding additional rooms to the rear (or sometimes sides). This latter characteristic appears to be West African in origin—the Yoruba,

Savannah River baptism.



UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, WILLIAMS COLLECTION

A Southern street scene from the turn of the century.

for example, do not think of houses as individual structures, but rather recognize a two-room building unit that can be combined with other similar units to form what is referred to as an *agboile*, or literally "flock of houses." Within this tradition, houses are organic, meant to grow as needed to serve their occupants.⁹

The house at Springfield, which demonstrates the migration of building techniques and designs to the New World, lends support to Vlach's interpretation of the shotgun house as an American descendant of an African ancestor. The history of Springfield, as well as that of postbellum African American neighborhoods such as Village Creek in Birmingham, suggests that this linear, rectangular form was well suited to African American urban life, where access to land was restricted.¹⁰ Urban lots are normally rectangular, with their short side oriented to the street front. Use of a long rectangular house such as the shotgun allowed for more houses to be built on urban lots, while still providing a means to expand living space through the addition of rooms.

Another element of the Springfield house site indicative of its African heritage is the presence of numerous small pit features in the surrounding yard. Although these pits held varying amounts of household trash, they were clearly not dug for dumping because they yielded few artifacts. Kofi Agorsah has observed that the Nchumuru of West Africa excavate yard pits to gather dirt for earth floors, for potmaking, and for other uses, then backfill them with sweepings and trash.¹¹ The presence of artifacts amidst layers of sand at the Springfield pits suggests a comparable behavior, although it is unknown whether the dirt removed was used for floors or for other purposes. In the South, pits are often found where enslaved African Americans lived, and their appearance at Springfield indicates a common behavior.

One of the most interesting artifacts recovered was a clay tobacco pipe. The pipe, made of white ball clay, was molded in the form of a human face and detailed in gold and black paint. The figure, clearly biblical in nature, features gold cross earrings and gold beads in a braided beard. In itself, the recovery of the pipe is important because smoking appears to have been a socially charged behavior that was regulated in many southern cities. An 1802 Augusta ordinance forbade free and enslaved African Americans from smoking either a cigar or pipe in public, noting that such "privileges" were reserved for whites. Historian James Haughton, citing a similar ordinance in Savannah during the 1850s, observes that "the mere act of smoking in public by a Negro might bring a penalty of two dollars, three dollars, eight lashes or thirty lashes."¹²

Smoking carried cultural meaning in both West Africa and in the Old South, and it is in the expression of this meaning that southerners and African Americans clashed. In many West African societies, smoking was a

measure of social rank. Ethnologist Wilfrid Hambly notes that among the Dahomey "men of importance were followed each by an attendant who carried his tobacco-pipe." Pipes and tobacco were frequent grave goods in West Africa, and wealthy Ashanti were buried with gold-ornamented pipes. Archeologist Jerome Handler reports the recovery of a Ghanaian pipe from a Barbados burial as one of the few African artifacts to make the trans-Atlantic passage.¹³

The recovery of the pipe indicates that city ordinances did not curtail smoking among African Americans in the cities. Indeed, possession of this exquisite implement can be considered an act of defiance by Augusta's African American community.

This pipe can also be seen to express the importance of Christianity to the community, as well as to signify potentially deeper meaning. The figure—identified from the manufacturer's catalog as a Ninivien, a citizen of the Old Testament city of Nineveh—strongly resembles an excavated statue depicted in *Nineveh and Its Remains* by biblical archeologist Austen Henry Layard, published in 1849. Layard's excavations at Nineveh and Nimrod in the 1840s, and the recovery at Nineveh of a library of clay tablets containing the Gilgamesh Epic—which portrayed both the seven days of creation and a great flood sent by God—were considered by many as proof of the historical validity of the bible. These archeological discoveries helped fuel the Evangelical movement of the 19th century. The recovery of the Ninivien pipe at Springfield suggests that southern African Americans may have been keenly aware of these archeological finds. In particular, the story of Nineveh as told in the Old Testament prophecy of Nahum is extremely poignant when seen in the light of the Old South:

*These are the words of the LORD:
Now I will break his yoke from your necks*

and snap the cords that bind you.

Image and idol will I hew down in the house of your God.

This is what the LORD has ordained for you:

never again will your offspring be scattered;

and I will grant your burial, fickle though you have been.

Has the punishment been so great?

Yes, but it has passed away and is gone.

I have afflicted you, but I will not afflict you again.

Nearly a century and a half ago, southern African Americans, free and enslaved, may have seen these archeological discoveries as proof of the bible's validity, and the story of Nineveh as the promise of a just future.

In building an African house, in smoking a Ninivien pipe, Springfield's residents reaffirmed traditional cultural practices and at the same time challenged the white southerner's perceptions of status. In doing so, they helped overturn the status quo. As Springfield, like Nineveh, emerges from the ground, federal archeology is helping to write an unwritten history and bring an important but ignored people of the past into the present.¹⁴

For more information, contact J.W. (Joe) Joseph, New South Associates, 6150 East Ponce de Leon Ave., Stone Mountain, GA 30083, (770) 498-4155, fax (770) 498-3809.

NOTES

1. In concert with the lead federal agency responsible for a project, each state historic preservation officer is responsible for project review and consultation on the significance of cultural resources and the ways to mitigate adverse impacts to them. Georgia is blessed with one of the nation's strongest minority preservation programs, started by former SHPO Elizabeth Lyon and Deputy SHPO Carol Griffith, which continues a vigorous program of recognizing and preserving minority historic resources under the leadership of current SHPO Mark Edwards.

2. Betty Anderson, *Springfield Baptist: Church History*, published by the Springfield Baptist Church, Augusta. See also Edward J. Cashin, *Old Springfield: Race and Religion in Augusta, Georgia*, the Springfield Village Park Foundation, Augusta, 1995.

3. Phillip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760-1810," in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, edited by Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, pages 83-142. University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1986.

4. David R. Goldfield, "Black Life in Old South Cities," in *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South*, edited by D.C. Campbell, Jr., and Kym S. Rice, pp. 123-154, the Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, and the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1992.

5. Statistics from the 1819 *Augusta Registry of Free Persons of Color* are presented in the Springfield Report "And They Went Down Both Into the Water": *Archaeological Data Recovery of the Riverfront Augusta Site* (9Ril65) by J. W. Joseph, New South Associates, Stone Mountain, Georgia, 1993.

6. See the work of Leonard P. Curry, whose *Index of Occupation Opportunity* indicates that free African Americans had access to the greatest range of occupations in the cities of the lower South. *The*

Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream, the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1981.

7. An excellent overview of the laws governing African Americans in Georgia is provided in an unpublished masters thesis by Dan Durrett, entitled "Free Blacks in Selected Georgia Cities, 1820-1860," Department of History, Atlanta University, 1973.

8. African Americans' use of marginal lands includes squatter occupations on lands that were not favored for other developments, and the use of lands whose legal status was unclear. The latter was also probably a factor in the settlement of Springfield, as the community was established on the lands of British loyalist Colonel James Greier-son, a casualty of the Revolutionary War. For several years after the war, the status of Greier-son's property was uncertain, as the state of Georgia moved to confiscate the land of loyalists. See also Joan Geismar, *The Archaeology of Social Disintegration at Skunk Hollow, a Nineteenth-Century Rural Black Community*, Academic Press, New York. Skunk Hollow was an African American community established on the border between New Jersey and New York where the legal status of the land was in limbo for many years because of a boundary dispute between the states.

9. Folklorist John Michael Vlach is highly regarded for his important work on African American architecture and the decorative arts. His works include: "Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents to Afro-American Architecture," an unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Folklore, Indiana University, 1975; "The Shotgun House: An African Legacy," in *Pioneer America 1976: The Afro-American Tradition in the Decorative Arts*, Cleveland Museum of Arts, Cleveland, 1978; and *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1993.

10. Architectural and historical documentation of the Village Creek neighborhoods, conducted by Mary Beth Reed for the Mobile District of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, showed that the shotgun form was favored in cities because it allowed more houses per lot. See Mary Beth Reed, "More Than What We Had": *An Architectural and Historical Documentation of the Village Creek Project Neighborhoods*, Birmingham, Alabama, New South Associates, Stone Mountain, Georgia, 1989.

11. Emmanuel Kofi Agorsah, "An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Settlement and Behavior Patterns of a West African Traditional Society: The Nchumuru of Banda-Wiae in Ghana," unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles.

12. Richard H. Haughton, "Law and Order in Savannah, 1850-1860," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* LVI(3-4). 1972.

13. Wilfrid D. Hambly, "Use of Tobacco in Africa," in *Tobacco and Its Uses in Africa*, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet 29, Chicago; Jerome S. Handler, "A Ghanaian Pipe from a Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies," *West African Journal of Archaeology* 11:93-99.

14. The community's flame continues to burn through the efforts of the Springfield Baptist Church, home of the nation's oldest active African American congregation and listed on the National Register of Historic Places. I am particularly indebted to the help of Isaac Johnson, who heads Springfield's preservation efforts, for his support, insights, and encouragement.



DELAWARE DOT

view from the trenches

by Theresa Kintz

Stand us next to other construction workers, like the pipeliners or DOT road crews with whom we often share our workspaces, and we are virtually indistinguishable. We blend in well with the 7 a.m. crowd at the convenience stores. We, too, travel in beat-up old trucks (usually Suburbans) loaded down with the equipment to carry out our daily chores—the shovels, screens, and dig kits that are the tools of our trade.

We are “dirt archeologists,” making a living by traveling the country working as crews on various federally mandated projects. Once the National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966, academia ceased to be the only career option for those who wanted to make a contribution to archeology. Thanks to this law and others, people with bachelors degrees in anthropology are now able to make field archeology a full-time career. There are more people doing field work than ever before, and the resulting scholarship continues to proliferate.

LEFT: SEARCHING FOR CLUES ABOUT PAST CLIMATES ON A HIGHWAY PROJECT FOR THE DELAWARE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.



ABOVE AND RIGHT: HEATHER WEYMOUTH; BELOW: THERESA KINTZ

CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE: Field crew at the site of an Anasazi habitation in Utah, excavated due to the relocation of Route 9 near Zion National Park; exposing an Anasazi pit house; archeologists contracted by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission excavate at the house of 18th century chemist Joseph Priestley.

"Dirt archeologists" occupy the same socioeconomic class as the other wage laborers working on a project. Nine dollars an hour is the typical rate of pay. While the fruits of our labor are not as tangible as a pipeline or a road, we know our work is just as important to society, and we derive a great sense of accomplishment from the role we play in contributing to the archeological knowledge of North America.

For the duration of a project, we live in the communities where we work. Chances are that we are the only archeologists the desk clerk at our motel or the backhoe dri-





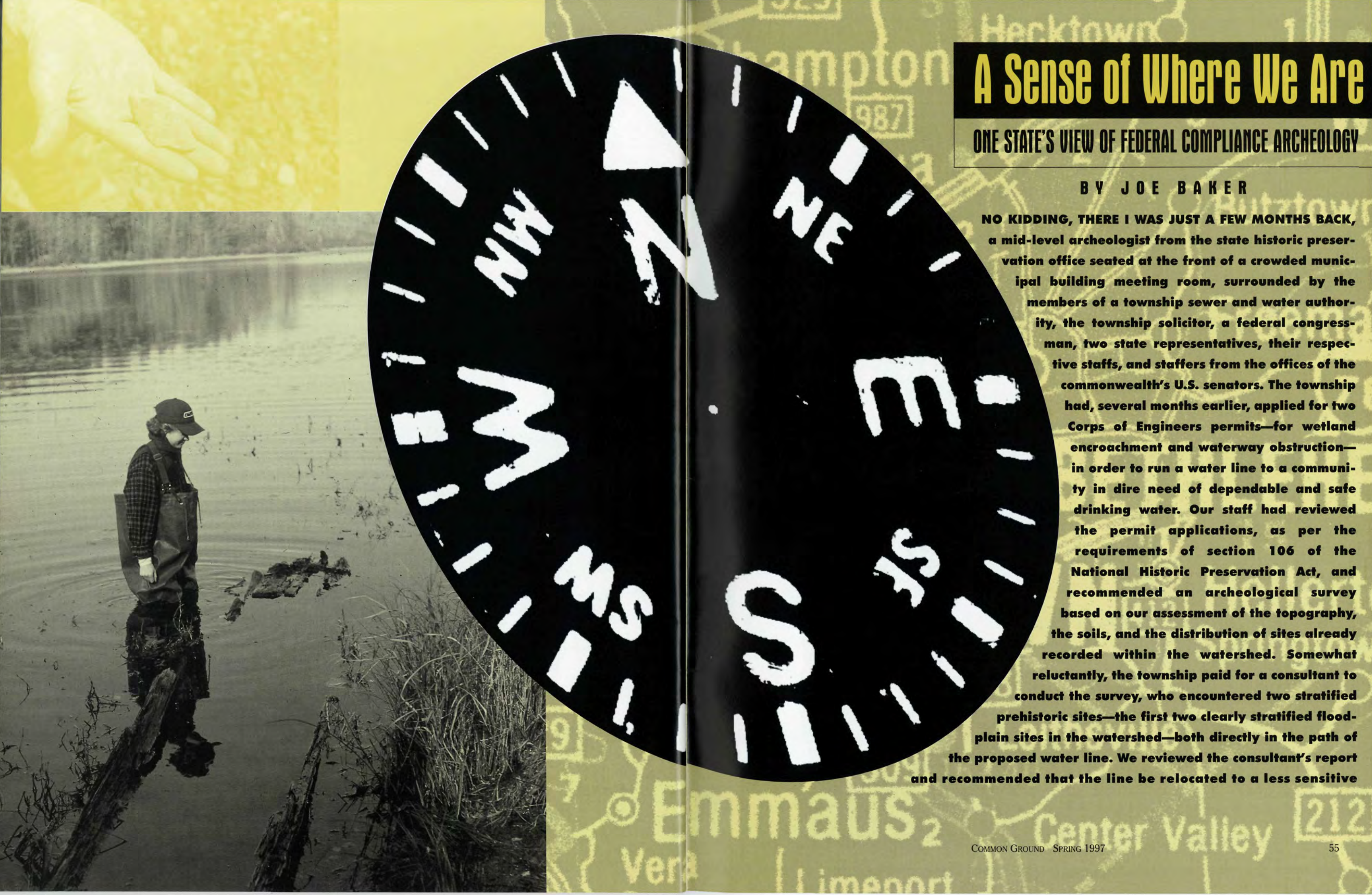
ver who strips our site will meet in their lifetimes. One of the first questions locals ask is inevitably, "Which university are you from?" We always have to tell them that we are not students, but professional archeologists. We explain how the work we are doing is a manifestation of our national commitment to archeology. They will generally be surprised to hear that we are in town to investigate the history of the place they call home. The response is always one of unqualified support for our efforts, an intense curiosity about what we are doing, and a desire to tell us what they know about local history. The next question is usually, "What are you finding?"

As students, we learn the theoretical underpinnings of archeological thought and get an introduction to the methods and goals of the discipline. However, once we get out in the field, we soon find out that the skills essential to field work must be learned through apprenticeship and mastered by the continuous application and situational modification of the techniques that we have learned. Field work merges theory and practice. This is important because the field is the training ground for the next generation. The people digging the excavation units of today will be the administrators and academics of tomorrow.

But some of us decide to stay in the field because we want to learn more about the world we live in from the unique perspective it offers. I stay because I believe archeology evokes powerful testimony about the past and human nature. My work is my contribution to our national commitment to archeology. See you in the field.

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: At work; a relaxing moment at a pipeline project in El Paso; archeologist documents a desert site.





A Sense of Where We Are

ONE STATE'S VIEW OF FEDERAL COMPLIANCE ARCHEOLOGY

BY JOE BAKER

NO KIDDING, THERE I WAS JUST A FEW MONTHS BACK, a mid-level archeologist from the state historic preservation office seated at the front of a crowded municipal building meeting room, surrounded by the members of a township sewer and water authority, the township solicitor, a federal congressman, two state representatives, their respective staffs, and staffers from the offices of the commonwealth's U.S. senators. The township had, several months earlier, applied for two Corps of Engineers permits—for wetland encroachment and waterway obstruction—in order to run a water line to a community in dire need of dependable and safe drinking water. Our staff had reviewed the permit applications, as per the requirements of section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and recommended an archeological survey based on our assessment of the topography, the soils, and the distribution of sites already recorded within the watershed. Somewhat reluctantly, the township paid for a consultant to conduct the survey, who encountered two stratified prehistoric sites—the first two clearly stratified floodplain sites in the watershed—both directly in the path of the proposed water line. We reviewed the consultant's report and recommended that the line be relocated to a less sensitive

location or that the sites be assessed to see if they were important enough to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Approximately a week after our review letter left the office, I found myself in the unfriendly confines of the township building attempting to explain the process, goals, and value of federal compliance archeology to the aforementioned audience. Tough crowd; it was a very long afternoon.

WHODUNIT: THE FOLLY OF ASSIGNING BLAME

Most of my colleagues in government, the private sector, and universities are well aware that the entire process of protecting our archeological heritage is at a critical crossroads. The 104th Congress came perilously close to "zeroing out" the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and federal and state political rhetoric decrying the very notion of protecting archeological sites is becoming commonplace. You have only to pay cursory attention to the diatribes on a variety of Web sites, or to backroom discussions at professional meetings, to realize that we have begun fighting among ourselves to pin the predicted downfall of compliance archeology on each other. The consultants blame the SHPOs for inefficiency, overregulation, lax enforcement, inexperience, and a variety of other sins too numerous to mention. The SHPOs and agency archeologists attack the consultants as mercenaries with little regard for the scientific and cultural value of the archeological record. The academicians fault SHPOs, agency staff, and the consultants for producing too little significant data for too much money. Government archeologists and consultants malign university departments for refusing to get their hands dirty with compliance work, for competing unfairly when they do, and for criticizing those on the front lines from the rarified air of academia.

Meanwhile, as the bickering continues, urban and suburban sprawl, extractive industries, expanding infrastructure, looting, and natural processes threaten the nation's archeological heritage, and the taxpayers, through their legislators, are questioning the value of protecting it.

Clearly, it is time to band together as a profession, assess the accomplishments and shortcomings of the past 30 years, and strive to promote what we do well and improve what we don't. By expending our energy on deciding who is to blame for the hostility I encountered in that stuffy little township meeting room, we risk having a hand in the destruction of the past, and miss an opportunity to help save it.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

Like many CRM archeologists, while I try to keep up with national issues and trends, I'm most familiar with the compliance archeology of my home state. I've been working as a SHPO review archeologist in Pennsylvania since 1989, a position that affords me a chance to see the results of virtually all compliance work. This work is conducted by 61 federal and state agencies, employing 107 different consulting firms in all of the state's varied physiographic regions, drainage basins, and ecological settings. The results of these investigations have improved our understanding of the past in some fundamental ways. The raw materials that constitute these improvements—site locations, technical reports, and collections—say much about the effort to preserve, manage, and protect the past in a typical eastern state.

While only 2,299 of the 15,982 sites in the Pennsylvania Archaeological Site Survey Files (about 14 percent) were recorded as a result of compliance archeology since 1966,¹ that figure is quite deceptive. Pennsylvania has an enormous and enthusiastic community of avocational archeologists and private collectors, many associated with the Society for Pennsylvania Archeology and/or the Carnegie Museum's affiliate program. This amateur community has been actively recording sites in the state since the

THE ISSUES OF THE COST OF COMPLIANCE ARCHEOLOGY AND THE LIMITED DISSEMINATION OF THE RESULTS HAVE TO BE SUCCESSFULLY ADDRESSED IF WE ARE TO ANSWER THE RATHER POINTED QUESTIONS BEING ASKED BY THE PUBLIC, BY THEIR ELECTED OFFICIALS, AND BY FEDERAL LAND AND PROGRAM MANAGERS.

1930s;² thus the overwhelming majority of the list was recorded by non-professionals. But compliance archeology has only been conducted since 1966, and most of it in Pennsylvania dates from the early 1980s or later. Since 1980, consultants have recorded 25 percent of the new sites submitted to our office for inclusion in the PASS files. From 1990 to the present, 56 percent of the new sites have been registered by consultants working on compliance projects. From January of 1995 to December of 1996, of the 163 new sites entered in the PASS files, 125 of them (77 percent) came from compliance projects.³ This is a rather dramatic illustration of the changing face of archeology in Pennsylvania (and the United States), and the important role that compliance



work plays in it. These consultant-recorded sites include every period from Paleoindian to the 20th century and every site type from tiny lithic scatters to multi-acre Woodland villages, to Colonial cemeteries, to 19th century farmsteads.

Approximately 2,277 technical reports document the results of investigations ranging from surveys of less than an acre to massive data recovery efforts. Without a doubt, most of the investigations conducted in Pennsylvania have been compliance projects. These reports are distributed to repositories at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh and Temple University in Philadelphia, but by far the most complete collection is in the compliance report library at our office in Harrisburg.

To date, 807 collections, including hundreds of thousands of artifacts and their associated field records and photographs, have already been accessioned into the holdings of the state museum. Our best guess, arrived at by informally polling some of the federal agencies that have sponsored most of the work, indicates that this is certainly the very small tip of a very big iceberg.

For better or worse, it is evident that much of what we know about the archeology of Pennsylvania is a result of compliance projects, a statement that is probably true for many states.

Beyond sheer volume, compliance archeology in Pennsylvania has produced some of the most important research in the Middle Atlantic states, especially in the last 10 years. Consulting archeologists working in the state have made great strides in the areas of geoarcheology, site formation processes, and stratified site investigations. Pennsylvania currently has one of the best developed contexts for the evolution and development of alluvial landscapes in the East⁴ resulting for the most part from compliance projects. Monumental efforts at sites like Sandts Eddy⁵ and West Water Street⁶ have resulted in the discovery and investigation of buried components that date to the Middle and Early Archaic periods, changing forever our ideas about the relative scarcity of such sites and the notion of a Middle Archaic cultural hiatus.

Anyone driving anywhere in our state is aware that it is undergoing a wave of immense highway reconstruction and expansion projects, and some of these have added much to what we know about the distribution and function of many kinds of sites. The investigations associated with U.S. Routes 11 and 157⁹ and the Mon-Fayette Transportation Improvement Project¹⁰ have generated complementary data sets that become increasingly fine grained as the work moves from the reconnaissance of huge study corridors, through the assessment of a sample of sites from more intensively studied project alternatives, to the detailed pictures developed from a handful of data recovery excavations in preferred highway alignments. The investigation of important historic period sites like the First African Baptist Church Cemetery in Philadelphia¹¹ or less well known sites like the Myers/Pickel Wagon Shop¹² would never have occurred without the federal compliance program. In some ways, the real proof of the value of this compliance-generated data lies in the utilization by university-based researchers interested in every aspect of past human behavior from the evolution and development of complex societies¹³ to the technology and strategy of lithic procurement.¹⁴

Hearth from the Archaic period (8,000-1,000 B.C.).

A Pennsylvania perspective on the state of affairs in compliance archeology is the focus of an SAA symposium at the annual meeting in Nashville this year. The symposium will bring together some of the very best consulting archeologists and academic researchers working in the state for a frank discussion of where compliance archeology in Pennsylvania and the Middle Atlantic region has taken us and where we should go now.

WHERE WE OUGHT TO BE GOING

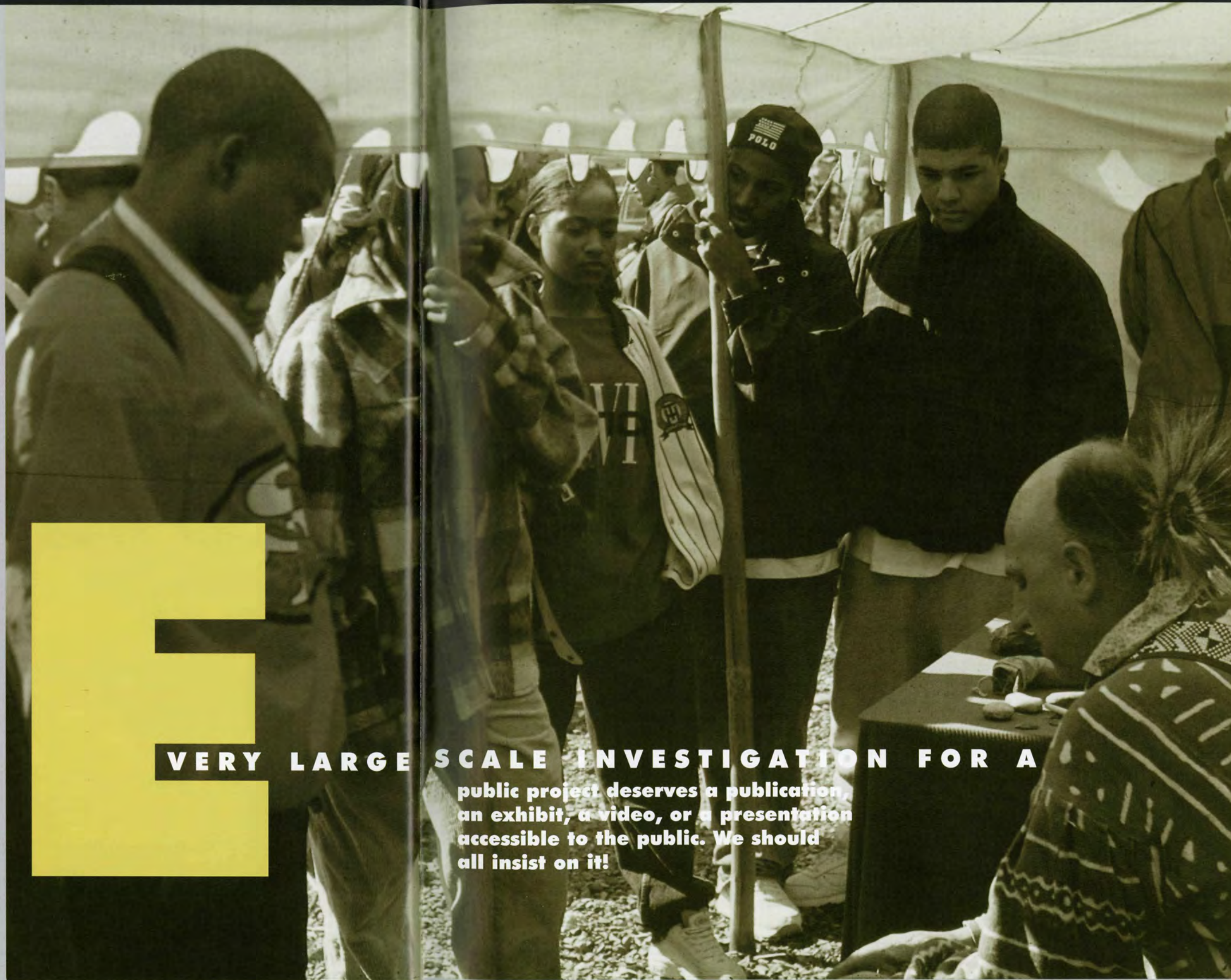
If Pennsylvania's compliance archeology program is so successful, why were those folks in that township meeting room so upset? Bluntly put, because they thought it costs too much and because they had almost no idea what they were paying for, a common state of affairs in many parts of the country. The issues of the cost of compliance archeology and the limited dissemination of the results have to be successfully addressed if we are to answer the rather pointed questions being asked by the public, by their elected officials, and by federal land and program managers. And, as suggested earlier, we shouldn't waste too much time pointing accusatory fingers at each other; there's plenty of blame to go around.

While archeology by its labor-intensive nature will always be expensive, we can all work harder at minimizing costs. Tighter predictive modeling and project area assessment can result in fewer redundant surveys, and smaller, more tightly defined project areas. Negotiating easements and site avoidance, and working with engineers on the development of more sensitive project designs, can eliminate the need for some investigations altogether. Skilled volunteers and avocational archeologists may be able to play a larger role, and there are programs like the Forest Service's Passport In Time program that have already pioneered it. Dedicated funds, financed by small increases in permitting fees, could assist federal and state permittees in absorbing the costs of archeological investigations. Interagency agreements can help to channel and consolidate increasingly scarce agency resources into places where they can do the most good. Agencies, SHPOs, and consulting firms are all going to have to take long looks at their budgets, and eliminate unnecessary or duplicate costs. There are many other good suggestions for lowering the costs, but not the quality, of compliance archeology, and SHPO offices, agency archeologists, and consultants are all going to have to band together to address this issue. If we do not, I assure you that other solutions—solutions that will have devastating effects on the archeological record and our profession—will be imposed by constituencies that have the political power to do so and are not greatly troubled by the wholesale destruction of the past.

The problem of making the results of compliance archeology accessible to researchers and to the taxpayers is, perhaps, even more critical than the issue of costs. For at least a couple of very good reasons, it is quite likely that very few archeologists, and almost no members of the interested public, have ever heard of any of the truly landmark research I've cited above.

First, you can only find the technical reports on these projects

Shawnee Bob Winters demonstrates ancient craft of flint knapping for Pennsylvania high school students.



JOE BAKER

VERY LARGE SCALE INVESTIGATION FOR A public project deserves a publication, an exhibit, a video, or a presentation accessible to the public. We should all insist on it!

in three repositories: Carnegie, Temple, and the SHPO office. They are not available electronically, and cannot be checked out of the repositories that keep them. Consequently they are very difficult for a professional or avocational researcher to access. In my opinion, a very large scale effort is warranted to make the results of compliance investigations available to researchers through electronic access and through all major research libraries. Without these data, some of the best minds in archeology today simply do not have access to the most current information, a state of affairs that would be regarded as intolerable in almost any other field of scholarly pursuit, and should be so regarded in ours.

Second, these are almost entirely very technical reports full of scholarly conventions, jargon, statistical analyses, inventories, and complex figures. While of great utility to professionals, they are bewildering at best to the average citizen, even to those with a real interest in archeology. For most of us, a project is complete when the collection and field records are curated and the final report is submitted. I submit that that's not good enough.

Like most of my professional brethren, I still find archeology to be just as fascinating as it was when I took my first undergraduate class. Judging by the popularity of television programs, videos, popular periodicals, and coffee table books on the subject, we're not the only people that feel that way. In the 12 days that we had our 1996 archeology month excavation at the City Island site in downtown Harrisburg, nearly 5,000 visitors stopped by for a look.

Every large-scale investigation for a public project deserves a publication, an exhibit, a video, or a presentation that is accessible to the public. We should all insist on it! None of us should ever get so jaded that we forget that archeology is first and foremost a satisfying and interesting pursuit, and when presented to the public in an accessible forum, it is irresistible. We don't need to save American archeology; if we just put it out there where people can see it, it will save itself!

SOME HOPEFUL SIGNS

The angry rhetoric kept up in that township meeting room until 6 that evening. Finally a compromise was hammered out involving an easement to protect the bulk of both of the sites. The permits were secured, the water line proceeded on schedule, and everyone went home more or less satisfied.

In the end, we preserved two small links of the chain that binds all Americans to their predecessors, which is, after all, the aim of the federal compliance archeology program. Surely there's room for improvement, and we could all do with a bit less rancor and a bit more reason, but as the National Historic Preservation Act enters its fourth decade, Americans can take pride in how we care for our archeological heritage. Even in these difficult times, the system works, and the past is preserved for the future.

For more information, contact Joe Baker, Pennsylvania Bureau for Historic Preservation, P.O. Box 1026, Harrisburg, PA 17108-1026, (717) 772-0925, fax (717) 772-0920.

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NAGPRA NEWS

Implementing the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

Civil Penalty Rule Takes Effect

TO PENALIZE NON-COMPLIANCE WITH NAGPRA

Interim regulations allowing the Secretary of the Interior to assess civil penalties on museums that fail to comply with NAGPRA took effect on February 12. The regulations, published in the *Federal Register* on January 13 as 43 CFR 10.13, define "failure to comply" and stipulate how the Secretary will determine the penalty amount. They also outline administrative procedures to follow in assessing penalties.

The penalty will be .25% of the museum's annual budget, or \$5000, whichever is less, and such additional sum as the Secretary determines appropriate. A penalty of \$100 per day after the

A museum has failed to comply with the act if:

1. After November 16, 1990, it sells or otherwise transfers human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony in violation of the act, including, but not limited to, an unlawful sale or transfer to any individual or institution that is not required to comply with the act; or
2. After November 16, 1993, it has not completed summaries; or
3. After November 16, 1995, or the date specified in an extension issued by the Secretary of the Interior, whichever is later, it has not completed inventories; or
4. After May 16, 1996, or six months after completion of an inventory under extension issued by the Secretary of the Interior, whichever is later, it has not notified culturally affiliated Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations; or
5. It refuses to repatriate human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony to a lineal descendant or culturally affiliated Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization pursuant to the requirements of the act; or
6. It repatriates human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony before publishing a notice in the *Federal Register* as required by the act.

final administrative decision takes effect may be assessed if the museum continues to violate the act. The commercial value of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony may be assessed on any museum that, after November 16, 1990, sells or otherwise transfers such objects in vio-

lation of the act.

The administrative procedures for providing notice, holding a hearing, appealing a decision, and issuing a final decision are patterned after those used in assessing civil penalties under the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

The interim rule will be in effect until final regulations

are adopted through general notice and comment rule-making. Written comments are accepted until April 14 for consideration in developing a final rule.

Grants Available

FALL DEADLINES FOR APPLICANTS

Grants from \$5,000 to \$75,000 are available to Indian tribes, Alaskan Native villages and corporations, Native Hawaiian organizations, museums, universities, and state and local government agencies. Applications from native groups must be postmarked by November 21, from museums by December 5. Those who previously received applications or submitted proposals will automatically get applications this time. Contact Mandy Murphy, (202) 343-1095, e-mail mandy_murphy@nps.gov.

PLANNING TO REPATRIATE REMAINS AND CULTURAL ITEMS

Eleven notices of intent to repatriate have appeared in the *Federal Register* since the last issue of *Common Ground*. Notices of intent to repatriate describe unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony in enough detail to help lineal descendants, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations identify cultural items to which they can reasonably be believed to be affiliated.

A 30-day period following publication of the notices allows additional lineal descendants or culturally affiliated groups to contact the museum or federal agency regarding proper disposition of these items. A total of 49 notices of intent to repatriate have appeared in the *Federal Register*. They represent 31,879 unassociated funerary objects, 349 sacred objects, 28 objects of cultural patrimony, and 21 items that are both sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony.

Seattle Art Museum Seattle, Washington

1 object of cultural patrimony culturally affiliated with the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska acting on behalf of the Dakl'awedi Clan of Angoon, Alaska.

City of Portland Oregon

1 sacred object/object of cultural patrimony culturally affiliated with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation and Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation.

Denver Museum of Natural History Denver, Colorado

1 object of cultural patrimony culturally affiliated with the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska acting on behalf of the Dakl'awedi Clan.

Museum of the South Dakota State Historical Society Pierre, South Dakota

1 sacred object culturally affiliated with the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe. Mr. Arvol Looking Horse has been identified as a lineal descendant of the object's last known owner.

W. H. Over State Museum of the South Dakota State Historical Society Vermillion, South Dakota

1 object of cultural patrimony culturally affiliated with the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska.

Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument Ajo, Arizona

1 unassociated funerary object culturally affiliated with the Hia-Ced O'odham Tribe. Josephine Martinez has been identified as a lineal descendant of the deceased.

Mesa Southwest Museum Mesa, Arizona

4 objects of cultural patrimony culturally affiliated with the San Carlos Apache Tribe and White Mountain Apache Tribe.

Heard Museum Phoenix, Arizona

37 sacred objects culturally affiliated with the Hopi Tribe.

Cibola National Forest Albuquerque, New Mexico

23 sacred objects culturally affiliated with the Pueblo of Acoma

Springfield Science Museum Springfield, Massachusetts

68 unassociated funerary objects culturally affiliated with the Caddo Tribe of OK

Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College Hanover, New Hampshire

8 unassociated funerary objects culturally affiliated with the Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma.

INVENTORIES OFFER GLIMPSE OF NATIVE HOLDINGS

Completed inventories of human remains and associated funerary objects continue to arrive at the Archeology and Ethnography Program office. Ten notices of inventory completion have been published since the last issue of *Common Ground*.

Notices of Inventory Completion, which summarize the contents of the accompanying inventory in enough detail to help individuals or groups identify cultural items to which they can reasonably be believed to be affiliated, were published in the *Federal Register* as required by section 5 (d)(3) of the Act. A 30-day period following publication of each notice is allowed for any additional lineal descendants or culturally affiliated Indian tribes to contact the appropriate museum or federal agency official regarding proper disposition of sensitive cultural items. Publication of these ten notices brings the total to 113 to date, describing 5,263 human remains and 207,446 associated funerary objects (human remain counts indicate minimum number of individuals).

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Honolulu, Hawaii

14 associated funerary objects culturally affiliated with Hui Alanui O Makena, the Maui/Lna'i Island Burial Council, Na Kupuna O Maui, Hui Malama I Na Kupuna O Hawaii Nei, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs

121 human remains and 28 associated funerary objects culturally affiliated with the Hawaii Island Burial Council, Hui Malama I Na Kupuna O Hawaii Nei, Department of Hawaiian Homelands, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

3 human remains culturally affiliated with Hui Mlana Pono O Lna'i.

3 human remains and 1 associated funerary object culturally affiliated with Hui Mlana I Na Kpuna 'O Hawai'i Nei and Kawa'i/Ni'ihau Island Burial Council.

Hawaii Maritime Center Honolulu, Hawaii

2 human remains culturally affiliated with Hui Malama I Na Kupuna O Hawaii Nei, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, O'ahu Burial Council, Hawaii Island Burial Council, and Ka Lahui Hawai'i.

Washington State Historical Society Tacoma, Washington

7 human remains culturally affiliated with the Puyallup Tribe of Indians.

Archaeological Survey of Idaho, Western Repository, Idaho State Historical Society Boise, Idaho

The remains of Chief Buffalo Horn of the Bannock Shoshone. Ms. Rosphine Coby has been identified as a lineal descendant.

Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, University of Oklahoma Norman, Oklahoma

1 human remain and 885 associated funerary objects culturally affiliated with the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma.

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts

3 human remains and 1 associated funerary object culturally affiliated with the Mohegan Indian Tribe of Connecticut.

c o m m o n Ground

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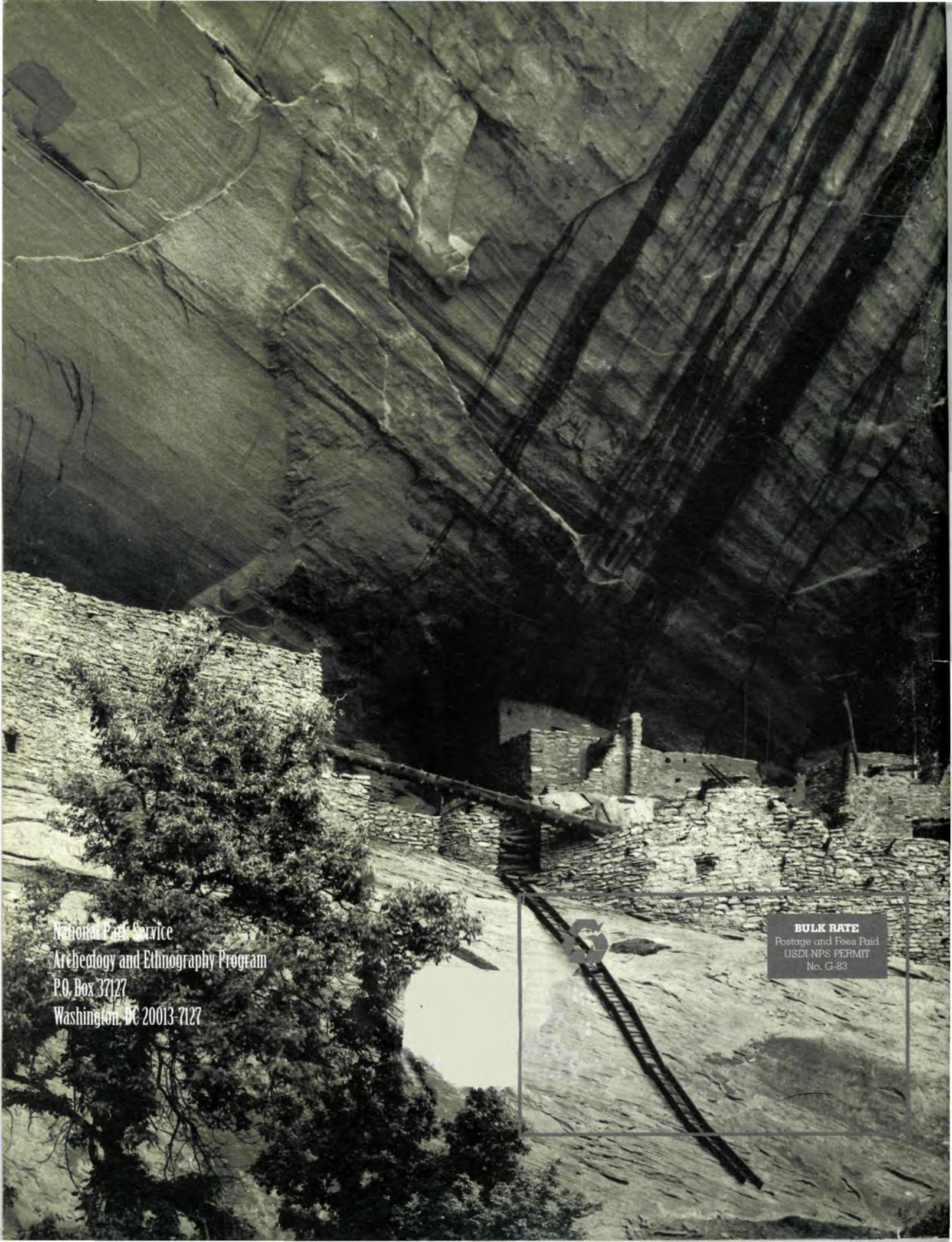
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